

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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Modern Language Notes

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Number 1

ELIZABETHAN CHIROMANCY

This paper is in the nature of an addendum to one on physiognomy and metoposcopy, which appeared recently, in which metoposcopy was shown to be little more than a simplification of physiognomy.¹ Another pseudo-science which may be regarded as a disinvolved version of physiognomy is chiromancy, the science which interprets the lines in a man's hand to discover his complexion, his disposition, his fortune, and his life.² John ab Indagine considers chiromancy a means of knowing what planets rule in the life of man, without the knowledge or use of astrology,³ although

¹ Carroll Camden, "The Mind's Construction in the Face," *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hardin Craig*, Stanford University, 1941, pp. 208-220.

² Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Of the Vanitie and Vncertaintie of Artes and Sciences*, London, 1569, fol. 50v. This work first appeared in 1530, but the following year Agrippa published his *De occulta philosophia* affirming all those occult sciences previously attacked. Cf. Sir George Wharton, *Chelromantia* (translated from John Rothmann), London, 1652, *Works*, ed. John Gadbury, London, 1683, p. 527; Polydore Vergile, *An Abridgemēt of the Notable Work*, London, 1546, fol. 34v.

³ John ab Indagine, *The Book of Palmistry and Physiognomy*, seventh edition, London, 1683, sig. G5v. Don Cameron Allen (*The Star-Crossed Renaissance*, Durham, 1941, p. 56) believes that John (Jean de Hayn, or Johannes von Hagen) introduced the general public to chiromancy. John, along with other chiromantic worthies, achieves immortality in the following lines spoken by Patrico in *The Gipsies Metamorphosed* (Pt. 1, lines 126-131):

Alchindus
And Pharaotes Indus,
John de Indagine,
With all their *paginae*
Treating of palmistry:
And this is all mystery.

later writers emphasize that the findings of no pseudo-science are valid unless they are in accord with astrological considerations. John feels, too, that the knowledge gained by such a study is very useful to man,

For what more profitable thing may be supposed or thought, than when a man in himself, may foresee and know his proper and fatal accidents, and thereby to embrace and follow that which is good, and to avoid and eschew the evils which are imminent unto him for the better understanding and knowledge thereof?⁴

Chiromantic writers, furthermore, find an authoritative religious basis for their science in *Job* 37: 7, *Exodus* 13: 9, and *Proverbs* 3: 16,⁵ each of these passages being sufficiently vague to be in harmony with the ambiguity usually found in pseudo-scientific pronouncements. The passage in *Proverbs*, for example, reads: "Length of days is in her right hand; and in her left hand riches and honour." The greatest authority for the science, however, lies in the surprising list of intelligent men who believed in chiromancy, or who wrote on the subject,—such men as Paracelsus, Thomas Aquinas, Peter of Abano, Michael Scot, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Becket, Jerome Cardan, among others. Aquinas apparently accepts chiromancy, although he refuses to accept geomancy, as a form of divination. Scot's reputation is open to some speculation, though, when we discover that his "chiromantic experiment" for discovering the sex of an unborn child consists merely of asking the mother to hold out her hand: the right hand indicates a boy, the left a girl. We have evidence, too, that Thomas Becket consulted chiromancers upon occasion, and we know that John of Salisbury twitted him about it.⁶ Indeed, Henry Cornelius Agrippa becomes somewhat subdued when he recalls some of the authorities for this science:

Notwithstandinge it is not needefull for vs to striue againste the Erroure of this Arte with any other reason then this, to weete that they haue not

⁴ *Ibid.*, "To the Gentle Reader," sig. A3r.

⁵ Paul Lacroix, *Science and Literature in the Middle Ages, and at the Period of the Renaissance*, London, 1878, p. 214; and Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1923-1934, vol. II, p. 386.

⁶ H. O. Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*, vol. II, New York, 1920, pp. 324, 374; Thorndike, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 166-167, 266, 329, 331, 575, 606, 701-702, 889; vol. III, pp. 19-20; vol. IV, pp. 143, 462.

in them any reason. Yet verie manye of the Auncientes exceedinge graue menne haue written of these thinges, *Hermes, Alchindus, Pythagoras, Pharaotes* the Indian, *Zopirus, Helenus, Ptolomee, Aristotle, Alphorabius*, besides these *Galcne, Auicenna, Rasis, Iulian, Maternus, Loaius, Philemon, Palemon, Constantine, Africane*, and finallye of the Romane Princes, *Lucius Scilla*, and *Caesar* dictatoure were very studious thereof Of the latter sorte *Peter of Appona, Albert the Dutcheman, Michael Scotte, Antiochus, Bartholmewe Cocles, Michael Sauonarola, Anthonie Cermison, Peter of Arca, Andrewe Corue, Tricassus of Mantua, Iohn of Indago*, and many other famous Phisitions.⁷

The opposition to the practice of chiromancy centers chiefly in the fact that since this pseudo-science is based only upon conjectures, the practitioners of the science cannot agree upon the tenets of it.⁸ Even Raymond Lull, although he is the author of works on many pseudo-sciences, feels that chiromancy is founded on too weak a basis for belief.⁹ Nicolas Oresme, bishop of Lisieux, suggests that there may be some truth in chiromancy, since it is a part of physiognomy, but only as it pertains to the constitution of the individual.

As might be expected, the most interesting as well as the most telling arguments against chiromancy are from the pens of men of letters. Thomas Nashe, for example, argues that the shape, color, and lines of a man's hand are entirely dependent upon his labor and exercise, and that they alter day by day as the employments or pastimes are altered. He goes on to say that by examining the palm it is quite possible to determine an individual's occupation, "but for the minde or disposition, we can no more looke into through it, than wee can into a looking Glasse through the wooden case thereof."¹⁰ Thomas Dekker, on his part, relates that cony-catchers

⁷ Agrippa, *op. cit.*, fol. 51r. A valuable account of the early history of chiromancy and physiognomy appears in Hardin Craig's introduction to the works of John Metham, *Early English Text Society*, O. S., vol. 132, pp. xix-xxx.

⁸ James Mason, *The Anatomie of Sorcerie*, London, 1612, p. 90; John Chamber, *A Treatise against Iudicial Astrologie*, London, 1601, p. 103; C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, Cambridge, 1924, pp. 25, 287; Vergile, *op. cit.*, fol. 34v; Henry Howard, *A Defensative against the Poyson of Supposed Prophecies*, London, 1620, fol. 25r; Agrippa, *op. cit.*, fol. 51r; Thorndike, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 421.

⁹ Thorndike, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, 63-64. Cf. Ludovicus Vives, *An Introduction to VVysedome*, London, 1540, sig. D3v.

¹⁰ Thomas Nashe, *The Terrors of the Night*, London, 1594, sig. F1r.

come to villages on holidays and, when the villagers flock around them, profess skill in palmistry, saying that they can

tel fortunes: which for the most part are infallibly true, by reason that they worke vppon rules, which are grounded vpon certainty: for one of them wil tel you that you shal shortly haue some euill luck fal vpon you, & within halfe an houre after you shall find your pocket pick'd, or your purse cut.¹¹

John Taylor, furthermore, in his character of a bawd, appears to believe that the practice of chiromancy can be rather accurate when practiced by bawds, especially when barren women consult these practitioners. He reports that such a woman is often skillful in chiromancy and physiognomy,

but above all, her skill is much credited to helpe yong women breed and fructife, so that if shee be as barren as a Stockfish, yet the matronly medicines and instructions of this wise cunning woman, will in a little time make her encrease with a vengeance, and multiply with a mischiefe.¹²

First of all, in the practice of chiromancy, it must be understood that there are five principle lines in the hand: (1) the table line or line of fortune, (2) the natural line, (3) the line of life or of the heart, (4) the line of the liver or stomach, and (5) the sister line or line of death. Suppose we consider the right hand. The table line is the first line down from the fingers and runs from the left side of the hand to the middle finger.¹³ Launcelot Gobbo is speaking of this line as he looks at his hand and remarks to Old Gobbo:

Well, if any man in Italy have a fairer table which doth offer to swear upon a book—! I shall have a good fortune. Go to, here's a simple line of life! Here's a small trifle of wives! Alas, fifteen wives is nothing! a 'leven widows and nine maids is a simple coming-in for one man; and then

¹¹ Thomas Dekker, *Lanthorne and Candle-light* (1609), *Non-Dramatic Works*, ed. Grosart, London, 1885, vol. III, p. 263.

¹² John Taylor, "A Bawd" (1635), *Works*, Spenser Society, vol. 19, pp. 24-25.

¹³ This account of the principles of Chiromancy is based chiefly upon the following works: John ab Indagine, *op. cit.*, sigs. A1r-G5v; Erra Pater, *The Book of Knowledge*, trans. W. Lilly, London, 1766, pp. 67-70; Richard Saunders, *Physiognomie*, etc., second edition, London, 1671, *passim*; Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Oxford, 1621, p. 77. See also John Bulwer, *Chirologia*, London, 1644.

to scape drowning thrice, and to be in peril of my life with the edge of a featherbed! Here are simple scapes.¹⁴

The line of life, which Launcelot mentions, runs from the right side of the hand down toward the wrist. The natural line arises from the same point as does the line of life, but it runs across the hand. The line of the liver runs from the wrist up to the natural line, near its end, and thus forms a triangle or plain of Mars. The sister line is a short line which parallels the line of life on the side near the thumb. Besides these lines, chiromancy locates on the hand the seven planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac. At the root of the little finger is the mount of Mercury; of the ring finger, the Sun; of the middle finger, Saturn; of the index finger, Jupiter; and of the thumb, Venus. The triangle of Mars has been mentioned, and the mount of the Moon is at the left of the hand, near the wrist. These various mounts of chiromancy, furthermore, have found their way into the drama. Lyly mentions one of them in *Mother Bombie* as Candidus presents her hand to Silena, saying, "Heres my hand, whats a clocke?" and receives the reply, "The line of life is good, *Venus* mount very perfect; you shall haue a scholler to your first husband."¹⁵ In *The Gipsies Metamorphosed*, as well, the Captain of the gipsies thus reads the hand of the King, who is disguised:

You are no great wench, I see by your table,
Although your *Mons Veneris* says you are able.
You live chaste and single, and have buried your wife,
And mean not to marry, by the line of your life:
Whence he that conjectures your quality learns
You're an honest good man and have care of your bairns.
Your Mercury's hill too a wit doth betoken;
Some book-craft you have, and are pretty well spoken.
But stay! In your Jupiter's mount what's here?
A king? a monarch? What wonders appear!
High, bountiful, just; a Jove for your parts,
A master of men, and that reign in their hearts.¹⁶

Whereby we see that gypsies have long been known for their mastery of the art of palmistry, and that this one is as sufficiently adept as need be.

In *The Alchemist*, too, as one might expect, Ben Jonson has

¹⁴ *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 166-175.

¹⁵ II. iii. 50-57. Cf. *Supposes*, I. ii. 45-46.

¹⁶ Pt. 1, lines 223-234.

occasion to resort to chiromancy, as he finds place for most of the mounts as well as the location of one of the signs of the zodiac. Subtle is reading Abel Drugger's fortune, and is explaining to Face what he finds in the palm:

The thumb, in chiromancy, we give to Venus;
The forefinger to Jove; the midst to Saturn;
The ring to Sol; the least to Mercury,
Who was the lord, sir, of his horoscope,
His house of life being Libra; which foreshow'd
He should be a merchant, and should trade with balance.¹⁷

Indeed, so popular was the subject in sixteenth century Italy that the lines and the mounts of chiromancy were incorporated into a fashionable parlor game.¹⁸

If the joints of the fingers be numbered from the hand outward, the first joint of the little finger belongs to Sagittarius, the second to Scorpio, the third to Libra; of the ring finger, the first belongs to Virgo, the second to Leo, the third to Cancer; of the middle finger, the first belongs to Pisces, the second to Aquarius, the third to Capricorn; and of the index finger, the first belongs to Gemini, the second to Taurus, and the third to Aries.

The significations of the conformations in different hands are somewhat complicated, and only a brief outline can be given. As a general principle, it should be noted that straight lines not crossed by other lines and well colored are the best, and indicate a good complexion. In Gascoigne's version of Ariosto's *Supposes* appears a literary confirmation of this fact as Pasyphilo examines Cleander's hand, saying, "O how straight and infracte is this line of life! You will liue to the yeeres of Melchisedech."¹⁹ When small lines touch the line of life near the upper end, it betokens

¹⁷ I. iii. 52-57. For other literary references, see Fletcher, *The Pilgrim, Works*, Cambridge, 1905, vol. v, p. 201 (iv. ii); John Lyly, *Mother Bombe*, II. iii. 86-94; George Chapman, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, sc. i, lines 110-119; Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour*, v. ii. 113-118. I am indebted to T. P. Harrison, Jr., for reference to a chiromantic passage in *Hymenaeus* (II. iii. 56 ff., ed. G. C. Moore Smith, Cambridge, 1908), a comedy in Latin acted at St. John's College, Cambridge, circa 1578. Since this paper was written, there has appeared a brief account of "Non-Alchemical Pseudo-sciences in *The Alchemist*" (J. Parr, in *Philological Quarterly*, XXIV (1945), pp. 85-89).

¹⁸ T. F. Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century*, New Haven, 1920, p. 270.

¹⁹ I. ii. 36-38.

illness. If the table line has at its end three small lines or branches near the mount of Jupiter, running straight to the upper corner, it "signifieth a fortunate, liberal, merry, modest and noble man, which delighteth in all kind of comely and cleanly apparel, and sweet smells and favours." If the table line is "deep, subtle and pale," at its end, it indicates an honest and chaste person. Iras, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, evidently hopes that her hand has some such configuration, for she presents her hand to the Soothsayer with these words, "There's a palm presages chastity, if nothing else." The Soothsayer, however, casts down her hopes.²⁰ Perhaps Iras has on her hand a cross which touches the line of life at its upper corner, for this, as John ab Indagine writes, "signifieth a libidinous and an unshamefac'd woman."²¹ A star within the triangle of Mars betokens the same. If any of the mounts of the planets are plain and smooth, the person is under the influence of the corresponding planet, and the effects can be ascertained by consulting an astrological handbook. Lines within the various joints of the finger are referred to the appropriate signs of the zodiac, and are judged on this basis. Again it is seen that character analysis by means of palmistry must be closely correlated with judicial astrology, preferably by the casting of a horoscope.

Chiromancy, then, presented the Elizabethans with a pseudo-science which was a plebeian version of physiognomy in much the same way that physiognomy was ancillary to astrology; but it was never as popular or in as good repute as the other pseudo-sciences. The reduction of esoteric studies to handbook form, however, is well illustrated here in a subject which was sufficiently well-known to be mentioned in Renaissance literature.

CARROLL CAMDEN

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NOCH EINMAL SCHILLERS RELIQUIEN

(ZUR FRAGE EINER FORTSETZUNG VON GOETHE'S
GEDICHT AUF SCHILLERS SCHÄDEL)

Goethes Terzinen "Im ernsten Beinhaus war's . . ." folgen (ohne Überschrift) in der Ausgabe letzter Hand (1829) auf das

²⁰ I. ii. 43-60.

²¹ John ab Indagine, *op. cit.*, sig. B6r.

dritte Buch der *Wanderjahre*. Der Zusatz am Schlusse des Gedichtes "Ist fortzusetzen" ist neuerdings, angeregt durch Karl Viëtors weitausholende Untersuchungen in *PMLA*, Gegenstand einer lebhaften Diskussion geworden.¹

Das Gedicht spiegelt die Überzeugung des Dichters von der Einheit des Naturgesetzes wieder, das im Geistigen wie im Körperlichen walte. Die Stadien der Entstehung des Gedichtes lassen sich an der Hand des Tagebuches verfolgen:

25. September 1826: Nachts Terzinen.

26. September 1826: Früh die Terzinen weitergeführt . . .
Die Terzinen abgeschrieben . . . Weitere
Beachtung der Terzinen.

¹ Viëtor vertritt (*PMLA*, LIX [1944], 142-183, 1166-1172, *PMLA*, LX [1945], 421-426) die Ansicht, daß Goethe mit diesem Zusatz "die Auslegung des 'Weltgeheimnisses' . . . etwa durch weitere selbständige 'Naturgedichte'" (*PMLA*, LIX [1944], 1172) im Sinne gehabt, also die Fortsetzung in einer Reihe von Gedichten geplant hätte; Alexander R. Hohlfeld (*PMLA*, LX [1945], 399-420) bezieht den Zusatz auf den Roman; Franz H. Mautner (*PMLA*, LIX [1944], 1156-1162) sieht mit Viëtor das Gedicht als erstes einer Reihe weiterer Gedichte an, betrachtet aber die letzten vier Zeilen als den Anfang eines dieser Gedichte, das fortgesetzt werden sollte; Ernst Feise (*PMLA*, LIX [1944], 1162-1166) kommt auf Grund einer schallanalytischen Untersuchung zu dem Schluß, daß die Fortsetzung, unter Ausschaltung der letzten vier Zeilen, die nur ein "Notdach" seien, sich "nach einem ursprünglichen, wieder aufzunehmenden Plan" an Zeile 30 angeschlossen hätte, indem er vermutet, "daß das Gedicht in der Tat als Zyklus geplant war, in dem die letzten Verse irgendwie einen Platz finden sollten, daß sie aber dann, weil sie zu früh formuliert wurden, die weitere Konzeption unterbanden." (*PMLA*, LIX [1944], 1166).—Auf das Gedicht selbst beziehen den Zusatz: Max Wundt, *Goethes Wilhelm Meister und die Entwicklung des modernen Lebensideals*. (Berlin, 1913, 2. Auflage 1932), 347, und zwar unter Heranziehung des Druckbildes und der Tagebuchnotiz vom 26. September 1826: "Weitere Beachtung der Terzinen" (siehe unten), und Max Hecker, *Schillers Tod und Bestattung*. (Leipzig, 1935), 160, dieser, indem er hinzufügt: "Solche verheißene Fortsetzung ist freilich nicht erfolgt." Hecker zitiert aber dann (nach der Weimarer Ausgabe, Bd. 5, Zweite Abteilung, 408) den Entwurf zu einem Gedicht in Terzinen, den er als einen "Ansatz" zu einer Fortsetzung des Gedichtes betrachtet. Er zweifelt im übrigen nicht daran, daß sich der Zusatz auf das Gedicht beziehe, gleichfalls schon wegen des Druckbildes. Dieses scheint jedoch für Hecker nur der äußere Grund, der das Gefühl der Richtigkeit dieser Annahme bekräftigt, die für ihn augenscheinlich keines weiteren Beweises bedarf.

In der Ausgabe letzter Hand ist das Gedicht, abweichend von dem vorangehenden Text, nicht in Fraktur, sondern in Antiqua gedruckt. Der erwähnte Vermerk am Schluß (Ist fortzusetzen.), gleichfalls in Antiqua, ist in Klammern gesetzt, in einer neuen Zeile ohne Zwischenraum an die vorangehende Zeile angeschlossen, aber eingerückt, sodaß die beiden Zeilenenden zusammenfallen.

Der Umstand, daß Goethe, wie das Tagebuch zeigt, das Gedicht nicht in einem Guß hingeschrieben, sondern sich in gewissen Zeitabständen damit beschäftigt, also in Fortsetzungen daran gearbeitet hat, legt den Schluß nahe, daß die "weitere Beachtung der Terzinen" nicht die letzte gewesen sein mag, und die Absicht, solche folgen zu lassen, in dem gedachten Vermerk ausgedrückt wurde. Die Arbeitstechnik Goethes würde einem solchen Schluß nicht widersprechen. In Eckermanns Gesprächen (29. Oktober 1823) betont Goethe die Wichtigkeit "der Auffassung und Darstellung des Besonderen"; sie sei "das eigentliche Leben der Kunst." Das Allgemeine könne "jeder nachmachen; aber das Besondere macht uns niemand nach. Warum? Weil es die andern nicht erlebt haben. . . Auf dieser Stufe der individuellen Darstellung beginnt dann zugleich dasjenige, was man Komposition nennt."

Richard M. Meyer² erklärt diese Worte, die Eckermann "nicht sogleich klar" waren, dahin, daß für den Dichter jetzt erst die Durcharbeitung beginne, "um die durch Offenbarung fühlbar gewordene Einheit der Grundstimmung, der inneren Form auch tatsächlich durchzuführen."

Die Worte des Dichters und ihre Deutung durch R. M. Meyer—deren Richtigkeit vorausgesetzt—beziehen sich nicht auf eine bestimmte Dichtung Goethes. Doch können sie sehr wohl auf das vorliegende Gedicht angewendet werden. Auch in Goethes Terzinen ist die Einheit der Grundstimmung, der inneren Form durch Offenbarung fühlbar geworden. Diese ist nun durchzuführen und damit beginnt die Durcharbeitung.

Aber auch die Gewohnheiten und Eigentümlichkeiten der Schaffensweise Goethes überhaupt gewähren Anhaltspunkte, die eine Fortsetzung des Gedichtes selbst nicht ausschließen.

Die Worte des Direktors im Vorspiel auf dem Theater (1797)

² Goethes Art zu arbeiten." *Goethe-Jahrbuch*. XIV [1893], (167-195), 180.

Gebt ihr euch einmal für Poeten,
So kommandiert die Poesie.³

sind charakteristisch für den Goethe dieser Zeit, Theaterdirektor und Dichter zugleich.⁴ Sie finden ihre Bekräftigung in der Äußerung: "Wir wollen sehen, wie weit wir's im *Wollen* bringen können" (an Schiller, 6. März 1799). Kurze Zeit darauf aber (an Schiller, 16. März 1799) heißt es: "Durch eine ganz besondere Resolution und Diät habe ich es gezwungen"—es handelt sich um die Achilleis—so gleichsam die Entschlußkraft durch weises Maßhalten stärkend. Die Einhaltung einer "Diät" tritt bei Goethe, der in seinem Schaffen auch von Wetter und Jahreszeiten abhängig war,⁵ im Alter deutlicher hervor. "In der Poesie lassen sich gewisse Dinge nicht zwingen und man muß von guten Stunden erwarten, was durch geistigen Willen nicht zu erreichen ist" (Eckermanns Gespräche, 21. März 1830). Solche Äußerungen deuten darauf hin, daß die Fortsetzung eines angefangenen Gedichtes, welcher Art und in welcher Weise immer, nicht ohne weiteres ausgeschlossen werden kann.

Diese Erwägungen mehr allgemeiner Art über die Schaffensweise Goethes, die der Fortsetzung eines Gedichtes, und zwar des Gedichtes selbst, nicht widersprechen, finden aber eine Stütze von einer ganz anderen, nicht minder wichtigen Seite her: nämlich im Wortlaut des Gedichtes. Hier können wir uns auf dem festen Boden der Tatsachen bewegen, die ihrerseits wieder jene allgemeinen Argumente illustrieren.

Die zwei letzten Zeilen:

Wie sie das Feste läßt zu Geist verrinnen,
Wie sie das Geisterzeugte fest bewahre.

müssen unter der Voraussetzung, daß das Gedicht kein Fragment ist, als ein abgeschlossener Satz gelesen werden. Die konjunktivische Form "bewahre" wäre in diesem Falle als poetische Lizenz aufzufassen. Wenn man sich aber dieser Interpretation nicht anschließen will—und wir dürfen dem Dichter zutrauen, daß er einen Ausweg gefunden hätte, wenn er das Gedicht als abgeschlossen betrachtet

³ Jubil. Ausgabe, Bd 13, 11, und Anmerkungen, 266.

⁴ Vgl. des Verfassers "Theaterdirektor Goethe," *Germanic Review*, XVIII [1943], 241-250.

⁵ R. M. Meyer, a. a. O., 183.

hätte—bleibt nichts anderes übrig als den Konjunktiv als solchen zu beachten.

In diesem Falle wären die beiden letzten Zeilen als Teile eines zusammengesetzten Satzes anzusehen, wobei Zeile 33 eine Terzine abgeschlossen, Zeile 34 aber den Anfangsvers einer neuen Terzine gebildet hätte:

Was kann der Mensch im Leben mehr gewinnen,
 Als daß sich Gott-Natur ihm offenbare?
 Wie sie das Feste läßt zu Geist verrinnen,
 Wie sie das Geisterzeugte fest bewahre . . .

Daß der Satz mit "verrinnen" nicht geschlossen wäre und in die nächste Terzine hätte übergeführt werden müssen, spricht nicht gegen diese Annahme, da Satzschluß und Strophenschluß nicht zusammenfallen müssen, wie auch in diesem Gedicht am Ende der 8. und Beginn der 9. Terzine:

8 (3) Ein Blick der mich an jenes Meer entrückte
 9 (1) Das flutend strömt gesteigerte Gestalten.^a

Obwohl der Konjunktiv "bewahre" an und für sich auf eine Fortsetzung hinweist, ist es doch vielleicht nicht überflüssig, auch den Wechsel zwischen diesem und dem unmittelbar vorangehenden Indikativ "läßt . . . verrinnen" in diesem Zusammenhang zu beachten. Hierbei wird es sich nicht darum handeln können, den Dichter über das von ihm aufgezeichnete Wort hinaus zu interpretieren, sondern höchstens zu versuchen, den Entstehungsprozess, soweit dies überhaupt möglich ist, von den gegebenen Tatsachen aus zu rekonstruieren. Vielleicht läßt sich hieraus ein Anhaltspunkt sowohl für diesen Wechsel von Indikativ und Konjunktiv, als auch zugleich für das abrupte Ende finden. Der Indikativ "läßt . . . verrinnen" ist syntaktisch unschwer zu erklären.

Die Frage—das Ergebnis der Betrachtungen—ist gestellt:

Was kann der Mensch im Leben mehr gewinnen,
 Als daß sich Gott-Natur ihm offenbare?

Die Antwort scheint—zunächst—einfach: Der Dichter erkennt, oder hat schon erkannt, wie Gott-Natur "das Feste läßt zu Geist verrinnen."; dann aber fährt er, und zwar, da die Terzine ab-

^a Auch Ernst Feises vorerwähnte Annahme eines "Notdaches" stützt die These, daß der jetzige Abschluß unvollkommen ist.

geschlossen ist, in einer neuen Strophe fort, "Wie sie das Geisterzeugte fest bewahre." Wie der Satz fortgesetzt werden sollte, ob ein weiteres "Wie . . ." oder der Nachsatz hätte folgen sollen, steht nicht zur Entscheidung.

Jedenfalls bricht der Dichter hier ab und wir könnten uns vorstellen, wie er, damit vorläufig abschließend, hinzufügt: "Ist fortzusetzen."

Der Konjunktiv fände damit seine Deutung: unsicher geworden, ist er nicht imstande fortzusetzen, vielleicht aus heiliger Scheu, vielleicht unfähig, wenigstens augenblicklich, das Unbeschreibliche weiter auszuspinnen. Und überwältigt von dem Ungeheueren der in ihm erweckten Vorstellungen, verliert er gleichsam den festen Boden unter den Füßen, was dann, ins trocken Philologische transponiert, in der adäquateren Form des Konjunktivs den stilgerechten Ausdruck findet, der eine Fortsetzung offen läßt.

Das Resultat wäre demnach, daß wir in den Terzinen auf Schillers Schädel das Fragment eines Gedichtes vor uns haben.

Die Form des Konjunktivs "bewahre," die zu dieser Hypothese führte, ist gegeben. Sie wurde in diesem Zusammenhang nicht oder kaum beachtet. In Verbindung mit dem oben beschriebenen Druckbild, ferner Goethes Aufzeichnungen im Tagebuch, zusammengehalten mit Eigentümlichkeiten der Schaffensweise des Dichters, führt sie, wenn auch nicht zwangsläufig, so doch jedenfalls ohne Zwang, zu dem Ergebnis, daß sich der Zusatz "Ist fortzusetzen" auf das Gedicht selbst beziehen dürfte, an dessen Ende er gesetzt ist.

Es ist dies keine neue Theorie. Das ist natürlich, denn es ist die einfachste, wenn man will die "billigste" Erklärung, weil sie den geringsten Aufwand an Interpretation erfordert, was aber wohl keinen hinreichenden Grund bilden dürfte, sie abzulehnen.

Ob diese Erklärung *die* richtige ist, wird niemand wagen wollen zu entscheiden, am wenigsten der Verfasser selbst, der damit nur einen kleinen Beitrag zur Lösung dieser Frage leisten will. Denn je mehr Erklärungen desto besser, dienen sie ja doch alle dem letzten Zweck, den Dichter immer vollkommener verstehen zu lernen. Vielleicht wird dann einmal unter den mehr oder weniger wahrscheinlichen Erklärungen eine als die—wohl auch nur relativ—wahrscheinlichste anerkannt werden können.

MAX LEDERER

MINERVA, TASCHENBUCH FÜR DAS JAHR 1809 [-1813]

Goedeke, in his *Grundris* (VIII, 66-68) gives a complete description and collation of this *Taschenbuch*, together with a list of its contributors. He is unaware of the fact that the issues of 1809-1813 (and perhaps others) exist in two and even three different printings, described below:

Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1809. Mit 8 Kupfern. Leipzig bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng. Frontispiece, title, 32, 208 pp., 6 plates, 1 double plate. Copy in half-leather, designated as A.

Copy B: title as above; frontispiece, title, 208 pp., 1 double plate; (first pagination of 32 pp., as well as 6 plates are lacking). Copy B, in cloth.

Readings: p. 14, 9 Rahel? A, Rahel. B 24, 20 seitdem A, seidem B 39, 11 dem heutigen A, dem heutige B 111, 6 des Isistempel A, des Isistempels B 111, 23 sichtbarer A, sichbarer B 160, 3 Cleopatra A, Clopatra B 162, 23 Losungswort A, Loosungswort B.

Minerva, Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1810. Mit 10 Kupfern. Leipzig, bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.; frontispiece, title, pp. [3]-40, [1]-280, 8 plates; half-leather. Copy A.

Copy B: title as above; frontispiece, title, pp. [3]-16, [1]-280, 1 plate. Cloth, bound with copy B of 1809.

Copy C: *Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1810. Zweiter Jahrgang. Mit 10 Kupfern. Neue Ausgabe. Leipzig, bei Friedrich Fleischer*; frontispiece, title, pp. [3]-40, [1]-280, 9 plates, in buckram.

Readings: p. 80, 20 durch ein gleiches AB, durch gleiches C 83, 7 zu jenen AB, in jenen C 83, 14 Blutverwandtschaft AB, Blutsverwandtschaft C 84, 24 mannigfaltigen AB, mannichfaltigen C 85, 21 goß, A, goß: BC 86, 24 euch A, Euch BC 87, 6 Worte, die AC, Worte die B 179, 4 Despoten AC, Despoten B 179, 13 despotische A, despotische BC.

Minerva für des Jahr 1811. Mit 9 Kupfern Leipzig, bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.; frontispiece, engraved title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 20, 379 pp.; p. [380]: Leipzig, gedruckt bey J. G. Neubert. (8 plates missing). Copy A, in half-leather.

Copy B: *Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1811. Dritter Jahrgang. Mit 9 Kupfern. Leipzig, bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.*;

frontispiece, printed title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 379 pp. (p. [380] is blank.) Cloth binding.

Copy C: *Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1811. Dritter Jahrgang. Mit 9 Kupfern. Neue Ausgabe. Leipzig, bei Friedrich Fleischer*; frontispiece, printed title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 379 pp., 8 plates; (p. [380] is blank). Buckram binding.

Readings: p. 76, 5 freyer AB, freier C 77, 22 trockneten A, trockneten, BC 80, 19 ungefähr A, ohngefähr BC 217, 3 Volksmärchen AB, Volksmärchen C 219, 2 biederber AB, biederer C 233, 9 Weinpokal AC, Weinpokal B.

Minerva für das Jahr 1812. Mit 9 Kupfern Leipzig bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.; frontispiece, engraved title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 56, 371 pp., 5 plates; p. [372]: Leipzig, gedruckt bey J. G. Neubert. Copy A, in half-leather.

Copy B: *Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1812. Vierter Jahrgang. Mit 9 Kupfern. Leipzig, bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.*; frontispiece, printed title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 56, 371 pp., 8 plates; (p. [372] is blank). Half-leather.

A second copy of this printing, in cloth, is otherwise identical with the preceding, but lacks the first pagination of 56 pp., as well as the 8 plates.

Copy C: *Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1812. Vierter Jahrgang. Mit 9 Kupfern. Neue Ausgabe. Leipzig, bei Friedrich Fleischer*; frontispiece, printed title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 56, 371 pp.

Readings: p. 105, 1 sphingische A, sphinxische BC 106, 9 keins A, (and one copy of B), eins B, eins C (The k of *keins* dropped out in one copy of B, and from such a copy C was printed) 107, 17 verließ AB, verlies C 109, 12 schwerern A, schweren BC 111, 2 beliebten AB, geliebten C 112, 3 vermehrte AB, vermehrt C 112, 9 Botschaft A, Bothschaft BC 113, 17 die Prinzessin AB, nie Prinzessin C 116, 23 traurend AB, trauernd C 118, 24 Wundern AB, Wunden C 279, 16 unmilitairischen AB, unmilitärischen C.

Minerva für das Jahr 1813. Mit 10 Kupfern Leipzig, bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.; frontispiece, engraved title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts; 12, 476 pp. (no plates); half-leather; copy A.

Copy B: *Minerva. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1813. Fünfter*

Jahrgang. Mit 10 Kupfern. Leipzig, bei Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng.; frontispiece, printed title, 2 unnn. leaves: Uebersicht des Inhalts, 476 pp.; Cloth.

Readings: p. 14, 13 F***** A, F***** B 23, 8 theilen.—
 “Wahrlich A, theilen.”—Warlich B 32, 13 Prophezeiung A,
 Prophezeiung B p. 37 / 38 Auch A, Auch Auch B 42, 22
 heimtückischste A, heimtückische B 50, 20 vom Anfange A,
 von Anfange B 51, 2 allmählig A, allmählich B 54, 22
 Beschäftigung A, Beschäftigung B 55, 4 könne! A, könne?
 B 59, 23 besitze.”—A, besitze.” — — B.

Of the subsequent issues I possess for the most part only single copies: any one who has several copies of a given issue before him may perhaps discover further Doppeldrucke.

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TEXT-NOTES ON *DEOR*

Concluding a short series of notes on outstanding textual problems of *Deor*,¹ the following brief comments are offered for consideration by students of this fascinating OE poem.

VIII

In line 1, the reading of the first word is established as *Welund* and not *Weland* the normal OE form. This detail, first revealed by J. Schipper, in 1874,² was confirmed in Wülcker's standard editions and has been adopted by many later editors.³ It is worth adding Wülcker in his edition of 1882 which aimed at exact unemended reproductions of MSS, read *Welund* but with a footnote (p. 11), “Hier auch *u* = *a*”; this was ambiguous, but Wülcker's

¹ Cf. *MLN.*, LV (1940), 204 ff. (notes I-IV); ib. LVIII (1943), 367 ff. (notes V-VII).

² *Germania*, xix, 333, among the results of his careful collation of the Exeter Book made in the winter of 1870-71.

³ Cf. R. P. Wülcker, (1) *Kleinere ags. Dichtungen*, 1882; (2) rev. of C. W. M. Grein's *Bibl. d. ags. Poesie*, I (1883); Fr. Kluge, *Ags. Lesebuch*, 1888; R. Imelmann, *Zeugnisse z. ae. Odoaker-Dichtung*, 1907; Fr. Klaeber, *Beowulf*, 1922, 1936; Kemp Malone, *Deor*, 1933; W. S. Mackie, *Exeter Book Pt. II* (*ÆETS*. 194), 1934; E. V. K. Dobbie, *Exeter Book*, 1936 (begun by G. P. Krapp).

subsequent explanation as given in his revision of the *Bibliothek* (I, 278), where *Weland* is read with a note 'das *a* hat hier die *u* — artige Form — es ist also *Weland* zu lesen,' has influenced not a few later editors in introducing into their texts the normalized *Weland*.⁴ In fact, though the paleographic detail involved in this difference of readings is very slight, Wülcker's contention could be considered proven only if minute examination of the MS or use of ultra-violet ray photography revealed beyond dispute traces of a stroke completing *u* into *a*. I have not examined the original Exeter Book MS, fol. 100a, for this detail, but no such impression is given by the very clear facsimile published in 1933;⁵ and on examining the very remarkable and accurate pen and ink transcript of the Exeter Book made in 1831-32, now British Museum Addit. MS. 9067,⁶ I found the form on fol. 100a in imitated lettering is unambiguously *Welund*.

This then is the more authoritative reading. It is true this precise form is not otherwise recorded in OE:⁷ elsewhere in verse the name is invariably *Weland*,⁸ while a spelling *Welond* is found twice in the Alfredian prose Boethius.⁹ In ME the form is also "Weland,"¹⁰ but once again, in the fifteenth-century *Torreynt of Portyngale*,¹¹ the name appears as "Velond." Chronological considerations prevent our reckoning seriously with the possible influence of the Scandinavian forms *Völundr*, *Vølundr*;¹² but as others have pointed out, the ending of our unique form in -und may still illustrate a genuine OE phonologic development in the unstressed

⁴ Cf. E. Sieper, *Die ae. Elegie*, 1915; Bruce Dickins, *Runic & Heroic Poems*, 1915; L. L. Schücking, *Kleines ags. Dichterbuch*, 1919; A. J. Wyatt, *Ags. Reader*, 1919; W. J. Sedgefield (1) *Beowulf*, 3d. ed. 1935; (2) *Ags. Verse Book*, 1922.

⁵ *Exeter Book of OE Poetry*, ed. R. W. Chambers, Robin Flower, Max Förster.

⁶ Cf. R. W. Chambers, *Anglia*, xxxiv (1912), 393 ff.

⁷ Cf. Bosworth-Toller, s. n. *Weland*.

⁸ Instances were collected by P. Maurus, *Die Wielandsage in d. Lit.*, 1902, pp. 7 ff.

⁹ Ed. Sedgefield, 1899, p. 46.

¹⁰ *Horne Childe*, ed. J. Hall, l. 402.

¹¹ Cf. Maurus, op. cit., p. 28.

¹² Cf. G. Binz, *Beiträge*, xx (1895), 186 ff.; B. Symons, Paul's *Grundriss*, III (1900), 726; A. Heusler, *Reallexikon*, IV (1919), 529; H. Gering, B. Sijmons, *Kommentar z. d. Liedern d. Edda*, II (1931), 3.

syllable, -and > ond > und.¹³ This is to be sure a late change not commonly or generally evidenced, and alternatively there is nothing drastic in assuming in our text a slight aberration from the true reading *Weland*. For instance, Holthausen now reads this as an emendation, while noting the true MS reading; and Imelmann in 1907 read *Welund* in his text but preferred *Weland* in his commentary.¹⁴

Now, as the very first word of a new poem *Welund* was needless to say slowly and carefully written; and the odds are against this aberration unless we are prepared to assume it was assisted by association in the copyist's mind with some other word in the copy of *Deor* before him as he wrote. It is just possible the first words of lines 1 and 2, *Welund*, *anhydig*, were so confused by a scribe from *Weland*, *unhydig* of the original. There would be little to chose between *anhydig* ("dauntless," cp. *syllan monn*, 6, *anhydig eorl*, *Azarias* 181) and *unhydig* ("unhappy," cp. *Guðlac* 1302), as epithets of the tormented *Weland*. And yet, it is always an advantage to be able to dispense with emendation. Especially in a clearly written and accurate MS like the Exeter Book should one hesitate before assuming definite scribal errors. The by-form *Welund* and the generally accepted *anhydig* may very well remain.

IX

Lines 39 f of þæt Heorrenda nu,
leoðcræftig monn londryht gebah.

In line 40 editors print *gebah* either with or without accent. Most take it as *gepah*, long vowel, pret. sg. of *geþeon*, cl. I verb "to enjoy." Earliest editors used accents somewhat arbitrarily, but some later ones¹⁵ keep *gepah*, short vowel, unaccented with intention and where they gloss the form put it as pret. of *geþicg(e)an*, cl. V, "to receive." Metrically either long or short vowel is possible. The same pret. form occurs in other verse texts, notably in *Beowulf* 1024 f.: *Beowulf gepah ful on flette*, and *Widsiþ* 3 f.: *oft he flette gepah mynelicne mabbum*, in both of which the sense

¹³ Cf. Malone, ed. cit., p. 19; also T. Grienberger, *Anglia*, XLV (1921), 394.

¹⁴ F. Holthausen, *Beowulf*, I (6th ed. 1929), 108 (text), II (5th ed. 1929), 195 (notes); Imelmann, ed. cit., pp. 9, 6.

¹⁵ Cf. M. Rieger, *Alt- u. ags. Lesebuch*, 1861; F. A. March, *An Ags. Reader*, 1870; Wyatt, Malone, edd. cc.

might equally well be "enjoyed" or "received." In the *Beowulf* passage, according to Klaeber, the form is from *geþicgan* and "looks like a WS scribe's ineffectual respelling of Angl. *þæh*."¹⁶ Other editors differ and there is naturally some confusion over the two possibilities: occasionally, as by Holthausen (ed. cit.) in all three passages, *geþah* (long vowel) is read but glossed under *geþicgan*. This confusion is not resolved by phonologic considerations. The form *geþah* is the normal pret. sg. of *geþeon*, older **geþihan*, but there is found also an analogical cl. II variant *geþeah*.¹⁷ Therefore, taking into account the possibility of *þah* being an "ineffectual respelling" of Angl. *þæh*, as one may well do in these late OE verse texts which by conflicting forms suggest more than one recension, we are faced with *geþah* representing no less than five phonologic forms: long vowel *geþah*, Angl. *geþæh*, WS. *geþeah* (cl. I) and short vowel Angl. *geþæh*, WS. *geþeah* (cl. V). To these could possibly be added one more, *geþah* (long vowel) as an analogical cl. V pret. arising from confusion of the two verbs.¹⁸ But all these are merely theoretic possibilities, which do not affect the two main views. Here in *Deor* the only detail which helps a choice between these two groups, is the context use of the adverb *nu* "now, just lately" ("modo"): logically the poet would have meant "has now received" rather than "has now enjoyed," for which a present tense would be expected. The verb is therefore *geþicgan*,¹⁹ but either *geþah* short or *geþah* long is permissible.

As for *londryht*, 40, the granting of it by the lord to his favorite the bard *Deor* has been often compared with the grant of land made to the travelling minstrel "Widsith," 95 f.: *he me lond forgeaf, mines fæder eþel*. Between these there is a technical difference of terms:²⁰ what Widsith receives is *eðelriht* (so *Beowulf*

¹⁶ Cf. ed. cit., p. lxxxvii (addit. references); also Malone, *Widsith*, 1936, p. 63.

¹⁷ Cf. F. A. Wood, *Klaeber Miscellany*, pp. 28 f.

¹⁸ Cf. E. Sievers, *Ags. Grammatik*³, § 391, n. 8.

¹⁹ Compare *Fates of Men* 80 f.; cf. Grienberger, op. cit., 407. Malone, loc. cit., quotes a solitary use of *geþeon* in early Kentish with the sense "receive," but there is no evidence of common use.

²⁰ Cf. H. M. Chadwick, *Studies on Ags. Constitutions*, 1905, pp. 367 ff. (Excursus V); Schucking, *Untersuchungen z. Bedeutungslehre d. ags. Dichtersprache*, 1915, pp. 44 ff. (s. v. *eðelriht*); also L. F. Anderson, *The Ags. Scop*, 1903, *passim*.

2198), strictly ancestral, hereditary estate or the privileges deriving from it; to Deor is granted *londryht* (so *Beowulf* 2886, *Exodus* 354), estate or its privileges bestowed on the retainer by his lord and—as these last lines of *Deor* show—revocable at the lord's pleasure. It is equally important to notice this difference is largely one of derivation; in poetry either term is heroic, chosen as in keeping with the fictitious heroic atmosphere of an age long past, and no very distinctive meanings are needed.

Finally, the phrase applied by "Deor" to the famous bard Heorrenda whom he declares has replaced him, *leoðcræftig monn* 40, is interesting as a really generous tribute to a successful rival: *leoðcræftig* is the OE term for a master of poetry both as an art and as a gift, both written and declaimed. We recall that Bede in his account of the mighty poet Cædmon, speaks of his "canendi ars" (OE *leoðcræft*) and "canendi donum" (*songcræft*); while the expert Cynewulf in his autobiographic passage in the *Elene* says it was God himself *leoðcræft onleac, þæs ic lustum breac, willum in worulde*, 1251 f.²¹

X

Lines 7, etc.: *þæs ofereode, þisses swa mæg*. This so-called refrain of *Deor* brings with it problems which must be set aside here, the still doubtful matters of its precise application on each of the six appearances (ll. 7, 13, 17, 20, 27, 42) and of its general implication and value as a clue to the interpretation of the literary genre and metrical structure of the poem. Instead, one or two grammatical points deserve note.

Many earlier translators took *þisses swa mæg* as a personal wish, "so may I (surmount) this!" This is clearly inaccurate. As Wyatt pointed out in 1919, discussing *Maldon* 315,²² the optative value for *mæg* seems otherwise unknown in OE. This second half of the refrain cannot therefore be a wish, but is a statement of probability, expressing future surmountal of trouble just as the pret. *ofereode* expressed past: "for that (misfortune) there was

²¹ On the fiction of a personal setting in this last section of *Deor*, cf. W. W. Lawrence, *M. P.*, ix (1911), 23 ff., also Alois Brandl's brief essay, "Anfänge der Autobiographie in England," which appeared in 1908 and is now to be found in his *Forschungen u. Charakteristiken*, 1936, pp. 36 ff.

²² Ed. cit., p. 282; cf. also E. V. Gordon, *Battle of Maldon*, 1937, p. 61 n.

surmountal, so for this there shall be (is likely to be).” As Lawrence declared in 1911 (l.c.), “the use of the genitive *þæs* with *oferede* indicates that the verb is impersonal, while *ofergan* in the active sense is followed by the accusative; cf. *Beow.* 1409, 2960; *Andreas* 820, 826, 862 . . .” The plain fact is that *ofergan*, personal or impersonal, is nowhere else in OE found with a genitive: the *Deor* refrain is an exceptional usage. Lawrence, followed by Malone, refers to George Shipley’s explanation of these genitives as “instrumental” or “of measure”;²³ we must agree with Malone that “it seems better to call them genitives of reference or respect.” In derivatives of *ofergan* in ME there is often a clear intransitive sense, cf. *Sir Gawain* 500: “forþi þis 3ol (MnE Yule) ouerþede and þe 3ere after.” The exceptional semi-intransitive, impersonal use of *ofergan* here in *Deor* may conceivably represent an intermediate stage.

As to the precise meaning of the refrain, a wide variety of renderings has been produced. It is impossible to reproduce any part of them here, but a survey of nearly one hundred different versions of the refrain, mostly English and German, taken from the various editions, translations, literary handbooks and periodical papers, has shown me that by far the majority do observe the impersonal structure and implication of the original. I may ally myself with Klaeber²⁴ in personally preferring of them all Lawrence’s free but interpretative rendering (op. cit., pp. 23, 29), “Old troubles have passed, and present ones may.”

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SPENSER’S SONNET TO HARVEY

The occasion of Spenser’s writing the sonnet to his “singular good Frend, M. Gabriell Haruey,” which Harvey proudly printed at the close of his *Foure Letters*,¹ has never been noted. It has

²³ *Genitive Case in Aes. Poetry*, 1903, pp. 18, 50; cf. Malone, ed. cit., p. 24.

²⁴ *Archiv*, clxvii (1935), 40.

¹ *Foure Letters, and certaine Sonnets: Especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused . . . London . . . Iohn Wolfe, 1592 (The Works of Gabriel Harvey, ed. A. B. Grosart, London, 1884, I, 253-4).*

apparently always been assumed, indeed, that there was no particular occasion, that the poet simply penned the lines one day as a general tribute to his friend's "character and powers."² In his recent *Life of Spenser*, A. C. Judson reflects the accepted view when he describes the poem as "a small epistle in verse . . . intended perhaps to console Harvey for his disappointments."³ Was this sonnet, however—unlike Spenser's other separate sonnets, all of which were written as commendatory verses for new books—merely "a friendly address, not meant for publication?"⁴

By printing the poem without explanation, but with a salutation and complimentary close, Harvey may very well have intended to convey precisely this impression, namely, that as a counterpoise to the abuse he had suffered, he had reluctantly made public highly laudatory lines which Spenser had addressed to him privately. Nashe, at any rate, thought so and did not like the smell of it. Suspicious of Spenser's providing Harvey with so pat a letter of recommendation, he rashly averred that Harvey had written the sonnet to himself!⁵

Actually, in the text of the *Four Letters* volume, Harvey reveals clearly enough, though perhaps inadvertently, the occasion for Spenser's composing the sonnet. After quoting a dozen lines of one of his own unpublished poems in English hexameters, he breaks off with:

And so forth: for the verse is not vnknown; & runneth in one of those vnsatyricall satyres, which M. *Spencer* long since embraced with an ouerlouing Sonnet: A token of his Affection, not a Testimony of hys Iudgement.⁶

² G. C. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Shakespeare Head Press, Stratford-upon-Avon, 1913), p. 57.

³ *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, Variorum Edition (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1945), vol. 7, p. 119.

⁴ R. E. Neil Dodge, *The Complete Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser* (Cambridge Edition, 1908), p. 762. Cf. also Sir Sidney Lee, *CHEL*, III, 309.

⁵ *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1904-10), I, 326-7. Though some of Nashe's charges of literary hoaxing by Harvey are well founded, he has thrust out wildly here. The sonnet is so thoroughly Spenserian in manner (being incidentally an early instance of the interlocked quatrain form) that the hypothesis is untenable.

⁶ *Works*, I, 212.

In other words, Spenser, some years before 1592, had written a sonnet in praise of a collection of satirical poems by Harvey. If, now, the sonnet of 1586 is read in the light of this statement of Harvey's, it will be seen to be in fact altogether an appropriate commendatory poem for a book of satires.

*To the Right Worshipfull, my singular good frend,
M. Gabriell Haruey, Doctor of the Lawes.
Haruey, the happy aboue happiest men
I read: that sitting like a Looker-on
Of this worlde Stage, doest note with critique pen
The sharpe dislikes of each condition:
And as one carelesse of suspition,
Ne fawnest for the fauour of the great:
Ne fearest foolish reprehension
Of faulty men, which daunger to thee threat.
But freely doest, of what thee list, entreat,
Like a great Lord of peerelesse liberty:
Lifting the good vp to high Honours sent,
And the Euill damning euermore to dy;
For Life, and Death is in thy doomefull writing.*⁷

The inference is that Harvey had contemplated publishing a volume of satires in classical meters, had, towards the end of 1586, sent a draft over to Spenser in Ireland for his criticism, and had received from the poet, with the return of the manuscript, this commendatory sonnet to be prefixed upon publication.

Now, we know that Harvey had such a volume of satires in preparation as early as 1580, for, in the letters between him and Spenser published in that year, "Immerito" (*i. e.*, Spenser) writes:

Truste me, you will hardly beleuee what greate good liking and estimation Maister Dyer had of youre *Satyricall Verses*, and I, since the viewe thereof, hauing before of my selfe had speciall liking of *Englishe Versifying*, am euen nowe aboute to giue you some token, what, and howe well therein I am able to doe. . . .⁸

⁷ Cf. "Death and life are in the power of the tongue" (*Proverbs*, 18: 21). Did Spenser play on the word "endighting" in the following line advisedly, to avoid praising the literary quality of Harvey's poems?

So thy renowme liues euer by endighting.

Dublin: *this xviij of Iuly: 1586.*

Your deuoted frend, during life,

EDMUND SPENCER

⁸ *Three Proper, and wittie, familiar Letters: lately passed betwene two*

And in the same *Three Letters*, intended among other things to advertise in advance, while the *Shepheardes Calender* was before the public, other works Spenser and Harvey had in progress, Harvey offers a display sample from his stock of satires. "I must needes bewray my store and set open my shoppe wyndowes," says he, quoting forthwith that "bolde Satyr[c]all Labell,"⁹ a poem in English hexameter verses entitled *Speculum Tuscanismi*, which was to be interpreted by Lyly as an attack on his patron, the Earl of Oxford. Together with the verses quoted in the 1592 volume, it gives some idea of the content of the projected book of satires.

Whatever may have been the considerations which prevailed upon Harvey not to go through with the publication, Spenser's sonnet and Harvey's reference to it make it plain that he had aroused the ire of his adversaries by circulating satires against them. The sonnet stands chronologically midway between the affray in 1580 between Harvey and a group of writers headed by Lyly and the full-scale war with Nashe which began twelve years later. Harvey had in all probability given Lyly and Greene much more reason than has commonly been supposed for their attacks upon him in *Pappe with a Hatchet* (1589) and *A Quippe for an Upstart Courtier* (1592), respectively. Spenser's reference to the "foolish reprehension Of faulty men, which daunger to thee threat" is one unnoted indication, among others,¹⁰ not only of the continuity of the feuding between Harvey and the London wits, but also of the poet's staunch partisanship on Harvey's side.¹¹

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Vniuersitie men . . . London . . . 1580 (*The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. E. De Selincourt, London, Oxford University Press, 1912, p. 612).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 625. The furor caused by this and other material in the pamphlet might well account for the lapse of six years before Harvey again even considered the publication of satires.

¹⁰ The present writer is preparing a full account of the Harvey-Nashe controversy.

¹¹ His willingness to sponsor the satires makes more understandable the complaint later voiced against Spenser by the author of *Greenes Funeralls* (1594) for actively supporting Harvey against Greene and others.

EDWARD FAIRFAX, A NATURAL SON

The question of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of Edward Fairfax, the Elizabethan translator of Tasso,¹ has often been discussed. It is my present purpose to review the issue, and to give it what I trust will be a definitive answer.

The first piece of evidence is the *Visitation Pedigree* of 1585. It lists no Edward among the children of Thomas Fairfax by Dorothy Gale. Roger Dodsworth, writing in 1631, called Edward "natural brother of Sir Thomas Fairfax, of Denton, which Sir Thomas was created Lord Fairfax, and Baron of Cameron." This would seem at first conclusive. But at the time of Dodsworth's writing, *natural* could mean either legitimate or illegitimate.² Ralph Thoresby in his *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 1715, places Edward and Charles among the sons of Sir Thomas, but connects them only with a line of dots, the customary method of indicating illegitimacy, "thus intimating there was something peculiar." (Hunter, *Chorus Vatum*). Sir Robert Douglas on the contrary, in 1764, states in his *Peerage of Scotland*, generally accurate, that Edward was the legitimate son of Sir Thomas by his wife Dorothy.³

With the argument in this state, one could believe as one pleased, but so long as the word *natural* was interpreted as *illegitimate*, the weight of authority fell on that arm of the balance. So Mrs. Cooper in *The Muses Library*, 1737;⁴ and so R. M. Milnes in his

¹ This poet, though considered today a minor figure, forms one of the most vital links in the evolution of English verse form, and has even been ranked with Spenser by Dryden and others.

² See *NED*. The last notes use of "natural" for "legitimate," is 1741; The first of "natural" for "illegitimate" is 1586.

³ "He [Sir Thomas] married Dorothy, daughter of George Gale . . . , by whom he had five sons and two daughters. 1, Sir Thomas, his heir, 2, Edward of Newhall, an excellent poet in the reign of King Charles I, author of several learned and ingenious treatises. He had several children; 3, Henry; 4, Ferdinando, both fied young; 5, Sir Charles Fairfax colonel of 3000 soldiers at the siege of Ostend . . . 1st daughter Ursula . . . 2nd Christian."

⁴ "Mr. *Fairfax* was the natural Son of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* of *Denton*,

comment on *Daemonologia*, 1858.⁵ Charles Knight, however, editor of the 1817 and 1853 editions of Godfrey was in doubt, not knowing whether to believe Douglas or to accept the *natural* of Dodsworth, to which Brian Fairfax, by silence, had apparently acquiesced.

Then, in *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 14th, 1867, came the first conjecture that Dodsworth by "natural" might well have meant legitimate, the word being so used in Chapman. And finally Grainge, in his edition of *Daemonologia*, 1852, asserts the poet's legitimacy with as much warmth as if the bar sinister were in his own escutcheon: "But not to trifle, I believe with a little trouble I could place my hand on many authorities to prove that in Fairfax's day the word *natural* was used for *legitimate*, and *never* as at present used." ⁶

At this point the argument has been left. Dodsworth, however (who of all the authorities named was most in a position to know the history of the Fairfax family) has plainly indicated the truth in a formerly unnoticed genealogy in the Bodleian (Ms Fairfax, d. 1). The MS. traces all branches of the Fairfax family, Gilling, Steton, Denton, etc. In the second large chart (pp. 4-5) of the houses of Steeton and Denton, Dodsworth mentions all the nine children of Sir William Fairfax, the poet's grandfather; but descending from Thomas, his son, and Dorathea, his wife, records only these: Thomas Fairfax of Denton, First Baron of Cameron; Ursula Fairfax, married Sir Henry Bellasis; Christiana Fairfax, married John Aske of Angleton; Ferdinando, died as a child; and Anna, died as a child. Neither Charles nor Edward appears. But in a more detailed table (p. 23) we have this:

and natural Brother to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the first who was created Baron of *Cameron* . . . 'tis so to be presumed, his Father took Care to support him in a Manner suitable to his own quality and his Son's Merit. He being always still'd *E. Fairfax*, Esq.; of *New Hall* . . ."

⁵ Philobiblon Soc. v, 1858-9: "The author, though illegitimate, was fully accepted as a member of the noble and historic family of Fairfax." Opinion on *natural* had by this time grown fixed.

⁶ So anxious was this editor to get his poet fairly into the illustrious Fairfax fold that he cold-bloodedly falsified his sources. (See footnote 8, following.)

Dorothea, daughter of Geo. Gale of Ashamgrainge and widow to Robert. She dies 38 Eliz 1596 and was buried at Denton.

Sir Thomas F. of Denton, Knight in the right of his mother. Next-heir to his brother Guy, but dis-sazid of his father's lands. Married Maria⁷ 1553. Knighted. . . May 2, 1579, 21 Eliz., died 42 Eliz., 1599, and buried at Denton, Etc.

Sir Thomas
Lord Fairfax, etc.

Ferdinand
Henry

Ursula Christiana
(Anna, dyed young)

Edward
Sr. Charles

The same sort of genealogy—we are told by George Johnson, editor of *The Fairfax Correspondence* (1848)—appears in the detailed compilation of Charles Fairfax, *Analecta Fairfaxiana*, though the officiousness of Grainge has obscured the matter.⁸ The *Analecta Fairfaxiana* itself is still in Ms. at Leeds Castle, and no editor since Johnson appears to have seen it. By fortune, however, there is in Brit. Mus., MS. Egerton 2146, a transcript by Brian Fairfax (f. 15) of this *Analecta Fairfaxiana* genealogy, enabling us to verify

⁷ I. e. In the first year of the reign of Mary.

⁸ In *The Fairfax Correspondence*, edited by George W. Johnson, 1848, we find in the introduction (p. xix): "Sir Thomas Fairfax, of Denton, . . . had issue, Thomas, who succeeded him; Henry and Ferdinando, who died young; and two daughters. Colonel Charles Fairfax, . . . and Edward Fairfax, . . . were also sons of Sir Thomas Fairfax." A note follows: "In the *Analecta Fairfaxiana* drawn up by Mr. Charles Fairfax, grandson of Sir Thomas, who must have known the exact relationship of every member of the family, the issue of Sir Thomas is given in detail, as we have stated it above (*i. e. Thomas, Henry, Ferdinando, and two daughters*); after which follows enclosed in a parenthesis the names of Charles and Edward. . . . The inference apparently intended to be drawn from this form of exclusion is, that they were both natural children." Grainge quotes part of this verbatim, yet prefers distorting it to falsehood rather than admitting the poet's illegitimacy. He places Edward among the legitimate children, and then writes, as though he had seen the *Analecta* rather than the Johnson *Fairfax Correspondence*: "In the *Analecta Fairfaxiana*, drawn up by Mr. Charles Fairfax, grandson of Sir Thomas, who must have known the exact relationship of every member of the family, the issue of Sir Thomas is given in detail as we have stated above." This is not only a fabrication, but an obviously poor one, since Grainge makes it clear that Johnson's study, not the original *Analecta* was his source.

the Johnson account. This confirms the assumed illegitimacy. On the basis then of the Dodsworth genealogy and of the transcript from the *Analecta Fairfaxiana* we may be certain that the poet was not the son of Sir Thomas Fairfax by his wife Dorothy.

Yet despite his origin, it is clear that Edward was cared for and accepted into the family, though perhaps on an inferior plane.⁹

Some have conjectured that the circumstances of Fairfax's birth excluded him from political and military life, leaving him free in the pursuit of his studies.¹⁰ But since his younger brother, Sir Charles, born also of an obscure relation, became a famous soldier, a commander at the siege of Ostend, where he was afterwards killed, we may assume with more reason that Edward was led into retirement from inclination, not necessity. Brian Fairfax implies as much;¹¹ and indeed, this aspect of Fairfax's nature, his gentle modesty and love of retirement, is implicit in all his works—in *The Godfrey* itself; in the remaining eclogues, of which the original manuscript lay ten years neglected in his study; above all in the haunting passages of the *Daemonologia*, through which shines the whole character of the poet and of his quiet life in the solitudes of Knaresborough.

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⁹ Brian Fairfax tells us, "He was very serviceable to his brother my Lord Fairfax in the Education of his Children, the government of his family, and in all his affairs." This would indicate a position of esteem, but still of service. In the *Daemonologia* Edward speaks of "my brother, Sir Thomas Fairfax," and of a visit from him at Newhall on Feb. 22nd, 1622. We hear also of Sir Ferdinando Fairfax in the *Daemonologia*, and of his politeness to the poet's wife. And there is the will of Sir Thomas Fairfax, Edward's father, giving "to Edward Fairfax, at the request of my said son Sir Thomas Fairfax, all that capital messuage called New Hall," etc.

¹⁰ So Milnes, *Philobiblon Miscellanies*, Vol. v.

¹¹ "While his brothers were thus honourably employd abroad, he stayd at home at his Book, and thereby made himselfe fit for any employmt in Church or State, but an invincible modesty and love of a retired life made him prefer the shady groves and natural cascades of Denton and the forest of Knaresborou, before all the diversions of Court or Camp. He did not pass his time ignobili otio, as appears by the many valuable manuscripts he has left in the Library of my Lord F. at Denton, both in verse and prose." (Account to Atterbury, Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS., 5144.)

SHYLOCK'S POUND OF FLESH AND LABAN'S SHEEP

It has been generally accepted that the reason for Shylock's discourse on Jacob and the flocks of Laban was merely to justify his practice of usury through the example of his blessed forbear, Jacob.¹ Some critics have seen this speech as rambling and irrelevant to the discussion of the projected loan to Bassanio;² some see him as rising to heights of dignity and racial pride as he expounds reverently upon the Biblical tale.³ On the other hand, a surprising number of critics have completely ignored this speech in their comments on *The Merchant of Venice*, even when they write at length on Shylock's character and motives and this particular scene. The writer believes that the story of Jacob and Laban indicates Shylock's preoccupation with the problem of how he may feed his grudge against Antonio, how he may match the cunning of his ancestor, how he may collect interest without taking interest. He is groping for an idea as to what kind of bond he can take from Antonio which will answer these requirements.

Shylock's mind is not wandering from the issue between him and Antonio on usury, or from the fact that Antonio "neither lends nor borrows upon advantage," when he remarks thoughtfully:

When Jacob graz'd his uncle Laban's sheep—
This Jacob from our holy Abraham was
(As his wise mother wrought in his behalf)
The third possessor; ay, he was the third—

(I, iii, 72-75).

Shylock pauses significantly, as if he were reviewing in his own mind the story of how Rebekah connived and Jacob lied to receive the blessing given by God to Abraham, which should have passed on

¹ J. O. Halliwell, *Complete Works of Shakespeare* (London, 1850), III, 344; Karl Elze, *Essays on Shakespeare* (London, 1874), p. 73; William W. Lloyd, *Critical Essays on Plays of Shakespeare* (London, 1875), p. 103; Richmond Noble, *Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge* (London, 1935), p. 270; E. E. Stoll, *Shakespeare Studies* (New York, 1927), p. 323; E. E. Stoll, *From Shakespeare to Joyce* (New York, 1944), p. 123.

²*New Ewgesis of Shakespeare* (Edinburgh, 1859), pp. 234-235; Stoll, *From Shakespeare to Joyce*, p. 123.

* F. W. Hawkins, *Life of Keats*, 1 (London, 1880), 124; *The Theatre* (December, 1879), p. 292; Harley Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (2nd Series, London, 1930), p. 94.

to Isaac's first-born son. We can imagine Shylock's sly half-smile as he replies to Antonio's impatient question about Jacob:

Ant. And what of him? Did he take interest?
 Shy. No, not take interest; not as you would say,
 Directly interest (I, iii, 76-78)

Note that Shylock must accent the word "you"; Antonio would not say that Jacob took interest in the same sense that he was expecting Shylock to demand interest. Antonio is here concerned with money, and it was not in money that Jacob was paid. But Shylock would say that Jacob took interest! He continues firmly:

Mark what Jacob did.
 When Laban and himself were compremis'd
 That all the eanlings which were streak'd and pied
 Should fall as Jacob's hire . . . (I, iii, 78-81).

He uses the word *hire*; it is used in the Bible passage—but Shylock has another connotation in mind. It is to Antonio that he will hire his money, so it will earn its wages for him.

Shakespeare summarized in eleven lines the story of how Jacob trickily obtained for himself the better portion of his uncle Laban's cattle, sheep and goats. The Elizabethans knew this Biblical story well; they were accustomed to thinking of animals in connection with usury;⁴ they were used to thinking of animals as payment for services. Shylock herein finds the answer to his ruminations. Since Jacob took his wages in the form of flesh, Shylock would also take his in terms of flesh. Evilily he decides to practice trickery with human flesh as his ancestor did with animal flesh.

Antonio, though he might perhaps have been warned by this tale to suspect trickery, only inquires with impatience at the story, "Was this inserted to make interest good?" The Elizabethan conviction that "interest" was not "good" supplied the answer "No!" "Or is your gold and silver ewes and rams?" Antonio

⁴ Celeste Turner Wright, in a scholarly paper, "The Usurer's Sin in Elizabethan Literature," musters a great deal of evidence disclosing the widespread use of the idea in Elizabethan times that usury was against nature, since money could not breed as animals do. "This ancient argument, of course, explains why Antonio will not accept Shylock's analogy of breeding the 'barren metal' like rams and ewes. . . . The 'breeding' metaphor would appeal to the Elizabethans' love of a fanciful conceit" (*Studies in Philology*, xxxv [1938], 179-180).

adds. Traditionally livestock was recognized as a valid medium for payment; if flocks, or flesh, were hire, or money to Jacob, then to Shylock, also, money could be equivalent to flesh. Yes! his gold and silver equals ewes and rams, but to Antonio he gives an evasive answer: "I cannot tell; I make it breed as fast." Indirectly he admits that it is.⁵

That this story inspired Shylock with the idea of asking for Antonio's flesh as bond is proved, the writer believes, by his subsequent return to the idea of Laban's flocks, some seventy lines later. When final arrangements are about to be made for the signing of the bond, he craftily argues:

If he should break his day, what should I gain
By the exaction of the forfeiture?
A pound of man's flesh taken from a man
Is not so estimable, profitable neither,
As flesh of muttons, beefs or goats (I, iii, 64-68).

The audience knows that his "exaction of the forfeiture" would be a great, if most unlikely, victory for him; that for his devilish purpose this "pound of man's flesh taken from a man" would mean the death of the one whom he has sworn to undo. To put such a scheme into effect would call for machinations even cleverer than Jacob's. If he should win the forfeiture, he would avenge the insults to his "tribe," while gaining greater glory for his "sacred nation" by adding to their history of ingenious cozenage. And finally, there is the paraphrasing of Laban's cattle, sheep and goats in the "flesh of muttons, beefs and goats." In this one sentence Shylock links the idea of a pound of man's flesh with the flesh of Laban's flocks. Surely they originally became linked in his mind when he first brought forth this ancient story.

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⁵ Mr. H. B. Charlton, in the course of his lecture, "Shakespeare's Jew" (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xviii [1934], 52) says: "Shylock's whole point is that, for the argument in question, gold and silver are exactly in the same kind as ewes and rams," but he applies this thought to an entirely different thesis than the one presented by the writer.

A THREE-WAY PUN IN *RICHARD II*

At the end of the deposition scene in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, when Bolingbroke orders, "Go some of you convey him [Richard] to the Tower," the deposed king replies, "Oh good: convey: Conveyers are you all, / That rise thus nimbly by a true Kings fall" (IV. i. 317).

Newbolt pointed out that Richard's pun on Bolingbroke's command is modeled on the Bishop of Coventry's retort at the end of the first scene of Marlowe's *Edward II* (I. i. 201).¹ King Edward, who hates the bishop for having effected the exile of Gaveston, orders that the prelate's properties be transferred to the returned favorite and calls, "Who's there? Convey this priest to the Tower." The bishop's reply, "True, true," is an implied pun on "convey," which meant both *conduct* and *thieve*.²

In a recent article³ Dr. R. D. Altick suggests that Richard's remark is a three-way pun—or at least a two-and-a-half way quibble—on "convey," referring not only to the obvious *conduct* and *thieve*, but to a comparison which Richard has drawn, some hundred and thirty lines earlier in the scene, between his situation and that of the lower bucket of Fortune's well, which fills with tears while the higher bucket (Bolingbroke) dances in the air. The "conveyers" of Richard's pun, says Dr. Altick, refers to these buckets.

The fact that Shakespeare was at pains to expand Marlowe's subtle "True, true" into two lines indicates that he intended the pun to be perfectly clear to his audience. Would he have supposed them capable of "getting" a pun alluding to an image over a hundred lines away? It might be argued that the actor playing Richard could have made the allusion clear with a gesture—though it must have been an elaborate one,—in which case the interpreta-

¹ Henry Newbolt (ed.), *Shakespeare's Richard the Second* (Oxford, 1912). In J. C. Smith (ed.), *Select Plays of Shakespeare*.

² *Convey* for *steal* goes back to 1460 (*NED*). For corroboration of Shakespeare's use of the word in this sense see *The Merry Wives of Windsor* I. iii. 32. "Convey" meaning *steal* in the sense of *abduct* appears also in *3 Henry VI* IV. vi. 81 and *Cymbeline* I. i. 63.

³ Richard D. Altick, "'Conveyers' and Fortune's Buckets in *Richard II*," *MLN*, LXI (March, 1946). 179-180.

tion of the pun must depend upon the usual Elizabethan meanings of "convey" and "conveyer."

As Dr. Altick observes, the first use of *conveyer* in the general sense of "a thing that conveys, or transmits," according to the *NED*, is from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621); while applied specifically "to various mechanical contrivances, e. g. for conveying grain, chaff, flour, etc. in a mill, timber to the wheel in a saw-mill," and so on, the word was first used, again according to the *NED*, in *Chamber's Encyclopedia* (1880). It might well be argued, of course, that the oral use of *conveyer* in the sense of bucket could have preceded the extant written use; but, though Shakespeare's only use of the form *conveyer* is that in the passage under discussion, his diction affords evidence that tends to refute Dr. Altick's interpretation. For a "means of transporting" Shakespeare's usual word is "conveyance."⁴

It is possible, nevertheless, that Shakespeare did intend a three-way pun in Richard's retort. The use of *convey* to mean "transfer or make over (as property) to another" goes back to 1485 (*NED*); and the form "conveyance" (meaning a deed by which property is transferred) appears in *Hamlet* (v. i. 118). It may be that Richard's retort to Bolingbroke involves a climactic pun on three meanings of *convey*, passing from *conduct*, through *transfer property*, to *thieve*.⁵ It is true that in *Richard II* the deposed king's reference to his "manors, rents, revenues" (iv. i. 212) is almost as far from his pun on "convey" as is his image of Fortune's buckets; but the audience would have been more likely to remember the fact of Richard's loss of suzerainty than a fanciful simile of his fallen state.

It must be noted that no third meaning of "convey" is necessary to the effectiveness of King Richard's retort—the pun on *conduct*—

⁴ Schmidt (*Shakespeare-Lexicon*, 1874) cites *The Merry Wives of Windsor* III. iii. 135 and *Coriolanus* v. i. 54.

⁵ Marlowe may have implied this same three-way pun in his Bishop of Coventry's "True, true"; for only seven lines before his order "Convey," King Edward has told Gaveston to "seize upon his [the bishop's] goods: Be thou lord bishop and receive his rents" (I. i. 193-194). It must be noted, however, that if Marlowe did intend "convey" to mean *transfer property* as well as *conduct* and *thieve*, that part of the pun seems to have been lost on King Edward, who, immediately following the bishop's "True, true," repeats: "But in the meantime, Gaveston, away / And take possession of his house and goods."

thieve is quite good enough. But it is possible that Shakespeare intended the lines at the close of the deposition scene to suggest the following:

Bolingbroke. Go some of you, *conduct* him to the Tower.

K. Richard. Oh good *transfer* my property to him *Thieves* are you all.⁶

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PANDARUS' HOUSE?: *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA*,

III. ii; IV. ii; IV. iv

Where does Troilus meet Cressida? Modern editions of Shakespeare's play describe the trysting-place, with minor variations, first as "Pandarus' Orchard" (III. ii) and later as "A Court of Pandarus' House" (IV. ii) or as "Pandarus' House" (IV. iv)—all agreeing, however, that the house is the house of Pandarus and the orchard Pandarus' orchard. Theobald, in 1733, first gave a local habitation to these scenes and later editors have all echoed him most dutifully.

But the house is *not* Pandarus' house, nor is the orchard Pandarus' orchard. The text seems perfectly clear on this point. In IV. i. 37 (Oxford text) Cressida is referred to as being at "Calchas' house" and in the opening lines of III. ii Troilus tells Pandarus that he stalks about "her" door. Again in IV. iii. 5 he asks the deputation who have come to fetch Cressida to "walk into her house." Nor is there any question of two different locales involved.

⁶ That "conveyer" means "thieves" and not "transferrers of property" is corroborated by the history of the word. The use of *conveyer* as meaning one who transfers property did not occur, according to the *NED*, before Nathaniel Bacon's *Historical Discovery of the Uniformity of the Government of England from Edward III to Elizabeth* (1647); and there the word refers to one who transfers his own property to another: "Where Lands were conveyed by writing or act of the party . . . the Will of the Conveyor should be strictly observed." The only passage cited by the *NED* as evidence of the use of *conveyor* to mean thief is this line from *Richard II*, but the common use of the verb *convey* for *steal* in Shakespeare's time (see footnote 2) suggests a wider use of the derivative noun than is indicated by extant records.

Moreover, in iv. ii, Cressida, acting as one would expect the mistress of the house to act, tells her uncle to go and see who is knocking at the door and asks Troilus to come once again into "my" chamber. The "my" is, I think, significant because one of the two passages (both spoken by Pandarus) which can be advanced to show that Pandarus is "at home" would suggest that the room in which Troilus and Cressida had passed the night was strange to both of them ("Whereupon I will show you a chamber with a bed" [III. ii. 215-16]). Here, however, Pandarus is obviously pointing up his professional capacity for the benefit of the audience. Nevertheless the second passage (iv. ii. 55-56) suggests even more strongly that Pandarus actually is "at home." Here then is an apparent contradiction, but the answer seems obvious enough, though Shakespeare nowhere makes the matter clear. In the absence of Calchas, Pandarus is living in Calchas' house and "looking after" Calchas' daughter. But it is Calchas' house, not Pandarus'. Dryden, when he came to re-work the play (1679), saw the confusion and quite simply tidied up the loose ends:

It was to bring this *Greek* to *Calchas's* house,
Where *Pandarus* his Brother, and his Daughter
Fair *Cressida* reside. . . .¹

Then, having done so, a few lines later he cheerfully speaks of "Pandarus his house."

One suspects that Theobald's original error was caused in part by the confusing opening of III. ii, where Pandarus, for the purpose of setting the exact locale of the scene to follow, asks whether Troilus is "at my Cousin Cressida's" and is told by Troilus' Boy that he is not, but waits to be conducted "thither" (meaning from Cressida's orchard into Cressida's house); and in part by the influence of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* where the first ill-fated meeting is most carefully engineered by Pandarus at his own house (Book III. 512 ff.). That the ghost of Chaucer, abetted by the usual scene designation of modern texts, is still lurking in the background with intent to mislead is clearly shown by the following comment from R. A. Small's *The Stage Quarrel* (1899). Discussing "contradictions" in the play which had been pointed out by Stache,² he writes:

¹ *The Dramatic Works*, ed. Montague Summers, 1932, v, 65.

² E. Stache, *Das Verhältnis von Shakespeares Troilus und Cressida zu Chaucers gleichnamigen Gedicht*, 1893.

Cressida is in Calchas' house in iv, 1. 37, but in Pandar's in iv, 2, 53 [55-56]. This is not, rightly considered, a contradiction at all; for in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, the source of this part of the play, Cressida ordinarily resides at Calchas' house, but her first night with Troilus is spent at Pandar's. This is exactly the condition of things in our play.³

As I have tried to show there is no "contradiction" at this point in the play—but not for the reason suggested by Small.

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JONSON AND DRUMMOND OR GIL ON THE KING'S SENSES

Among the poems of doubtful authenticity in the latest edition of the works of William Drummond of Hawthornden is one entitled *For the Kinge*.¹ It comes from Manuscript 19. 3. 8 in the Advocates' Library, where it is not expressly assigned to Drummond. It appears in the 1711 edition of the poet's works in a form unlike that in the manuscript; there are minor variants, two of the stanzas are transposed, and, most strikingly, it is in English, while the manuscript form is in Scots. There are six stanzas of twelve or fourteen lines in couplets. The first five are devoted each to one of the five senses and the last is headed Epilogue. Drummond's authorship has been questioned on the ground that the satire on the king is too severe for Drummond to have written it.² This argument is persuasive, though one should observe that Drummond did not print these lines so at variance with *Forth Feasting* and with the sonnet on King James' death beginning *Let holie David*. He and his friends, moreover, did have some reservations about King James. Sir William Alexander, not always happy at court in England, complained of his royal master; in his reply Drummond went far toward comparing King James with Nero.³ Does it hint

¹ Pages 149-50.

² *The Poetical Works of William Drummond*, ed. L. E. Kastner (Manchester, 1913), 2. 296-9, 415-6.

³ *The Poems of William Drummond*, ed. Wm. C. Ward (New York, 1894), 2. 328.

⁴ David Masson, *Drummond of Hawthornden* (London, 1873), p. 120.

at lack of enthusiasm at least that his history of the Jameses dealt only with the first five, even though at its end he refers to James VI as "matchless"? It has also been suggested that Charles rather than James is the king in question.⁴ Moreover, in his published work Drummond carefully used English rather than Scottish forms.⁵ In his posthumous poems, however, Scottish forms appear, though not in such abundance as in *For the Kinge*.

Recently it was pointed out that after the murder of Buckingham in 1628 part of the poem was found among the papers of Alexander Gil and entered into evidence because of which he was condemned to be fined and lose his ears.⁶ This suggests Gil as the author of the lines. But would a Londoner have written in Scottish? Would some Scot have put the verses into the form we have in the manuscript? The normal, though perhaps not the necessary, assumption is that the manuscript version is the original one and that it was written by a Scotchman.

The most striking analogue is the Patrico's song in Ben Jonson's *Gypsies Metamorphos'd*.⁷ This is like the manuscript version in the order of the senses (sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch) and in the refrain

Blesse the soveraigne, and his *seeinge*.

In the Scottish poem it is

Blis my soveraigne & his seing.

The refrain of the Epiloge is

Heavens blisse my soveraign and his senses,

which in the *Gypsies* appears as

Bless ye soveraigne, and his sences (1326).

The content of the stanzas is quite different. The nature of this masque is such as to suggest traditional and popular sources. Was Ben acquainted with verses of blessing on his ruler's senses? One

⁴ Kastner, *ed. cit.*, 2. 415.

⁵ Masson, pp. 31-2, 226; Kastner, *ed. cit.*, 1. xii.

⁶ Donald Leman Clark, "Milton's Schoolmasters: Alexander Gil and his Son Alexander," *Huntington Library Quarterly* ix (1946), 139-41.

⁷ In Sir John Davies' *Nosce Teipsum*, in the section on *The Soul of Man* (sub-section *The Power of Sense*) there are stanzas on the five senses in the order of the manuscript poem. The theme is a common one.

possibility is that Drummond showed the manuscript poem—whether his own or another's—to his English guest in January, 1619. *The Gypsies Metamorphos'd* was presented in 1621. Is the Patrico's song a reminiscence of Jonson's visit to Hawthornden?

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MILTON'S LETTER TO GILL, MAY 20, 1628

Milton's letter to Alexander Gill the Younger dated "*Londino, Maii 20. 1628*" discusses a poem by Gill describing it as majestic and Vergilian in spirit, celebrating in sonorous and triumphant strain the famous capture of an unnamed city by Henry of Nassau. Milton also congratulates Gill on breaking, in the writing of this poem, an apparently recent resolution to abandon the composition of verse. Scholars have accepted the published date of 1628 for this letter, Tillyard believing that Milton refers to Groll, a town which Frederick-Henry of Nassau captured in 1627.¹ He and others have also considered the letter significant as evidence of Milton's early interest in political affairs. Since, however, all such conclusions depend upon verses by Gill as yet unidentified, it would seem important to discover, if possible, what poem is being discussed.

In 1632 Gill published a collection of his verse entitled *Parerga sive poetici conatus*, containing as one of the longest and most impressive pieces in it a poem entitled "In Sylvam-Ducis, a Batavis occupatam Mense Sept. 1629" (on Sylva-Ducis, taken by the Dutch in the month of September 1629). This poem celebrates the capture of Hertogenbosch (French *Bois le Duc*, Latin *Sylva-Ducis*) by Frederick-Henry of Nassau on September 14, 1629, a victory very pleasing to the English who had been apprehensive concerning the four veteran English troops participating in the siege and who had been hoping for such an event to humble the successful Spanish general Spinola. This poem, which fits closely the description of the poem in Milton's letter,² was probably written late in 1629 or

¹ Phyllis B. and E. M. W. Tillyard, *Milton: Private Correspondence and Academic Exercises* (1932), p. 124.

² "In Sylvam-Ducis" is pointed out by Gill himself in the preface to his 1632 *Parerga* as one of his better efforts. Most of the poem is devoted to

early in 1630. No poem by Gill on the capture of Groll in 1627 has survived in print or (so far as I can ascertain) in manuscript.

If the poem described by Milton is assumed to be a poem on Groll, certain questions must be answered. First, why is such a poem not included in the *Parerga* or among the numerous manuscript versions of Gill's verse? Second, why was Milton's letter sent to Gill from London although Milton was, presumably, studying at Cambridge in 1628 and Gill himself was teaching at St. Paul's School in London?³ Third, what is meant by the reference in Milton's letter to Gill's resolution to quit poetic composition? Such a resolution (for which Milton is our only source) was probably made by Gill after his trouble with the Star Chamber in November 1628, when certain libellous verses were uncovered and identified as his. The *Parerga* reveals a conspicuous poetic inactivity between 1628 and 1630, broken only by three poems, all of a private nature.⁴ "In Sylvam-Ducis" is the first poem of a public nature to appear after this inactivity and may well have been the first poem that Gill asked Milton to criticize since his imprisonment of 1628.

There is convincing evidence that Milton's letter preceding this one in the 1674 edition of the *Familiar Letters* is incorrectly dated, belonging to 1627, rather than to 1625.⁵ Is there not here also another error involving two years to be noted? If the correct date is May 20, 1630 (instead of 1628), Milton was not in Cam-

Frederick-Henry's exploits in the taking of the city. Classical allusions deepen the solemn tone. Details of battle are treated in almost epic fashion: vast waterworks and mining destroy the walls which burst asunder, causing earth and sky, swamp and housetops, to mingle in horrendous confusion; the soldiers storm the shattered walls with Frederick-Henry in their midst, while Maurice of Nassau watches from a distant star, much as the ancient gods watched the siege of Troy.

³ Gill seems to have taught at St. Paul's under his father from 1621 until late in 1628, when he lost his position as a result of his trouble with the Star Chamber. May 20, 1628, fell within the Easter Term (April 23-July 4) at Cambridge.

⁴ The first of these is dated December 30, 1628, and was written by Gill and sent by messenger to Cornelius Fairmeadow at whose father-in-law's estate Gill was helping to celebrate a birthday. The other two are dated May 31 and June 3, 1629, and were written as humorous poems to Nicholas Cartmel who was with Gill in prison.

⁵ See W. R. Parker's "Milton and Thomas Young," *MLN*, LIII (June, 1938), 399-407.

bridge (closed by the plague in April 1630), and his letter could have been sent from London to Gill also in London, for Gill was presumably still in prison and was not pardoned until November 30 of this same year. Milton's reference then, to a prosperous turn in "our own affairs" may be his discreet way of suggesting the hope that the political tyranny responsible for Gill's imprisonment will soon be decreased or abolished.

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A SOURCE FOR *LYCIDAS*, 154-158

In the 1673 edition (and the 1645 edition except for immaterial differences of spelling and punctuation) lines 154-158 of *Lycidas* read as follows:

Ay me! Whilst thee the shores, and sounding Seas
 Wash far away, where ere thy bones are hurl'd,
 Whether beyond the stormy *Hebrides*
 Where thou perhaps under the whelming tide
 Visit'st the bottom of the monstrous world;

This is also the reading of the first edition of 1638, except that in line 157 the word "whelming" appears as "humming."

The only comment on this revision that I have seen is to be found buried in a characteristically diffuse and disorganized note in Todd's edition (*The Poetical Works of John Milton*, 1826, v. 48). Todd says: "In the manuscript, and the edition of 1638, it is '*humming* tide,' in reference to the distant sound of the waters over his head while he was exploring 'the *bottom* of the monstrous world' . . . By every person accustomed to diving, the propriety of this epithet is fully understood. . . . Milton altered *humming* to *whelming*, as *Lycidas* was *now* dead."

This interpretation is highly improbable. Milton makes no allusion to swimming as a sport; he says nothing of the waterfront life of London; and until he returned from his continental tour, he hardly refers to the sea at all. It is almost certain, then, that in this description he was not drawing upon his personal experience.

He was, however, extremely likely to draw upon his reading, especially in *Lycidas*. I suggest that the source is Shakespeare's *Pericles*, III. 1. 57-65 (for the passage in question is surely Shakes-

pearean). Among various irrelevant parallels Todd quotes one line from this play, "And humming water must o'erwhelm thy corpse," but fails to see its significance. The complete excerpt should make the matter clear. Pericles is standing beside the body of his wife, Thaisa, who has died in childbirth during a severe storm at sea:

A terrible childbed hast thou had, my dear;
 No light, no fire. Th'unfriendly elements
 Forgot thee utterly; nor have I time
 To give thee hallow'd to thy grave, but straight
 Must cast thee, scarcely coffin'd in the ooze;
 Where, for a monument upon thy bones,
 And e'er-remaining lamps, the belching whale
 And humming water must o'erwhelm thy corpse
 Lying with simple shells.

Aside from the close parallelism in the general situation, there are significant details: 1) the adjective "humming"; 2) the phrase "belching whale," which might well have suggested the "monstrous world"; 3) the word "ooze." Some twenty lines later in *Lycidas* (line 175) we read "With *Nectar* pure his oozy Lock's he laves." Clearly Shakespeare is still in Milton's mind. The word "humming" in Shakespeare and in Milton has no reference to the sound of the waves for someone under their surface, but carries more or less the meaning of "murmuring."

Milton made the revision because he noticed that in line 154 he had used the phrase "the sounding Seas," and that "the humming tide" was a weaker repetition of the same thought. Accordingly he went back, perhaps unconsciously, to *Pericles* and took the word "whelming," a much stronger and better epithet, from the word "o'erwhelm" which occurs in the same line as his first word "humming." This explanation postulates a procedure highly characteristic of Milton, and seems likely, therefore, to be the correct one.

THEODORE H. BANKS

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ETHEREGE'S JULIA

During his residence at Ratisbon, Sir George Etherege engaged in a liaison with an actress whose christian name according to Edmund Gosse was Julia.¹ Mr. Gosse had probably read the manu-

¹ *Seventeenth Century Studies* (1883), ed. of 1914, p. 289.

script of Etherege's letterbook rather hastily, and may be forgiven his mistake. However, subsequent biographers and editors of Etherege, including Sybil Rosenfeld who edited the *Letterbook* in 1928, have perpetuated the mistake.² The name of the actress is of no importance; it is important that a misreading of Etherege should be corrected.

Etherege refers to the actress five times in the *Letterbook*, but never by name.³ He calls her "a comedian," a "plain Bavarian," or "a player." Hughes, his treacherous secretary, makes much of the liaison in two long accounts of the affair,⁴ but he too refers to her only as a "comedian."

The name "Julia" appears only in a letter to Mr. Cooke, dated November 28, 1687. Deploring his exile from London, Etherege makes the obvious comparison with Ovid:

My weak fancy may well suffer here when the noble genius of Ovid was dejected at Pontus; and you cannot but forgive the fondness I have for London should I cry out when I shut this letter: *Hei mihi quod Domino non licet ire tuo*. In the meantime I comfort myself as well as I can, forget Julia and suit my inclinations to the diversissements the climate affords, the best of which is hunting.

Manet sub ivo frigidus.

Venator tenerae coniugis immemor.

Pray be not so malicious to let the meaning of this come to my wife's ear.⁵

This letter, the only one in the collection addressed to Cooke, was written about a year after Etherege's adventure with the comedian. There is nothing in the context to indicate that "Julia" refers to the player; on the contrary, the intimation is that "Julia" is someone from whom Etherege is exiled. The key to the passage is the parallel between the situation of Etherege, relegated to a cold land among a barbarian people, and that of Ovid,

² See *The Letterbook of Sir George Etherege*, pp. 117, 328, 388-94. Among others who have accepted "Julia" as the name of the actress are John Palmer, *The Comedy of Manners*, 1913, pp. 47-53; E. Beresford Chancellor, *The Restoration Rakes*, 1926, p. 140; and H. F. B. Brett-Smith, *The Dramatic Works of Sir George Etherege*, 1927, I, xliii, xlv, xlvii, xlix.

³ *Letterbook*, pp. 117, 130, 190, 328, 338.

⁴ *Letterbook*, pp. 388, 390.

⁵ *Letterbook*, p. 293. The first quotation is from Ovid, *Tristia*, I, i, 2; the second is from Horace, *Carmina*, I, i, 25-6.

exiled to Tomis on the Black Sea.⁶ According to the general belief of the seventeenth century, Ovid had been banished because he had dared to make love to Julia, the daughter of Augustus Caesar. Sandys was probably the immediate source of the old legend that Ovid was punished "for his too much familiarity with Julia, the daughter of Augustus, masked under the name of Corinna."⁷ Dryden had ridiculed the story,⁸ but tradition dies hard. A generation accustomed to the fiction, and acquainted with poetical references to it (such as Aphra Behn's "Ovid to Julia")⁹ would have immediately recognized the name of Julia in connection with Ovid as Etherege intended it. "Julia," therefore, must not be taken as the name of a real person, but as a literary allusion, and, perhaps at most, as a symbol for some of "those kind charming creatures London affords,"¹⁰ for whom the amorous dramatist sighed in vain.

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WHY WAS CHAUCER SENT TO MILAN IN 1378?

On May 10, 1378, Chaucer was given letters of protection to the court of Bernabo Visconti, on the King's service. It was a secret mission, having to do with "certain affairs touching with the expedition of the King's wars." Why was Chaucer (the most important member of the mission) sent at this particular time to the court of a powerful Milanese lord, a tyrant who cowed the papacy?

⁶ The parallel had been drawn by an anonymous satirist much earlier, when Etherege had gone to Turkey in 1668 as a diplomat's secretary:

Ovid to Pontus sent for too much Wit;
Eth'redge to Turkey, for the want of it.

Letterbook, p. 9.

⁷ *Ovid's Metamorphoses Englished*, 1632, "Life of Ovid." Modern scholars agree that there was nothing to the story, and that, as one put it, "Ovid's offense was connected with the adultery which the Emperor's granddaughter Julia is known to have committed with Junius Silvanus in the same year, A. D., 8." See H. F. Frankel, *Ovid: A Poet Between Two Worlds*, 1945, p. 113.

⁸ Preface to the translation of Ovid's *Epistles*, 1680.

⁹ Aphra Behn's *Miscellany*, 1685, p. 265.

¹⁰ Etherege to Buckingham, *Letterbook*, p. 416.

All evidence points to a momentous mission (more than conveyed in the document), one involving a crisis in the history of western civilization, involving in fact the very fate of England itself.

Just forty-four days before—and therefore time enough for the important news to reach London—Pope Gregory XI had died. His death, which would inevitably affect the outcome of the Hundred Years' War, was the reason why Chaucer was sent to Milan: Gregory was French-born, but had returned to Rome from Avignon, despite the protest of the French king, only the year before. One reason for his removal to Italy was the fact that the Florentines had recently (1375) allied themselves with the old foe of the papacy, Bernabo Visconti.

In every sense of the word this was a momentous time, the eve of that terrifying crisis, the Great Schism. For England it was especially so: her morale weakened by internal dissensions and the long war had reached low ebb, what with the death of the beloved heir to the throne, the Black Prince (followed by the passing of his senile father, Edward III), and the ascendance of a young king to the throne; the recent losses in France including even Aquitaine; the threatened invasion by the foreign foe; empty tills, the result of flagrant graft in high places; the growing restlessness of the commons and an awakening nationalism, with its consequent tide of clerical opposition.

Yet at this crucial hour in England's domestic and foreign history, it was thought safe by those in authority (Gaunt, it is to be remembered, was the power behind the throne) to send Chaucer into a labyrinth of intrigues in seething Italy, to entrust him with England's welfare, economic, political, religious.

Surely we can glimpse something of Chaucer the man and poet in his diplomatic role: humor, gaiety, the ability to see the funny side of higher things, the artful jest—a diplomat's greatest weapon; suavity, urbanity, casualness; tact, patience, spirit of compromise such as does not appear in the Nordic vehemence of Wycliffe; astuteness and knowledge of men, a divine commonsense; worldly yet religious; integrity, public honor, a sense of responsibility; vision and practical idealism based on hard facts and realism; ability to "charm the bark off a tree"; a cool detachment and sense of irony; a cosmopolitanism all the more impressive when compared with Langland and Gower; loyalty to the state, the repre-

sentative in fact of a rising middle class—the first case in English literary annals of an illustrious lay servant who was also an eminent man of letters.

But some of these qualities are reflected in Chaucer's poetry, poems cherished by generations of readers.

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THE SUBSCRIBERS OF GRIMM'S *CORRESPONDANCE LITTÉRAIRE*

A complete list of Grimm's subscribers has never been revealed. The first edition of the *Correspondance* in which there were many gaps was published in 1812 by Buisson, based on a manuscript which he had purchased from an unknown source.¹ This manuscript is thought to have contained a note indicating the following subscribers: "l'impératrice de Russie, la reine de Suède, le roi de Pologne, la duchesse de Saxe-Gotha, le duc des Deux-Ponts, la princesse héréditaire de Hesse-Darmstadt, le prince George de Hesse-Darmstadt, et la princesse de Nassau-Saarbruck."² This list has been repeated by later editors of the *Correspondance*.³

In discussing the question of subscribers in her sensational work on Rousseau in 1906, Mrs. Frederika MacDonald reproduced, from a supposedly unknown manuscript among Grimm's papers at the Bibliothèque nationale, a list of paid subscriptions for the years 1763-1766.⁴ André Cazes, in his recent book on Grimm, has given Mrs. MacDonald full credit for this revealing discovery and reproduced her findings.⁵ The presence in that list of the names of some of Grimm's close friends (for example, Diderot, Helvétius, M. and Mme Necker, and M. de la Live) led me to suspect that it could

¹ Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, II, 230-231, note of M. Tourneux.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, and Taschereau edition I, iii.

⁴ Frederika MacDonald, *Jean Jacques Rousseau, a New Criticism*, I, 39-40: "But I am printing here for the first time a list given in a document that will be found amongst Grimm's papers preserved at the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, of the *abonnés* who had paid their subscriptions during the years 1763-1766: . . ."

⁵ André Cazes, *Grimm et les Encyclopédistes*, pp. 43-44.

hardly be a record of Grimm's subscribers. It is a well known fact that the *Correspondance littéraire* was circulated outside of France, and that many of Diderot's contributions to it (e. g., *Le rêve de d'Alembert*) remained unknown in France until the following century.⁶ A careful comparison of Mrs. MacDonald's list with a list of subscribers to a print for the benefit of the Calas family (published by Maurice Tourneux in his edition of the *Correspondance*, from a manuscript which is also in the Bibliothèque nationale)⁷ reveals some striking similarities. All names in Mrs. MacDonald's list are found there, with identical amounts subscribed in almost every case. It seems certain that Mrs. MacDonald has given an incomplete copy of the same manuscript in view of the fact that her list does not total the amount indicated at the bottom. The Tourneux list is followed by a receipt signed on December 31, 1766 by Anne-Rose Cabibel Calas and concerns in no way the identity of Grimm's subscribers.

The whereabouts of the manuscripts purchased by Buisson and used for the edition of 1812 remain unknown. Tourneux used manuscripts in the Ducal Museum at Gotha, at the Bibliothèque nationale and at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris and in the State Archives in Moscow.⁸ Another manuscript, which belonged to Queen Louise Ulrique of Sweden, is to be found in the Royal Library in Stockholm, but it contains material only for the years 1763 and 1772 and reveals nothing concerning Grimm's subscribers.⁹ Diderot's daughter is thought to have possessed a series of copies of the *Correspondance* along with all the works of her father.¹⁰ The inventory of Grimm's own library, seized at the time of the Revolution, reveals thirty-four packages of papers unworthy of description. These may have contained copies of the *Correspondance*,¹¹ but no trace of them is now to be found.¹² Thus

⁶ Cf. Herbert Dieckmann, *MLN*, LIII (1938), 485.

⁷ Grimm, *op. cit.*, XVI, 260: Mss., fr. nouv. acq. 1185.

⁸ Grimm, *op. cit.*, I, ii (note of M. Tourneux) and VIII, 224, note 2.

⁹ J. Viktor Johannson, *Etudes sur Denis Diderot*, p. 201.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹¹ Charles Nisard, *Mémoires et correspondances historiques et littéraires, 1726-1816*, p. 93: In a letter to Suard, Meister mentioned the existence of fifteen or sixteen copies of the *Correspondance*, one of which he thought might have been among Grimm's papers.

¹² Grimm, *op. cit.*, XVI, 506 (note of M. Tourneux).

the only clue to the identity of Grimm's subscribers is in the lost manuscript on which Buisson based the first published edition.

The review of Mrs. MacDonald's book by Gaspard Vallette in the *Annales J.-J. Rousseau*¹³ pointed out many errors, but this one did not come to light. It is interesting that Mrs. MacDonald, throughout her two volumes, constantly praises the excellent edition of M. Tourneux. She defends Rousseau against the charges of Sainte-Beuve and Schérer by stating that

Critics would not take the trouble to really study Grimm's *Literary Correspondence*: and no other information about his personality lay open to them but two directly opposite accounts, the one given in the *Memoirs*, the other in the *Confessions*.¹⁴

It is regrettable that Mrs. MacDonald herself did not "take the trouble to really study Grimm's *Literary Correspondence*," especially in the Tourneux edition.

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MATTHEW ARNOLD AND THE POWIS MEDAL AT CAMBRIDGE

In *Literature and Dogma* Matthew Arnold indulges in a satiric jest at the expense of the University of Cambridge. He mildly rebukes the authorities of that institution for setting up publicly the idea of pleasure, life, and fecundity—the Lucretian *hominum divomque voluptas, alma Venus*—as "an object for their scholars to fix their minds upon and to compose verses in honour of." He then pictures a procession composed of Vice-chancellor, bedels, masters, and scholars proceeding solemnly to the temple of Aphrodite, in spite of the efforts of Thomas Rawson Birks, Professor of Moral Philosophy, momentarily to restrain them—before he himself joins in the throng, "his brows crowned with myrtle and scarcely a shade of melancholy on his countenance."¹

Within a fortnight after the appearance of the book in the middle of February, 1873, a Cantabrigian signing himself "An Authority

¹³ *Annales J.-J. Rousseau*, 1907, III, 256-267.

¹⁴ Frederika MacDonald, *op. cit.*, II, 79-80.

¹ *Literature and Dogma* (London, 1873), pp. 36-37.

in a Small Way" wrote to the *Spectator*, protesting (1) that the Earl of Powis, donor of the medal for the best poem in Latin hexameter verse, and not the University, was responsible for the choice of subject from the first two lines of the *De Rerum Natura* and (2) that the prize-winning poem which Arnold had in mind "contains nothing which the sweetest or more prudish of the Sons or Daughters of Light could reasonably object to."²

The winner of the Powis Medal in 1872 was Samuel Henry Butcher (1850-1910). He "survived the wiles of Alma Venus and his Alma Mater," says Mr. E. Harrison, Registrar of the University of Cambridge, to whom I am indebted for this identification, and became, by a pleasing irony, the well-known translator of Homer and Aristotle and worker in the Arnoldian tradition of sweetness and light.

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REVIEWS

Dictionary of Word Origins. By JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945. Pp. xii + 430.

This book is made up of a short preface, the dictionary, and three appendices, one on doublets, another on words from names, and the third on given names, their sources and meanings. We are told on the cover that "Dr. Shipley's dictionary provides one of the best aids to an authentic knowledge of the English language because it deals with the history, the origins, the backgrounds, and the psychological usage of words instead of merely factual meanings." This seems to be a fair statement of Dr. Shipley's aims, though he does not himself claim as much in his preface, and he does add an important qualification there, of which the title gives no inkling, viz., that "of this great gathering of words [i. e. the rich and cosmopolitan English vocabulary] I have set down those that have origins at once interesting and enlightening."

To get an idea of Dr. Shipley's selective principle I compared his list from *babble* to *bazooka* with Webster's *Collegiate Dictionary*. Dr. Shipley writes articles here for 26 words, and for another 48

²"Mr. Arnold and the Cambridge Dignitaries," *The Spectator*, XLVI (March 1, 1873), 276.

words he has references to other articles in the book. However, the following, mostly common words, were lacking: *back, bad, balance, balcony, ballad, ballast, ballet, balm, balsam, bamboo, bane, banish, banner, bard, barometer, baroque, barrow, bass, batter, bawd*. In this list I am skipping, too, several uncommon words that Shipley had not taken.

Yet, it has obviously been Dr. Shipley's practice to list the uncommon, hard words, preferably if they are learned or if they are what he considers picturesque. His list of elements is a case in point, but in addition one can glean such flowers as *abuccinate, amphigoury, anacampserote, bergamask, bombinate, curmudgeon, googol, jobation, kerplunk, niminy-piminy, orotund, panjandrum, pygophagous, serendipity, schlemihl, zymurgy*.

On the other hand we look in vain for some of the simplest and oldest words in the language, such as the pronouns (except *ye* because of *ye olde shoppe*), the articles *a* and *the*, the common adverbs *here, there; yes* and *no*, not even *O yeah*, which one would think might appeal to the facetious author. *And, bad, big, end, eye, ear, father, fetch, get, give, idle, ill, meat, name, nose, rain, same, say, sea, see, sister, sing, snow, tail, toe, ware, way* are all words conspicuous by their absence.

Some other very common words are listed, to be sure, but only with a reference to another article where the chances are that they are mentioned only in passing. Thus *be*, see *fetus*; *have*, see *expose*; *hand*, see *pylorus*. These words, the backbone of the language, do not interest Dr. Shipley, I suspect, because they "just grewed," as he says in his preface. In the same preface Dr. Shipley talks about "the basic democratic process in the shaping of speech." That poses the question whether Dr. Shipley's taste is democratic or whether we shall convict him of the snobbery that Jespersen finds rampant in the English language. At any rate his book should perhaps rather have been entitled *A Selective Dictionary of Word Origins*.

A closer view of the articles themselves soon reveals that this is no ordinary lexicographical work. The articles deal not only with related words, nor only with words of similar meaning (synonyms), nor only with words of similar forms (homonyms), but all those associations, and more tenuous ones to boot, are employed by the author in writing his sketches, little essays that are supposed to be illuminating and funny at the same time. Two samples will illustrate the light style: "The man who colors cloth says *We dye* to live," and "While *run* is found in A.S. *rinnan, yrnan* it is not common . . . we probably took it from ON. *rinna, renna*; up in the north cold folk have to keep moving fast."

This last instance brings up the question how reliable this lexicographer is. We are told that "here is an authentic as well as lively dictionary," and we see no reason why it could not be so, though

the man who sacrifices a methodical approach to a difficult subject has not only a harder time to keep the matter straight, but also might fall into the error of confusing the reader instead of enlightening him.

I shall not check the new words of which Dr. Shipley gives the origin as well as the originator, if he knows him. Right or wrong, these etymologies cannot be overlooked by scholars and to that extent they are a contribution. For old and well established etymologies Dr. Shipley should have been able to base his book on the NED and other good etymological works. Actually I have found many samples in good and reliable agreement with the NED. Neither have I, in my cursory reading, spotted any flagrant misuse or mutilation of the familiar Latin material for instance. But one expects of an English etymologist that even if he does not know Middle English, Old English (AS.) and the Germanic (Teutonic) dialects as well as his Latin, at least he should have a clear general idea of the interrelationship of these languages and their relationship to English. But it seems to me that whenever Dr. Shipley abandons the guidance of his sources and tries combination on his own, his mind has more the characteristics of the famous American meltingpot (to which he pays due if indirect tribute in his preface) than the qualities of discerning common sense combined with that minimum of linguistic know-how without which the tracking of words becomes a meaningless procedure.

A glance at his introductory notes is illuminating in this respect. His statement of Grimm's law might have been clearer, but it is at any rate essentially correct. But what shall one say to an etymologist who thinks that *angel* shows a dissimilation as compared with Gr. *aggelos*, and who defines *cognate* as follows: "not immediately related, but from the same source. Italian and French are cognate languages, both from Latin; *fatherly* and *paternal* are cognates, the first via AS through OHG *fatar*, the second via L. through Gr. *pater*, both from a word akin to Sanskrit *pitar*, father." This vagueness in tracing the history of words crops up every now and then. It is well illustrated by his explanation of *oil*: "for *oil* is from AS. *ele* from OFr. *oïle*, etc."

Within the Germanic (Teutonic) languages this muddled linguistic thinking is still more obvious. Of *odd* he says: "The development of this word has been *odd*. It was OHG *ort*, point, angle. By the time this came to OE as *odde*, it had already acquired the sense of the odd point of the triangle. . . ." It would, in the parlance of Dr. Shipley, be an odd fellow, who from reading this enlightening history of the word would know that the word in question was actually found in most of the Germanic languages: in OE as *ord*, in OHG as *ort*, in OSax as *ord*, and in OSandinavian (ON. = OIcel.) as *oddr* and that from this last-named source the word was introduced into ME (not OE!).

Old Norse, by the way, is not one of Dr. Shipley's strong points.

Under *berserk* he tells us "The Scandinavian hero Beserk . . . had twelve sons, Beserkers . . . ;" this is news to the Scandinavians. Under *blatherskite* he talks of "ON *blathr*, to talk nonsense;" the translation shows that he intended the verb *blaðra*. Under *blot* he mistranslates ON *spotti*, under *butt* he quotes Icelandic *blacka* 'to flutter,' but it should be *blaka*, as he would have discovered had he read the NED a little more carefully. His comments on the second element of *blatherskite* show that he is unaware of the etymological value of the doublets *sh- : sk-* in English.

Now it may be unfair to examine Dr. Shipley too closely on the Scandinavian source material of the English language. But keeping strictly within the limits of English, I shall adduce his new and better etymology of *Anglo-Saxon*. The old etymology may be all right, he admits, "but more than Germanophobes point out that when the Teutons came to the British Islands, they found the *Gaels* (Celts) already there, and they used the Celtic term for them, *an-gael*, the *Gael*; whence the name of the land and the language." It probably makes no difference to Dr. Shipley that the NED tells us that *Gael* is a late (1810) adoption from Scotch Gaelic *Gaidheal* = Old Irish *Gaidel* or *Goidel*.

As an instance of what may happen to Dr. Shipley when he tries his hand at morphology we quote his comments on *fell*: "As with other causal forms, this is the past tense of the simple verb: *fall*, to go down; *lie* to be down; *lay*, to make go down; *set*, *q. v. sit*." According to this formula *set* is a preterite of *sit*, and then presumably *rear*, *raise* preterites of *rise*, *drench* preterite of *drink*, etc.

The compiler fares no better in his comments on pronunciation. His remark that the second element of *blatherskite* has "shortened into the slang cheap *skate*" is a case in point, quite apart from the fact that it seems more likely that *skate*, 'the magpie,' is the older form. But the prize remark is probably the one on the pronunciation of *New York*, given as an *à propos* to the word *boot*. Says Dr. Shipley: "Pronunciation of *booty* suggests that though a pirate may confuse *booty* and *beauty*, not even the most insensitive soldier would mistake a *cutie* for a *cootie*—mispronunciation of *duty*, *New York*, and other such words is the result not of inability but of laziness or carelessness. The sound of the city may be influenced by the Yiddish *Nu?*—pronounced *noo*—meaning 'What of it?' or 'What next?' The former query indicates the state of mind that produces the mispronunciation."

There may be "great fun in reading the book," as Burton Rascoe says, and in a certain class of people the book may arouse interest in etymology, but it certainly should not be called "an authentic guide to the better use, understanding, history and background of the English language."

STEFÁN EINARSSON

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Gabriel Harvey's Ciceronianus, with an Introduction and Notes by HAROLD S. WILSON and an English Translation by CLARENCE A. FORBES. University of Nebraska Studies in the Humanities No. 4. Lincoln: 1945. Pp. vii + 149.

With the publication of Harvey's *Letter-Book* and his *Marginalia* it became possible to say that he 'is better known to us than almost any Elizabethan writer' (*Marg.*, p. 51); and now, with the republication and study of his *Ciceronianus*—to be followed, it is promised, by a similar edition of his *Rhetor*—we begin not only to know him well, but to respect him as a skilful and lively writer of Latin, and as a pioneer of some importance in educational theory in England. The present oration, introductory to a course given at Cambridge in 1576 on Cicero's *Post reditum in Senatu*, must be, from a European point of view, nearly the last in the succession of Renaissance diatribes, similarly entitled, for or against the exclusive imitation of Cicero. But, with the *Rhetor*, its real importance resides in being to all appearances the first public and enthusiastic propaganda for Ramist doctrine in England.

For Harvey as for Ramus, Cicero remains the best model of style, but what is 'Ciceronian' and 'best' may be found in other good writers besides Cicero. The idea can be formulated as a *petitio*, but practically it was not; and one may doubt if it is quite fair to charge Harvey with feeble reasoning on this score, and to leave it at that (p. 26). Similarly the merit of Ramus' simplified logicum-rhetoric was not merely that it was 'convenient in lightening the teacher's task' (p. 26); the teacher had now the heavier duty of trying really to understand Cicero and antiquity, and was not to be content with expounding phrases and figures (Text, pp. 88, 95). The revolt against Cicero and the revolt against Aristotle were in the interest of a broader humanist program; and yet, as Wilson rightly says, neither the Method of Ramus nor the course Harvey was about to give had any other final aim than Imitation. To remain within the scope of imitation; to question the authority of Cicero only to return to him as best; to turn from the Aristotelians only, as Ramus professed, in search of the true Aristotle may seem but a mild sort of revolution. The storm it raised in the sixteenth century betrays an all-pervasive fear—the fear expressed by Ascham that Ramistry, the questioning of 'Aristotle in Logicke and Tullie in Rhetoricke' would lead one 'either in Religion to have a dissenting head, or in the common wealth to have a factious hart.' Even after Ramus had become a Protestant martyr, it took a man of Harvey's bold and indeed indiscreet character to champion his views in academic circles. (Neither Ramus nor any one, by the way, could be 'King's Professor of Philosophy and Eloquence at the University of Paris,' p. 19).

The text is reproduced from the Huntington Library copy, save

that errors noted in the original errata-sheet and certain other misprints have been corrected. We must regret that the times forbade the editors to collate the other copies known to them. In Preface and Commentary (p. 129) they signalize what they call a mistake in the errata-sheet, and hence read (p. 80) with the original text: *Eant nunc polituli isti, qui Cisalpinos praeter Longolium omnes; qui cives quoque Romani usurpari volunt, ut nuper etiam, si dijs placet, Muretus, barbariae nescio cuius insimulant.* The errata-sheet calls for the singular: *civis . . . Romanus . . . voluit*; which can hardly be a 'mistake' arising 'from a corrector's hastily assuming that "Muretus" was the antecedent of "qui."' Surely the antecedent is meant to be 'Longolium'; and in fact the chief event of Longueil's career was his rhetorical defense of his Roman citizenship. The corrector clearly is Harvey himself.

The translation is smoothly executed and on the whole sound, but not unspotted. The sentence (p. 54), *Tullium vestrum cum alijs confers . . . admirari illius coeperim, et suspicere ubique sui similem eloquentiam*, does not mean '. . . to marvel at his eloquence and to admire its counterpart anywhere' [i. e. in other authors], but 'to marvel at and admire his everywhere consistent eloquence.' At the bottom of p. 57 the translation gives: 'I found . . . that, after spending last week reading Macrobius' . . . *Saturnalia* and doing no reading from the classical period (such reading was an impossibility while I was busy studying the *Saturnalia*), I was fired with so intense . . . a yearning for Marcus Tully that I decided I must return to him.' The sentence, oriented from the present, says rather: 'To speak for myself, after spending last week reading Macrobius' . . . *Saturnalia*, and having read nothing since then (nor could I when busy composing the present speech), I now find myself . . . so enamored of Tully that I think I must return to him.'—*Ego vero, qui proxima superiore hebdomade Macrobij . . . Dialogos legebam, nec ex eo tempore quicquam legebam, (neque enim profecto potui, ista commentans) tanto iam . . . M. Tullij desiderio incensus teneor, ut ad eum . . . redeundum existimem.*—Harvey keeps up his pretense (p. 36) of having written *Ciceronianus* 'within five days or so.' P. 58 (line 23), 'utinam non me Eloquentia desereret' is not accurately expressed in 'I hope that Eloquence will not desert me'; p. 84 (line 12), 'fuere autem cum alia nonnulla, tum ipsa in primis eloquentia' has a different emphasis from 'Eloquence has been one such thing, not to mention many others'; p. 94 (line 13), the phrase 'ex . . . commentarijs' depends on 'coagmentatum,' not on 'amplectuntur'; p. 99 (bottom), 'for the public weal' is not represented in the original.

In diction Harvey keeps within Ciceronian bounds; and the 'independence' discovered in the Introduction (p. 30), amounting to the single word 'rhetoricantem,' is nothing, since Harvey pur-

posely brings the word in as a joke. He does allow himself some freedom with diminutives, and here an Elizabethan playfulness breaks through his Latin; but the suggestion (p. 121) that he coined 'politularum' ('not in Harper [1] or DuCange') is doubtful, since this form (a favorite in both *Ciceronianus* and *Rhetor*) he probably read in Cicero, *Ad Fam.* 7. 33, whence Graevius expunged it in the next century. The note should be transferred to 'delicatulum' on p. 66. In general the Commentary is full and to the point, and shows an enviable familiarity with sixteenth-century rhetoric. We might ask for a note, or at least a reference to Harvey's *Rhetor*, on *Natura*, *Ars*, and *Industria* (p. 56); and on Harvey's criticism of Ascham (p. 92) notice might have been taken of his reply to Hatcher (*Marg.*, p. 217), where he speaks as though Ascham had been omitted from *Ciceronianus*, presumably from the roll of Latin stylists. Indeed the omission (p. 80) is in its way as striking as the open criticism of the *Scholemaster*, and one wonders if Harvey's dealing with Ascham is as devoid of animus as Wilson thinks it is.

JAMES HUTTON

Cornell University

Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition. By S. L. BETHELL. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1944. Pp. xiii + 209. \$3.00.

Mr. Bethell's title and his frontispiece of a model of an Elizabethan theatre imply that this book is concerned with a study of Shakespearean plays fitted into the carefully studied theatrical environment of the Elizabethan drama. Various remarks of Mr. Bethell also imply that the study is primarily one of Shakespeare in the theatre. Granville-Barker's *Prefaces* are half a dozen times referred to with respect. Theatrical knowledge is often held up as essential for the critic of Shakespeare.

Certain aspects of Shakespearean scholarship . . . reveal the evil effects of substituting an imitation scientific method for the mature common sense and knowledge of theater, which are the best check upon extravagant theory and the best guide to a balanced evaluation of evidence. (P. 170.)

The author seems to believe that his criticism is based upon a careful study of the Elizabethan theatre and that practical knowledge of the theatre serves as a constant check on his interpretation.

All this is highly misleading. Mr. Bethell really belongs to the school of G. Wilson Knight, whom he constantly quotes. Elizabethan plays scarcely enter into the study at all. Besides Shakespeare, there are only seven Elizabethan and pre-Elizabethan plays

even mentioned in the book, and these are the ones most familiar to all armchair critics—*The Second Shepherd's Play*, *Everyman*, *Roister Doister*, *Doctor Faustus*, *The Spanish Tragedy*. The Elizabethan stage and the typically Elizabethan elements in Shakespeare's work are, for the most part, ignored. The occasional references to Elizabethan stage conditions are superficial and often scarcely relevant. Indeed, Mr. Bethell's attitude toward the purely dramatic aspects of the plays is best expressed in his statement,

Strip the poetry from a play of Shakespeare, and what is left but a rather haphazard story about a set of vaguely outlined and incredibly "stagey" characters? There is no originality of plot, little subtlety of psychological analysis, no immediately accessible propaganda. (Pp. 7-8.)

No doubt it is this conception of Shakespeare the poet compared with Shakespeare the playwright which leads Mr. Bethell into statements so revealing of his idea of a working dramatist in the theatre as the one on pages 170-71 concerning the suggested revision of *Twelfth Night*.

Shakespeare seems to me to be the sort of writer who would rather dash off a scene himself, than go to the bother of detailing its content to a hack; especially as he was a quick writer, hacks were slow, and hacks had to be paid. Nor can I persuade myself that Shakespeare would be bothered with revision; with his head full of *Macbeth* or *Antony and Cleopatra* he would hardly trouble himself to go back over *Twelfth Night* again; indeed, the *Twelfth Night* phase being past, return would be difficult, if not impossible.

The essence of Mr. Bethell's book is his idea of multiconsciousness. It is most directly stated at the end of his first chapter.

This is the core of my present thesis: that a popular audience, uncontaminated by abstract and tendentious dramatic theory, will attend to several diverse aspects of a situation, simultaneously yet without confusion. (P. 25.)

To sum up, I believe I am justified in asserting that there is a popular dramatic tradition, and that its dominant characteristic is the audience's ability to respond spontaneously and unconsciously on more than one plane of attention at the same time. I shall call this the principle of multiconsciousness. Already, with the aid of some recent critics, we have discovered traces of the operation of this principle in the plays of Shakespeare, and we have found the same principle to hold of the popular theater and motion picture of today. (P. 26.)

Multiconsciousness in audiences Mr. Bethell best illustrates from modern movies, especially those of Harold Lloyd and the Marx brothers in scenes when the actor steps out of his assumed role and addresses a remark to the audience in his own person. This flexibility of conventional response, he thinks, is characteristic of the audience of Shakespeare's time and accounts for many puzzling scenes in the plays. Unfortunately, the conduct of the modern movie audience is perhaps not our best clue to the reaction of the

audience at the Globe; moreover, many of the passages from Shakespeare cited as examples of an appeal to this multiconsciousness of the audience seem very far indeed from the sort of appeal illustrated by the best movie examples.

The organization of the book and much of the material introduced do little service to the author in the development of his idea of multiconsciousness. Mr. Bethell has an unfortunate tendency to set up straw men in the interest of his theory.

It has already been observed that the acting of female parts by boys was further complicated by the frequency with which the story demanded a male disguise. It is usually said that the boy would welcome relief for a time from the embarrassment of his unaccustomed garments and would probably act the better for being unencumbered. Since the investigation of Elizabethan theatrical conditions opened a new field of conjecture, "practical" explanations of this kind have been carried to excess. A boy would soon learn to manage his skirts without thinking of them: girls do, and the talent is unlikely to be inherited. (P. 38.)

He is frequently tempted into digressions by his disapproval of what he calls the "naturalism of the Ibsen-Pinero type" in the contemporary theatre.

Although Sidney and Jonson supported a system of arbitrary conventions more exclusive of naturalism than the unconscious and flexible tradition of popular drama, the true end of this neoclassical striving for completeness of dramatic illusion lies not in Racine, but in Ibsen, in Eugene O'Neill's *Anna Christie*, or, indeed, in the sophisticated naturalism of a modern Broadway "success" (P. 15.)

I do not suggest that *Rose Marie*, or its most recent equivalent, is as good as *As You Like It* and better than *A Doll's House*. I am not concerned with relative value at all—though if I were, I might hint at the superiority of the unsophisticated "gangster" or "Western" film to the theater of Mr. Priestley and Miss Sayers. Modern popular entertainment, however, differs from the Elizabethan in being more calculatedly commercialized; it is also depraved in values, superficial in ideas, false in sentiment, and insensitive to the quality of words. This is due in particular to the neo-classical—later naturalistic—influence in criticism and the theater, which gradually lured the best minds away from the popular tradition. (Pp. 19-20.)

Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition contains a few illuminating suggestions about difficult scenes or passages in the plays, but they are so buried in irrelevance and so disguised with naive pretensions to theatrical knowledge that they are likely to be underestimated or ignored. Mr. Bethell suffers from the want of a severe and sympathetic editor.

G. E. BENTLEY

Princeton University

The Humors & Shakespeare's Characters. By JOHN W. DRAPER.
 Durham: Duke University Press, 1945. Pp. vii + 126.
 \$2.00.

It is one of the primary functions of scholarship to renew the significance of the literary masterpieces of the past through the re-creation of the intellectual milieu in which they originated. Without this they can never mean so much to our own generation as they did to the public for which they were originally written. Professor Draper offers a contribution toward the reconstruction of Shakespeare's intellectual background. Without pretending to have exhausted the subject, he presents a study of the relationship between Shakespeare's characterizations and the psychology generally accepted in Renaissance England, the physiological psychology based upon the theory of the four humors. He is by no means the first modern scholar to labor in this field, yet he has a good deal to say which is new.

Professor Draper restores the meaning to many passages in Shakespeare's plays which have lost much of their original point: to Petruchio's storming at his servants for placing mustard and "over-roasted flesh," both choleric foods, before his already too choleric bride (p. 52); to Menenius' desire to "cure" Coriolanus' "disease," his choleric arrogance (p. 57); to Caesar's reference to Cassius' "lean and hungry look" (p. 47). More important, the writer has sketched the psychological pattern which Elizabethan audiences would have recognized in various characters; the melancholic villainy of Don John, the sanguine magnanimity of Orlando, the choleric irascibility of Hotspur, the balanced level-headedness of Horatio. For documentation he has used a rather large number and a rather wide variety of scientific and semi-scientific works which were available to Elizabethan Englishmen in their own language. He does not attempt to show that Shakespeare drew upon any specific work, assuming instead Shakespeare's acquaintanceship with "the general *corpus* of [psychological] doctrine" (p. 17), an assumption which few would deny.

There are many cases, however, in which Professor Draper's humoral character interpretation is highly questionable. He considers Gonzalo, for instance, an example of the perfectly balanced complexion (p. 87). Surely Shakespeare would not treat the temperament of the Golden Mean with the satiric disrespect that he shows toward Gonzalo. Caliban, according to Professor Draper, embodies some of the grosser and more sordid of the melancholic traits (pp. 79-80). Thus interpreted, Caliban becomes a more evil and bestial character than most of us actually find in *The Tempest*. It seems hardly reasonable to classify Angelo, "a man whose blood Is very snow-broth" (*M. for M.*, I, iv, 57-58), as a

sanguine (warm and moist) person (p. 25). Angelo's sudden and furious love for Isabella is evidence of the irresistible power of erotic passion, not of any natural warmth in Angelo's temperament. In spite of their obesity, it is very hard to believe that Shakespeare intended Falstaff and Sir Toby Belch as phlegmatic men (p. 31). Their keen wit and effervescent good spirits seem hardly in keeping with the sluggishness characteristic of the phlegmatic temperament. Antony also is hard to fit into the phlegmatic category (pp. 41-43, 111-12). He seems rather to be sanguine (blood is the humor of the voluptuary) with perhaps a touch of choler (the humor of the high-mettled and warlike). One could cite other instances.

It would be quite idle, of course, to insist that in Antony Shakespeare is presenting a sanguineous-choleric man. The point is that in humoral interpretation of characters great disagreement is possible, perhaps inevitable. Not many of Shakespeare's characters fit neatly into the humor categories. The Elizabethan playgoer, if he looked for a humoral pattern in each important character, might have found himself thoroughly confused. One suspects that the Elizabethan playgoer was not greatly inclined to look for such patterns, although undoubtedly he was interested when he saw them, and that he was not too much disturbed if the playwright ignored them altogether. One suspects that Shakespeare was much less concerned with them than Professor Draper assumes.

There is no question that the study of Renaissance medicine and psychology can do much toward illuminating Shakespeare's plays. Shakespeare's language is full of expressions borrowed from medical and psychological science, and these expressions need footnoting. The very frequency of such language in the works of Shakespeare and other Elizabethan writers indicates the degree to which scientific theory had penetrated Elizabethan thought. Many of Shakespeare's characterizations, moreover, show the influence of the physiological psychology. Dan John's villainy is due in part to his melancholy; Autolycus' continual light-heartedness is doubtless due to a sanguine humor; Hotspur's irascibility reveals a choleric complexion; the story of Timon of Athens is, as Professor Draper points out, a case history of melancholic degeneration of personality. Scholarship can reveal to the modern reader what the Elizabethans saw in these persons. Yet the commentator should not look too hard for scientific influences. If he does, he may, like Polonius, begin to see camels and whales in the clouds.

LAWRENCE BABB

Michigan State College

Fulke Greville, Poems and Dramas. Edited by GEOFFREY BULLOUGH. New York: OUP, 1945. 2 vols. Pp. xi + 323, five plates; pp. 284, four plates. \$15.00. *A Sermon preached at Lincoln's Inn by John Donne.* Edited by G. R. POTTER. Palo Alto: Stanford Press, 1946. Pp. vii + 71. \$2.00. *Sir Thomas Elyot, Of the Knowledge which maketh a Wise Man.* Edited by E. J. HOWARD. Oxford, Ohio: Anchor Press, 1946. Pp. xxxii + 260. \$5.00. *Cupid and Psyche, by Shakerly Marmion. A critical edition with an account of Marmion's Life and Works.* Edited by ALICE NEARING. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. Pp. 202.

The first duty of all literary historians is to make the works of writers available to modern readers. The editing of texts is probably more important than the writing of books that settle a few minor problems about an author's life or the genesis of his work. But what is a good edition? It is, it seems to me, the presentation of a clear text with a cogent account of how the text was established. In addition to this it should have an adequate glossary, variant tables if they are required, a commentary that indicates the sources of the writer's quotations, and perhaps a biography that enables the reader to orient himself. Most editors attempt to go beyond these limits in that they supply essays on the author's ideas, intangible sources, etc. The latter additions are quite important in the case of major writers on whom scholars have worked for generations, but most modern editors are forced to limit their attention to minor writers, men on whom they alone are the world's authority. As a consequence, whenever they attempt to go beyond the minimum requirements of an editor, they get into difficulties.

Professor Bullough's edition of Greville is, I think, a case in point. An edition of Greville has long been needed, and Bullough's edition, which is based on an apparently careful scrutiny of texts and manuscripts, is just what we want. But Bullough attempts to go beyond the minimum requirements. He supplies us with little essays on Greville's influences and ideas that really get nowhere, because, along with his textual labors, Bullough had not time to investigate these matters thoroughly. There is, for example, a pleasant little essay on the influence of Seneca and Calvinism on Greville, which would be quite passable for a graduate student to present in a seminar, but is far too amateur to be part of a definitive edition. The essay on "A Treatise of Humane Learning" and the commentary on the poem are further examples. To supply a good commentary on this poem and to write a proper introduction to it would require a painstaking study of Mediaeval and Renaissance

epistemology, but Bullough has made no such attempt and hence his work will confuse rather than enlighten the reader. Scholars should be grateful to Bullough for supplying them with a complete and well-printed text of Greville, his other labors could well have been spared.

Professor Potter has had the good fortune of discovering in Harvard Nor. 4506 a better text of Donne's sermon on Ps. 38: 9 than the one known previously, the Dowden text which has been given to scholars by Merton in a facsimile (1921) or by Mrs. Simpson in the appendix to her study of Donne's prose. There is no question that Potter's find does much to enhance Donne's reputation as a preacher; I had always wondered how Donne had failed to do better on this occasion when he appeared before his old friends at Lincoln's Inn; now I can see that it was a copyist not Donne who was at fault. Potter's introduction to the sermon is completely pertinent and his notes illuminate obscure places in the text. Besides making a rare text available to us, Professor Howard's reprint of Elyot is a model of typography. The format is little short of a miracle because it gives one the impression of being a facsimile without being so. There are a short bibliographical introduction, textual notes, and an index; we are allowed to come to our own conclusions about all other matters. Elyot is certainly a more important figure in the history of English thought than is usually supposed; he is a norm for upperclass opinions of the early Tudor age. When Howard has succeeded in bringing out all of his writings, as he promises in his preface, we shall know more about the intellectual atmosphere of this era than we do now.

Mrs. Nearing's edition of *Marmion's* long and very dull poem is just a doctoral dissertation, but even so it might well serve as a pattern to maturer editors. The poem has been printed before by Saintsbury, but Mrs. Nearing does not suffer from Saintsbury's faults of haste and sloppiness; hence she is able to clean up the textual tangles that enshroud this poem. The text is preceded with an excellent short biography, an essay on the text, a study of the sources and genre of the poem, and an historical account of the appearance of the legend in other poets. Her explanatory notes are almost too complete; I should not have glossed allusions to Avernus, Phlegeton, etc., but Mrs. Nearing is probably a better judge of the current ignorance of classical mythology than I am. My only regret is that Mrs. Nearing did not choose to edit a better poet, like Carew or Waller, but now that she has shown her competence, perhaps she will.

DON CAMERON ALLEN

A Check List of English Plays: 1641-1700. By GERTRUDE L. WOODWARD & JAMES G. McMANAWAY. Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1945. Pp. 155.

Miss Woodward of the Newberry Library and Dr. McManaway of the Folger Shakespeare Library have, in the words of their preface, recorded "the plays and masques, with the variant editions and issues, printed in the English language in the British Isles or in other countries during the years 1641 to 1700 inclusive," and given "the location of copies in a number of American libraries." Editions and issues of Elizabethan and early Stuart as well as Commonwealth and Restoration plays are listed, and some of the more important Anglo-Latin plays are included as well. In spite of the difficulties imposed by the war years, when the cooperating libraries were understaffed and rare book collections sometimes removed for safe-keeping, the work has been done with thoroughness and care, and an extremely useful volume has been produced.

Like all check lists and library catalogues, the present volume preserves certain quaint attributions of authorship, as when it places *Lady Alimony* (certainly written shortly before its publication in 1659) under the names of Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge, but it is inevitable that bibliographers should defer somewhat to the eccentricities of earlier bibliographers. Card catalogues usually list, as do Woodward and McManaway, *The Traytor*, 1692, under the mysterious name of Antony Rivers instead of under that of James Shirley where it truly belongs; no doubt the compilers were more anxious to aid the reader in locating the books than in establishing matters of authorship. There is a good deal of helpful cross-indexing in the list. In noting variant editions and issues, the list often supplements and corrects existing knowledge and should prove indispensable to collectors and librarians, but its more notable service is to readers and literary historians. Unlike Elizabethan plays, practically all of which are available in modern editions and may be read in any good university library, the majority of Commonwealth and Restoration plays must be read, if read at all, in those centers which possess the relatively scarce early editions. The student's first task, after he turns from the major dramatists, is to locate the texts. Woodward and McManaway provide the information that all but a dozen or so of the 1340 items published between 1641 and 1700 are available in the sixteen American libraries which checked the list. Anyone intent upon reading all of Commonwealth and Restoration dramatic literature could make an excellent beginning in Boston, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, or Chicago before proceeding to Washington, D. C., or San Marino, California, where he could practically complete his task. On what proportion of this material is worth reading we need not commit ourselves, but the student will find reward-

ing bypaths and will feel grateful for the scholarly guidance of the Newberry check list.

ALFRED HARBAGE

University of Pennsylvania

Walt Whitman Handbook. By GAY WILSON ALLEN. Chicago: Packard and Company, 1946. Pp. xviii + 560. \$3.00.

Undaunted by the magnitude of the Whitman corpus, Professor Allen attempts "not only to summarize the vast scholarship in the field but also to select and evaluate the significant contributions." Furthermore, realizing that all phases of Whitman's thought and art have not been sufficiently investigated, as, for instance, sources and influences, Professor Allen also attempts "to fill in some of the gaps . . . in order to give a well-rounded account of the poet and his work." Although he has produced a volume indispensable to the research student, it is not yet entirely satisfactory as a general *Handbook*. However, with comparatively few improvements, this purpose may be fulfilled.

In the first chapter, all of the major biographies from Burroughs to Canby are summarized and analyzed. Proper tribute is paid to the work of Perry and Binns, but, for Professor Allen, the "prodigious researches of Holloway and the Freudian interpretations of Catel culminated in 1933 in the most extensive study of the editions and of Walt Whitman's place in world literature. . . . Frederik Schyberg's *Walt Whitman*." According to Professor Allen, "no one before Schyberg had examined all the editions to discover Whitman's biography in the *changes* and *growth* of the editions." It is difficult to understand how such a deductive biographical method can be the "culmination" of objective biographical research. The author's attitude toward biographers of Whitman is clearly expressed in the summary of this chapter where he states that "In the attempt to solve psychological mysteries, to understand the poet's sex pathology, to expose his sublimated search for companions, to establish literary sources, and the dozens of other curiosities of Whitman scholarship and biography—all too often these searchers have neglected the importance of Whitman's message and his indisputable world-wide influence." One wonders whether the author is confusing biography and criticism.

The volume is most useful in the second chapter where Professor Allen, having thoroughly mastered Whitman, details and discusses the contents of each of the nine major editions of *Leaves of Grass*. With constant emphasis upon Whitman's shifting poetic intentions, he provides the reader with a panorama of the growth of the poems.

The succeeding chapters comprise short summaries of pertinent

philosophic concepts—mysticism, pantheism, personalism, etc.—as well as a survey of Whitman's social ideas from 1841 to 1888. Although the survey is satisfactory, some confused thought appears in the passages on philosophy. To cite one example: "One of the poet's key-words is *identity*. Notice in the above quotation that it is associated with 'nebulous float,' 'cohering,' and 'preparation,' all words suggesting cosmic evolution." Furthermore, fifteen pages are devoted to the "Chain of Being" although it is admitted that Whitman "may have been unaware of the resemblances between his assumptions and those once associated with the Chain metaphor." But the influence of Rousseau is not discussed because "it is not an influence which can be weighed objectively."

After an excellent résumé of the available material on Whitman's literary technique, the concluding discussion of Whitman and world literature is rather disappointing. As Professor Allen admits, "Even to outline the complete story of Whitman's reception and influence as a World Poet is obviously a task too great for the confines of this chapter." Thus, following discussions of Whitman in England, France, and Germany, there is a "rapid survey of Whitman's reception in some of these other countries. . . ." Such cursory treatment is regrettable.

The book is carefully annotated and misprints are few. For those who wish to correct copies, the following errors are recorded: Brooklyn Art Museum should be Brooklyn Art Union (p. xiii); 114 should be 14 in footnote 111 (p. 173); 118 should be 18 in footnote 141 (p. 192); *War Memoranda* should be *Memoranda During the War* (p. 220); 1889 should be 1879 (p. 221); the backstrip of the 1856 edition is correctly described on p. 127 but incorrectly described on p. 227; the principle of conservation of energy is the first, not the second, law of thermodynamics (p. 261); (1860) should be (1868) (p. 477). There is no adequate treatment of Whitman's early poetry and it is strange to find a *Whitman Handbook* which does not refer to the files of *The Conservator*. A list of the important Whitman collections in public institutions would have also been helpful. It is to be hoped that the second edition will possess more objective data and less critical theory. Of such is the nature of handbooks.

ROLLO G. SILVER

Brookton, Mass.

Walt Whitman: The Trent Collection. Compiled by ELLEN FRANCES FREY. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Library, 1945. Pp. 148.

The publication of this descriptive catalogue of Whitman material in Duke University Library constitutes a high-water mark in Whitman bibliography and scholarship. The amount of this authentic

material still unpublished has not been generally realized. Much of it comes from the collection of Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke. Since he had first choice of Whitman's literary effects, he naturally secured desirable items. Mrs. Anne Montgomerie Traubel, who was present at the division, writes to me: "The material, which came to the literary executors under Whitman's will, was divided among them. . . . The procedure was that each lot should be assigned to each man in rotation by seniority—Bucke, Harned, Traubel."

When I examined the Bucke collection entire before it was sold, I found it more complete and illuminating than the Whitmaniana given to the Library of Congress by Thomas B. Harned, or the portions of the Whitman material belonging to Horace Traubel that I have been allowed to see. H. L. Mencken said that it was a national asset and that he would help me to publicize the importance of purchasing it, by private donations, for the Library of Congress. None of the newspapers or periodicals to which I appealed at that time saw fit to endorse this plan. Thus Walt Whitman's own prophetic words about his manuscripts, "a vast batch left to oblivion," narrowly escaped fulfillment.

Bucke had planned to donate his entire Whitman collection to the Boston Public Library. As he died suddenly by accident, with no specific provision for its disposition, this intention was never carried out. But since a major portion of it has now been reassembled in the Trent Collection, it may be available eventually for the use of Whitman lovers and scholars, as Bucke wished it to be.

Among the unique items must be mentioned Whitman's voluminous holograph manuscripts, including versions of both published and unpublished prose and poems, as well as autobiographical notes. Letters by Whitman and members of his family, and intimate friends, supply a rich *cache* of biographical material. The poet's reading can be traced in detail through numerous clippings with his annotations, and through extensive manuscript records of his study of literature in all forms.

There are valuable sources for research besides the wealth of manuscripts from the Bucke collection. The number of books, pamphlets, and articles by and about Whitman runs into the hundreds. The Table of Contents, divided into twelve sections, includes Manuscripts, Clippings, Proof Copies, Editions of Whitman, Books and Periodicals, Poems Set to Music, Bibliographies and Catalogues, Portraits, and Miscellaneous Items.

Special praise is due not only to Miss Frey, but to others who assisted in the admirable editing of this volume, particularly to Clarence Gohdes, Rollo G. Silver, and Alfred F. Goldsmith. "Vivas" to Dr. and Mrs. Josiah C. Trent, the American-spirited benefactors who made this publication possible. May many other magnanimous spirits follow the trail that they have blazed!

CLIFTON JOSEPH FURNESS

New England Conservatory of Music

besides Professor Nichol Smith, whose favourite century is the eighteenth.

The volume opens with a portrait of Professor Nichol Smith, admirably drawn by Sir Muirhead Bone; and closes with a list of his writings which includes a number of unsigned pieces identified by the compiler, Professor F. P. Wilson. Between these two notable contributions there are, in addition to a brief Preface containing a graceful and just characterization of Professor Nichol Smith and of his work at Oxford, eighteen essays or notes by fifteen Englishmen (two of them—Mr. Collins Baker and President Herbert Davis—domiciled in the United States), and three Americans—Professors Sherburn, J. L. Clifford, and Pottle. Mr. C. S. Lewis comes first with a vigorous yet very moderate defence of Addison, for which there could have been nothing but praise had he not chosen to ventilate anew a long-standing prejudice against Humanism (see *The Pilgrim's Regress*, 1933, pp. 126-7), which leads him into an unconvincing depreciation of Pope and Swift for Addison's benefit. He is followed by President Davis, who discusses Swift's conciseness; by Mr. Harold Williams, who competently examines Deane Swift's editorial treatment of *The Journal to Stella*, and comes to a favourable conclusion; by Professor Sherburn, who contributes a substantial study of "Pope at Work," based largely on surviving manuscripts now in the Pierpont Morgan and Houghton Libraries; and by Mr. John Butt, who writes discriminatingly and soundly on "The Inspiration of Pope's Poetry." It is not possible here to speak of all the remaining essays; but Professor James Sutherland's "Some Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Prose," Professor Renwick's "Notes on Some Lesser Poets of the Eighteenth Century," and Professor Pottle's "The Power of Memory in Boswell and Scott" cannot be passed by in silence. The first two, with Mr. Collins Baker's essay, show how interesting and illuminating the "comprehensive survey" could have been, had it been carried further;—and Professor Renwick's unpretentious essay, in addition, is the most thoughtful piece in the book. Professor Pottle's essay, finally, is remarkable not only for acuteness, but for the range of fruitful suggestion and comment into which he is led in his discussion of the interplay of memory and imagination.

The book contains one cancel (pp. 159-60) to awaken curiosity; one obvious misprint (p. 113, l. 19); and a mistake about Burke which leaps to meet the American eagle eye (p. 256, l. 8), and which strikes in the more forcibly because it comes in the midst of a patronizing and contentious essay, by Professor Geoffrey Tillotson, on "Matthew Arnold and Eighteenth-Century Poetry."

ROBERT SHAFER

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Os Lusíadas by LUÍS DE CAMOES, Edited with Preface, Introduction and Notes by J. D. M. FORD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946. Pp. ix + 451. \$4.00.

Since its first appearance in 1572 the immortal epic of the Portuguese nation has had many editions and has been put into English verse several times by various admirers of Camões. However, Professor Ford is the first to bring out an edition with Portuguese text and English notes.

A most scholarly presentation of the *Lusiads* for the English readers was that of Richard F. Burton whose verse translation appeared in 1880.¹ This edition was accompanied by a biography of the poet and copious notes on the text. While cognizant of the worth of Burton's effort, Professor Ford was also aware of his shortcomings as a versifier, so that in 1940 he had the more acceptable seventeenth century translation of Sir Richard Fanshawe reprinted by the Harvard University Press. With the growth of interest in the teaching of Portuguese in America during the war years, the publication of a school text edition of *Os Lusíadas* was an obvious need.

There are, of course, such editions designed for Portuguese speaking students. Perhaps the best of these is that of Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos published in Lisbon in 1931.² This has copious notes but is not too suitable for use in the American classroom. Obviously, each successive editor has the advantage of standing on the shoulders of his predecessors, and Professor Ford would be the last to disavow his debt both to Burton and to Dona Carolina. Nevertheless, close comparison of the three texts will reveal that the Ford edition is much more extensively annotated than any previous one. The author has drawn upon his own knowledge of Greek mythology to clarify many of the poet's classical references. Also he is no stranger to the history of the Portuguese in India, having published in 1936 a hitherto unedited eyewitness account of the siege of Diu in 1550.³ A further advantage of the Ford edition is found in the many linguistic explanations for which the editor has dipped into his wide knowledge of Hispanic phonology and morphology.

To increase the resemblance of his epic to the *Aeneid* Camões

¹ Burton's two volume translation of the *Lusiads* was published by Bernard Quaritch in London in 1880. In 1881 the same publisher brought out Burton's *Camões: His Life and his Lusíads, A Commentary*. This was also a two volume work containing a biography and copious notes on the various cantos of the epic.

² *Os Lusíadas de Luís de Camões*, Edição Nacional, Imprensa Nacional de Lisboa, 1931.

³ Leonardo Nunes: *Crónica de dom João de Castro*, Edited with an Introduction by J. D. M. Ford. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1936.

has ornamented and embellished his narrative with many references to the gods of Mt. Olympus. Indeed they even play a direct part in the story for while Bacchus seeks to bring disaster on the expedition, Venus and her nymphs are ever on hand to see that his machinations do not succeed. All this accompanying phantasmagoria comes alive under the able annotation of the Ford edition. Furthermore, Camões was not content merely to sing the exploits of Vasco da Gama. The epic relates the history of all the Portuguese kings to date, as well as recounting the exploits of many explorers and conquerors who come after da Gama. All of the many obscure historical and geographical references involved in the vast sweep of Camões' poem are ably clarified by the editor and the reader is thus enabled to get his head out of the trees and behold the forest. Thanks to Professor Ford, the American student will now be able to appreciate fully the genius of Luis de Camões, author of one of the few successful latter day epics.

DONALD F. BROWN

Johns Hopkins University

Chansons de Geste. By CHANOINE ARTHUR SIDELEAU. Collection Humanitas. Montreal: Les Éditions Lumen. 1945. Pp. 312. \$2.00.

This collection of extracts from fourteen different *chansons de geste*, accompanied by prose translations into modern French, is not designed for scholars but rather for cultivated amateurs who may wish to gain some idea of the ancient epics without devoting too much time to their archaic language. The extracts are arranged in three groups according to the old classification—*gestes du roi*, *de Garin de Monglane*, *de Doon de Mayence*—and within each group the translations appear in their biographical sequence instead of in the order of their composition. Thus, for example, in the five passages from the *geste du roi* excerpts from Adenet's late *Berthe au grand pied* (hardly an epic at all), from *Aspremont*, and from the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* precede those from the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Couronnement de Louis* (arbitrarily included in this *geste* instead of in that of *Garin de Monglane*). The volume also contains a short general introduction and some slight prefatory notes before each of the selections.

The translations which aim to be literal occasionally violate the texts, but, more important, they are needlessly prosaic and seldom convey any notion of the varied poetic effects of the originals. Nor do the introduction and notes compensate for this deficiency by an adequate study of the differing literary qualities of the passages selected. Furthermore, by ignoring chronology of composition the

arrangement blurs the history of the development of the epic without offering anything of value in exchange since the individual extracts are too short to arouse interest in the legendary ancestors and descendants of the heroes.

Despite excellent intentions, therefore, the anthology achieves its purpose to only a limited extent. It gives a picture of the diversity of the old plots and a sense of how they were fashioned. Some of the passages manage to reveal their original beauty even in their dull, modern dress. But cultivated amateurs would probably receive a more accurate impression of the *chansons de geste* from a single sensitive translation like Bédier's version of the *Roland* than from all these short, unimaginatively rendered fragments of disparate texts.¹

GRACE FRANK

Bryn Mawr College

The Dance of Death. . . . Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945. Pp. xi + 32. \$1.50.

This facsimile of *The Dance of Death* makes available to a wider audience one of the many treasures in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, now an important part of the Library of Congress. It is a copy of the Latin edition of the *Dance* printed at Paris in 1490 by Guyot Marchand for the publisher, Geoffroi de Marnef. The learned and highly readable introduction by William M. Ivins, Jr., of the Metropolitan Museum, briefly reviews the printing and illustrating of incunabula and reminds us that this monument of book illustration is simply one of many expressions of an artistic theme common in the later Middle Ages. The twenty-four woodcut blocks, each of which fills approximately half of a quarto page, were copied skillfully from paintings done in 1424 on the walls of the

¹ A few observations among many must suffice. Modern scholars would hardly agree that the *chansons de geste* are "l'histoire avant les historiens" (10). *Berthe* is rightly characterized as a *roman d'aventure* rather than an *épopée* (then why include it as the opening selection?), but its literary form is disposed of by "le poème est composé alternativement de laisses masculines et féminines. Il y a là un effort remarquable pour renouveler la poésie épique" (17). "*Berte gist adens*" is not "*Berthe gît nue*" (25). Scholars now date the *Pèlerinage* after 1130, possibly even after 1150, rather than "au début du 12^e siècle" (44). The point of Aimeri's boast is lost when "*la verrez barbes traire*" is mistranslated by "*vous me verrez lui tirer la barbe*," and *engolet* is not *doublé* (57). "*N'ont guarnement que toz ne refflambeit*" becomes a prosaic "*les armures flamboient*" (67; cf. Bédier's "*pas une armure qui toute ne flamboie*"); "*sans nul mauvais art*" becomes "*bonne*" (27); "*estos*" is "*méchant*" (217); "*au gent cors honoré*" is "*charmante*" (223), etc. Oliver's boast is of course omitted, but so are lines elsewhere (e.g. 219, 221), all without warning.

cemetery then to be found on the right bank of the Seine near the Cité; these murals soon became one of the major points of interest in fifteenth-century Paris. The series was accompanied by a text attributed to Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris. These French verses were first printed in 1485 and were followed by the Latin edition of 1490, now reproduced. One might reasonably assume that so exquisite a facsimile as this would be the product of one of the better private presses specializing in fine craftsmanship. It is all the more gratifying, then, to know that our Government Printing Office is sponsoring work of this type and making it available at so reasonable a price. Of particular interest to the student of fifteenth-century typography and illustration as well as of French and Medieval Latin, this handsome book is one which medievalists in general will enjoy owning. The only cause for regret is that the obvious plan of the volume precluded any attempt to deal with the many interesting features of the text itself.

THOMAS A. KIRBY

Louisiana State University

BRIEF MENTION

Prince Henry and English Literature. By ELKIN CALHOUN WILSON. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1946. Pp. 187. \$3.00. The charm which Prince Henry, the eldest son of James I, exercised upon those who knew him and the admiration he aroused in the English nation at large are well known. Unfortunately his connections with English literature seem to have been extremely slight, with the result that Mr. Wilson is not able to make out of the writings concerning him the interesting and significant book that he previously gave us on Queen Elizabeth. Indeed the author complains in his preface that he found his materials somewhat untractable.

Prince Henry's connections with literary men appear to have come about mostly in the way of friendship with the literary figures in the court circle—except for Raleigh, whom he was obliged to visit in prison: One does not gather that he had any influence upon their writings or even that he himself had any more than ordinary interest in literature as such. Fifty pages are devoted to the elegies (in Greek, Latin and English) written upon Henry's death. Very few of them are of any interest, as the author admits. However, they do provide a useful background to Milton's *Lycidas*, for it was to exactly such a memorial collection as these are that Milton's elegy was contributed and he must have been thoroughly

familiar with the type. In addition to the anthologies on Henry's death there appeared similar ones on the death of Queen Anne in 1619 and of King James in 1625, as well as others on Thomas Bodley, Sir Roland Cotton and such people.

It is not Mr. Wilson's fault that Prince Henry is a less fruitful subject than Queen Elizabeth, but we may wonder why he thought the job was worth doing. A much better field might be found in the elegies on Sir Philip Sidney, and it is to be hoped that we may have some day a volume on this subject. Practically none of Sidneys' works had appeared before his death, yet the memorial poems have a number of interesting references to them.

LEICESTER BRADNER

Brown University

Three American Travellers in England: James Russell Lowell, Henry Adams, Henry James. By ROBERT CHARLES LECLAIR. Philadelphia: Privately Printed. 1945. Pp. ix, 223. *Three American Travellers in England* begins with a cursory survey of the American man of letters as a visitor in the British Isles and then proceeds to cover the careers of Lowell, Adams, and James, so far as they concern the topic under discussion. The effect of their travels upon their intellectual outlook and upon their writings is also considered. All the available material has been covered by Dr. LeClair and his conclusions are carefully considered, but little in the work will be new to specialists. The dissertation is nevertheless a useful compendium, well organized and sensibly handled. A rather large number of misprints, however, mars its finish.

CLARENCE GOHDES

Duke University

Moreana, 1478-1945. A preliminary check list of material by and about Saint Thomas More. Edited and compiled by FRANK SULLIVAN and MAJIE PADBERG SULLIVAN. Kansas City, Mo.: Rockhurst College, 1946. Unpaged, multityped. A collection of several thousand titles made more useful by a subject index. Highly useful to the student of More, but likewise suggestive of the futility of writing anything more about the great Chancellor.

D. C. A.

CORRESPONDENCE

Ghismonda AGAIN. May I be allowed to make some observations on Prof. Charles E. Ward's review of my edition of *Ghismonda*? First, I would say that the effect of war conditions extends far beyond the quality of the paper on which it is printed. For example, the MS. was removed from the British Museum to a place of safety in 1940 and even now at the time of writing is inaccessible. It was therefore impossible to supply a specimen facsimile page. Again in a house disorganized by successive waves of evacuees my transcript of the MS. became displaced and was not found till the printing was completed. Only then was it possible to have the final check which had always been intended. This explains the unusually long list of errata which has troubled Prof. Ward. I could wish to have spared him the inconvenience, as I share his dislike of arithmetic.

With regard to methods of editing, Prof. Ward would probably agree that the best solution would be to reproduce the MS. in facsimile for the expert, with a printed text for the average cultured reader who would be grateful for editorial assistance. But in a world like ours such a solution remains a scholar's ideal, and one is driven to a compromise which does not satisfy every one. A case in point is "breeding *es*" which admittedly is puzzling. I can see that I should have done better to print "breeding's" and add an explanatory note. "Nature" is a misprint for "nature." I am glad that Prof. Ward has discovered no other "disquieting" oversight in the use of capitals.

As for the handwriting, at the time when the edition was prepared, I did not feel competent to decide between such eminent authorities as Dr. W. W. Greg and Dr. Robin Flower. Nor do I now, though I am inclined to think that the MS. is before 1650. All the more so, because I have come to attach less significance to the hypothetical reminiscence of Dryden in the reference to Indian sun-worship, since Dr. F. S. Boas (*American Scenes, Tudor to Georgian, in the English Literary Mirror*, 1944, p. 8) has pointed out an allusion in 1613 in Chapman's *Mask of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*. It is a pity, however, that Prof. Ward did not record that I had established beyond question that the play is later than 1620 and possibly after 1628. Similarly, I regret that he speaks of my discussing twelve versions "of the Boccaccio tale of Guiscardo and Ghismonda in Italian and English dramatic treatments through the eighteenth century," when the period covered by the plays extends from 1499 to 1783 and includes one by Hans Sachs.

In conclusion, I would express the hope that the reader who can appreciate not only the importance of textual detail but also the qualities of an edition as a whole, will recognise in my book, despite its imperfections, a contribution of some value to the history of English and continental drama.

HERBERT G. WRIGHT

JOSEPHSON'S ZOLA. In a brief note on "Zola's 'Bête humaine'" (*MLN*, LXI, 6, pp. 431-32), Mr. C. W. E. Dahlstrom calls attention to one blunder in Matthew Josephson's *Zola and His Time* (New York, Macaulay, 1928). As a matter of fact, the book is full of "howlers" of every description—misspellings of common French words (especially where accent marks are concerned), incorrect bibliographical data, literal transference of French idioms and cognates into English ("I have my back full of it," "plan" for "plane," "touch" for "cash," etc., etc.). Inexcusable mistakes occur when facts of French literary history are set down, as in references to the villa at Berne (sic!) where Voltaire spent his last years (p. 398), to the Goncourts' *Madame Gervaisaise* (p. 136), Daudet's *les Immortels* (p. 344), and Loti's *Pêcheurs d'Islande* (p. 356), to Georges Porto-Riches (p. 355), etc., etc. (sic! sic!). We are told (p. 306) that Anatole France was born in the valley of the Beauce (it has generally been supposed that he was born on the Quai Malaquais in Paris), and (p. 124) that "the seed of Parnassian poetry was sown" in gatherings at the home of Paul Meurice in 1868 (i. e., two years after the publication of the first *Parnasse contemporain*, with which, as with its companion volumes of 1869 and 1876, Meurice had nothing whatsoever to do). Almost equally numerous are the errors committed in the discussions of the novels of Zola. Two may here be added to the misinterpretation noted by Mr. Dahlstrom. In speaking of *la Conquête de Plassans*, Josephson refers (p. 211) to Octave Mouret as the principal character of the novel; in reality, it is his father, François, who plays this role, while Octave is the central figure of *Pot-Bouille*. On the very next page, we learn that, in *la Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, the death of Albine is announced to the priest as his sister cries out: "Serge! Serge! The cow has just given birth to a calf!" As a matter of fact, the sister's exclamation occurs while the priest is reading the funeral service for Albine. I have referred to Josephson's clumsy Gallicisms. I can not refrain from ending this animadversion with the quotation of two of his gems of English style. On page 87 we read: "What of the ferment over the novel that was going on in the republic of letters, Théophile Gautier declared suddenly that he wished he had been born a few years earlier." And on page 519, J. rises to the sublime heights of M. Perrichon: "But all the hearts of those present were torn at the thought of this premeditated assassination, surrounded by his family, his children!" Surely, here is a book to be scrupulously avoided by scholars and laymen alike.

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Erratum. LXI, 514, for *University of North Carolina* read *Princeton University*.

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LUTHERS ARBEIT AM 'ÄSOP'

I

Als eine der frühesten Blüten des deutschen Literatur-Humanismus, dem wir Übersetzungen des Boccaccio, Poggio, Aretino, Äneas Silvius, Petrarca, dazu Originaldrucke des Tacitus, Seneca, Plautus, Terenz verdanken, erscheint 1477 bei Zainer in Augsburg ein *Äsop*, lateinisch und deutsch, zu einem Band zusammengestellt bzw. ins Deutsche übertragen von dem Ulmer Arzt und Humanisten Heinrich Steinhöwel.¹ Dem Werk war ein in der Geschichte des frühen Drucks seltener Erfolg beschieden. Der *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (I, 153-166) verzeichnet für die Jahre 1477-1501 dreizehn obd. Drucke, eine kölnische, zwei nd., eine tschechische Übertragung; wozu noch französische und englische Übersetzungen kommen, die auch auf Steinhöwels Text fussen.

Die unter dem fingierten Namen Äsops zusammengetragenen Fabeln waren ja das ganze Mittelalter hindurch gelesen, übersetzt und ausgeschrieben worden; unsere klassischen Zeugen dafür sind der *Freidank* und Boners *Edelstein*, letzterer mit dem *Ackermann aus Bohmen* zusammen das Buch, mit dem Pfister in Bamberg 1461 seinen Druck und Verlag erfolgreich eröffnet. Was hier als Reimspiel mit der epigrammatischen Moral am Schluß erscheint, ist bei Steinhöwel, dem neuen Geschmack der Zeit entsprechend, Prosa geworden, allerdings eine so gewandte und schlagfertig-direkte Prosa, daß ihr Welterfolg allein daraus schon verständlich wird. Stammer sagt ganz richtig: "Er flicht Sprichwörter und volkstümliche Redensarten ein, mischt kleine Reimlein darunter, verdeutlicht die Moral durch Anspielungen auf zeitgenössische

¹ Neudruck v. H. Österley als Bd. 117 der *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*. Tübingen, 1873.

Verhältnisse in Deutschland . . . Ausdrücklich hebt er hervor, daß seine Übersetzung den Sinn wiedergeben wolle, nicht das Wort." (*Von der Mystik zum Barock*, 30) Während also Niclas von Wyle und alle mit ihm unter Übersetzen verstehen, daß lateinische Wörter durch deutsche ersetzt werden, wodurch natürlich keine deutschen Gebilde, sondern lateinische in deutscher Sprache entstehen, macht Steinhöwel sich und die deutsche Sprache von dem lateinischen Vorbild völlig frei. Die Sprachform des *Äsop* allein schon sollte den Beifall der Zeitgenossen Steinhöwels erklären.

Er kommt ihnen aber noch in anderer Hinsicht entgegen. Man darf nämlich seine Versicherung (Bl. 264b des Erstdrucks), daß er mit Rücksicht auf weibliche Zucht und Ehre einige Stücke ausgelassen, nicht zu ernst nehmen; sein Text ist ein Konglomerat von altem Fabelgut und modernen Schlüpfrigkeiten aus den eleganten Federn Poggios und Boccaccios, vermehrt um derbe Leichtfertigkeiten nach Petrus Alfonsus. So wird, was eigentlich als Schul- und Lehrbuch der Lebensweisheit gedacht war, ein saftiges Zeugnis des *Epikurismus* des Zertalters, seiner Leichtlebigkeit und Diesseitslust, der Luther nach seinen eigenen Worten durch die Reformation ein wuchtiges Halt gebietet.

Es war nahezu unvermeidlich, daß der Erzieher, der Volksbesserer, der Neubilder der deutschen Moral, als den Luther sich selbst mit heiligem Ernst empfand, daß der *Pädagoge* Luther auf das pädagogische Mittel der *Äsopischen Fabeln* stieß. Sein bekannter Ausspruch, ohne das Zeugnis der Kirche sei die ganze Bibel nicht mehr und nicht weniger wert als *Aesopi Fabelbuch*, enthält nämlich keineswegs das abschätzige Urteil, das man ihm untergelegt hat. Wir haben Luthers Wort aus der *Vorrede zu den Fabeln* (1530), daß er ausser der *Heiligen Schrift* nicht viele Bücher wisse, die dem *Äsop* an 'Nutz, Kunst und Weisheit' überlegen seien. Der Sinn der andern Äusserung ist natürlich, die Bibel sei selbst ohne ihre Entstehung mithilfe göttlicher Inspiration immer noch von höchstem erzieherischen Wert, wie *Äsops Fabeln*.

Es ist bisher nicht gelungen festzustellen, wann Luther zuerst die Bekanntschaft mit *Äsop* gemacht hat und in welcher Form die alte Fabelweisheit ihm entgegentrat. Die Annahme der Herausgeber des 50. Bandes der Weimarer Luther-Ausgabe, daß Luther den *griechischen Äsop* gekannt habe (S. 433), hat keinerlei Unterlage. Im April 1530, als er auf der Koburg, seinem 'Sinai,' den Ausgang des Reichstags zu Augsburg abwartet, berichtet er an

Melanchthon von seinen drei Unternehmungen: Psalter, Propheten und *Äsop*. Zwei Briefe im Mai erwähnen wieder die Arbeit am *Äsop*, der letzte aber nur die Absicht, eine *Reinigung des Äsop* vorzunehmen, was darauf hindeutet, daß ihm der 'unreinliche' vorlag d. h. der Steinhöwels.

Johannes Mathesius gibt also von der Situation sicherlich ein recht authentisches Bild, wenn er berichtet: "*Denn als unser Doctor nun vil jar wider die Münch und Schwermer hefftig gestritten und sich mit predigen und dolmetschung inn der heyligen Bibel abgearbeyt und sehr ein schwaches heuptlein bekam . . . will er sich auch, wie grosse leut pflegen, ein wenig erquicken und erlustern. Drumb nimmet er zu Coburg gelegenheyt nach essens, den alten Deutschen Esopum für sich und reiniget und schmucket jn mit guten und derben Deutschen worten und schönen außlegung oder sittlichen lehren und machet 16 schöner Fabel, die steck voller weißheyt, guter lehr und höflicher vermanung sein . . . wie es inn der Welt, inn Regimenten und Haußwesen auff erden pfleget zuzugehen. Wie er auch solchs sein angefangen lustig und nützlich werck mit einer ser gelerten Vorrede zieret, darinn er frey bekennet, das nach der heyligen schrift die feinste weltweyßheyt in vernünfftigen fabeln zu finden ist . . . Weyl nun diß die artigst und subtiltest weyse eine ist, bittere und scharpffe warheyt inn die kinder zu bringen, . . . Hat unser Doctor sein muhe und arbeyt an den alten und verunreinigten Esopum legen und seinen Deutschen ein vernewertes und geschewrets mehrlein buch zurichten wöllen . . . Aber weyl der teure Mann an der Biblia neben vil predigen und schreiben abgearbeyt, verblieb diß angefangene werck . . .*" (zitiert nach W. A. 50, 434 f.). So haben wir nichts weiter von Luther als die oben erwähnten 16, in Wirklichkeit 13 Nummern, die in der gleichen Reihenfolge wie die Steinhöwelschen gegeben sind. Sie waren lange Zeit nur durch Rörers Druck von 1557 bekannt, der für den Titel verantwortlich ist: *Etliche Fabeln aus Esopo / von D. M. L. verdeudscht* . . . Erst 1887 wurde in der Bibliothek des Vatikan Luthers Urschrift aufgefunden, und zwar eine erste Niederschrift mit zahlreichen Korrekturen, zum Teil wie in den Bibel-Manuskripten mit roter Tinte, und eine zweite Reinschrift der Fabeln 1 bis 7, so daß wir für sieben Fabeln wenigstens drei authentische Fassungen haben. Man darf also ruhig A. E. Berger beipflichten, der in seiner Einführung in die *Fabeln (Dt. Liter. in Entwicklungsreihen. Reihe: Reformation Bd. 1, 69 ff.)* schreibt:

“Die Originalhandschrift gibt anschaulich zu erkennen, wieviel Mühe es sich Luther auch in diesem Falle kosten ließ, das fremde Gut so einzudeutschen, daß es wie ein heimisch gewachsenes empfunden werden konnte.” Auf der nächsten Seite fährt er allerdings fort: “Vor allem aber hat er Steinhöwels Verdeutschungen meisterlich umgeformt.” Wer hat denn nun recht, Berger Seite 69 oder Berger Seite 70? Was hat Luther getan? Eingedeutscht oder umgeformt!

II

Zweifel und Zweideutigkeit sind veranlaßt durch Rörers irreführenden Titel, als habe Luther die *Fabeln aus Äsop* verdeutscht. Dabei war Luthers Vorlage jedenfalls Steinhöwel, was nicht nur aus dem Bericht des Mathesius hervorgeht, sondern ebenso deutlich aus dem *Vorwort* Luthers, wenn er von seiner Absicht spricht, durch seine Ausgabe *denselbigen Deutschen schendlichen Esopum auszurotten*, und fortfährt: *Aus der Ursachen haben wir vns dis Buch furgenommen zu fegen vnd jm ein wenig besser Gestalt zu geben, denn es bisher gehabt, Allermeist umb der Jugend willen . . .* Luther hat also keine *Fabeln aus Äsop* übersetzt, sondern Steinhöwels Übersetzung gereinigt, sauber gefegt, für die Schulstube überarbeitet. Die Frage ist nicht, ob Originaltext oder Steinhöwel, sondern nur: was für ein Steinhöwel. Lag Luthern eine zweisprachige, lateinisch-deutsche Ausgabe vor oder eine nur deutsche?

Die Weimarer Ausgabe verfährt mit grosser Entschiedenheit den Standpunkt, daß Luthern der lateinische Wortlaut nicht vorlag, vermutlich weil es in den Augen der Herausgeber etwas Anrüchiges, der Grösse Luthers Abträgliches hätte, wenn er trotz eines lateinischen *Äsop* so oft dem deutschen folgt; Übereinstimmungen zwischen Steinhöwel und Luther liegen auf der Hand, folglich kennt Luther die lateinische Fassung nicht. Mit Eifer und Beflissenheit sind die Beweisstückchen zusammengetragen, aus denen sich erstens ergibt, wie oft Steinhöwel und Luther gegen den lateinischen Wortlaut zusammenstimmen, und zweitens, daß Luthers Abweichungen von Steinhöwel “sich nirgends auf den lateinischen Text zurückführen lassen.”

Aber schon das erste Zeugnis der Weimarer Ausgabe (50, 437) versagt:

In der vierten Fabel ist *canis calumniosus* von Steinhöwel nur mit *hund* wiedergegeben; dreimal ist *calumniosus* einfach nicht

übersetzt, sondern dafür eine Lucke gelassen. Luther füllt die Lücke in seiner Fabel nicht, woraus die *Weimarer Ausgabe* schliesst: "Hätte Luther den lateinischen Text als Vorlage gehabt, so wäre er vor einer Verdeutschung des Wortes nicht zurückgeschreckt." Was Steinhöwel angeht, so sind seine drei Lücken deutlich genug. Aber in Luthers knapperer Fassung besteht nur ein *einziges* Mal die Nötigung, das lateinische Wort zu übersetzen. Das Unglück will, daß der Herausgeber Thiele in seinem zweimaligen Druck der Luther-Handschrift zwei verschiedene Lesarten gibt, ohne anzugeben, ob einmal ein Irrtum seinerseits vorliegt. In *Braunes Neudrucken des 16. u. 17. Jh.* gibt er 1888 (Bd. 76, 8) Luthers Text wieder als: *Ein hund sprach fur vnrecht ein schaff an*. . . . Aber in der *Weimarer Ausgabe* von 1914 liest er: *Ein hund sprach fur gericht ein schaff an*, ohne daß sich irgendwo ein Hinweis findet, welcher Druck als authentisch zu gelten hat. Vermutlich der von 1888, dem eine genaue Kollation der vatikanischen Handschrift durch einen geschulten Palaographen zugrunde liegt. Auch wäre bei fehlerhafter älterer Lesung 1914 die Gelegenheit gewesen, auf den früheren Irrtum hinzuweisen. Die Frage ist darum von Bedeutung, weil ein Hund, der ein Schaf *fur vnrecht* anspricht, *canis calumniosus*, ein verleumderischer Hund ist. Womit grade bewiesen wäre, daß Luthern der lateinische Text Steinhöwels vorgelegen hat. Der originalen Fassung *Canis calumniosus dixit deberi sibi ab ove panem* fehlt alles, was die Wendung *fur gericht* rechtfertigt. Merkwürdigerweise hat Steinhöwel dieses *vor gericht*. Und das mag ja die Quelle für Luthers Wort gewesen sein, von dem unsicher ist, wie es wirklich heißt. So lange es zwei Lesungen davon gibt, kann man die Stelle weder für noch gegen eine lateinische Vorlage Luthers verwenden.

Die weiteren Beweise sind mager: Ab und zu einmal übernimmt Luther eine 'Moral' Steinhöwels, die dem Lateinischen fehlt. In der 13. Fabel, der letzten, die Luther überhaupt überarbeitet hat, folgt er ein paar Mal wortwörtlich der deutschen Vorlage gegen die lateinische, was aber seinen Grund darin haben mag, daß er der Arbeit bereits müde geworden war. Die *fabula de duobus canibus* beginnt: *Canis parturiens rogabat alteram*; was Steinhöwel übersetzt: *Ain tragende hüntin bat mit senften schmaichenden worten demütiglich ainen hund*. Luther folgt nicht nur bei *demutigen worten*, sondern sogar bei dem verschiedenen

Geschlecht der Hunde, setzt sogar *Vom hund vnd der hundin* in den Titel.

Wem das genügt, dem gebe ich zu bedenken, daß in der dritten Fabel Steinhöwel *in medio vero flumine se deorsum mersit* wiedergibt: *Als er mitten in das waßer kam, tunket sich der frosch*. Luther fügt aber *hinuntern* hinzu, das Wort für lat. *deorsum*. In der fünften Fabel spricht Steinhöwel davon, daß der Hund *das fleisch in das waßer schynen sicht*. Luther spricht vom *schemen vom fleisch*, was nicht nur dem *umbram* der lateinischen Vorlage genau entspricht, sondern nebenbei auch noch ein schönes Zeugnis für Luthers Mundart liefert: *schemen* ist kaum noch md., eher nd. In der zwölften Fabel sind die beiden Mäuse bei Steinhöwel *husmus und feldmus*. *Mus urbanus* ist aber, wie Luther zeigt, *stadmaus*. Allerdings hat er zuerst mit Steinhöwel *hausmaus* niedergeschrieben, dann *haus-* in *stad-* korrigiert, wobei nicht notwendigerweise das Lateinische Anlaß gewesen sein muß, sondern vielleicht der Wortgebrauch: schon *Boner* hat nur *statmûs*.

Am Einfachsten nimmt man wohl an, daß Luthern eine der doppelsprachigen *Asop*-Ausgaben Steinhöwels vorgelegen hat; so hatte er zugleich mit dem deutschen den lateinischen Wortlaut vor Augen.

III

An der Moral der wenigen Fabeln, die Luther wirklich bearbeitet hat, gibt es kaum etwas zu reinigen. Wenn Luther dennoch der Vorlage nur ungefähr folgt, so weil das Deutsch des Schwaben von 1477 seinen Ansichten von den Aufgaben, die der Sprache hier gestellt waren, nicht entsprach. So daß sich aus einem genauen Vergleich der beiden Texte ergeben kann, was denn eigentlich Luther von der Sprache erwartet, und welche Mittel er anwendet, um die Aufgabe, eine didaktische, zu lösen.

Ihrer Kürze wegen eignet sich zur genauen Betrachtung besonders gut die berühmte Fabel vom allzu gefräßigen Hund, den das Spiegelbild des Fleisches in seinem Maul, wie es ihm aus dem Fluß entgegenscheint, verleitet, nach dem Schemen zu schnappen. *Canis* ist das erste Wort; der Träger der Handlung, *canis*, eröffnet die Geschichte. Und so übersetzt Steinhöwel: *Ain hund truog ain stük fleisch in dem mul, und lieff durch ain fließend waßer*. Luther ändert nur wenig, aber bedeutsam: *Es lieff ein hund durch ein*

wasser strom und hatte ein stuck fleisches ym maul. Luther zieht das Verbum aus dem Satz hervor und stellt es an die Spitze; dabei vertauscht er entgegen dem Urtext und der deutschen Vorlage die beiden Verben und wählt dasjenige der starken Bewegung und Aktivität, um mit starkem Akzent den Satz zu eröffnen. Wie aus 'ein hund truog' 'es lieff ein hund' wird, gewinnt der Satz an Frische und Beteiligtheit des Redners; denn in lebhaft-eindringlicher Rede und ungezwungener Erzählung tritt das Verbum an die Spitze des Satzes (vgl. *Sah ein Knab' ein Röslein stehn. Oder: Kommt doch da einer und fragt mich . . .*). Wie gesprochen das Ganze ist, zeigt ja auch das in einem Akzentual stehende *ein* (*durch ein wasser strom*), das als *en* gelesen werden müsste. Rorers Druck von 1557 zerstört den frischen, hurtigen Rhythmus, indem er korrekt *einen* schreibt. Hierher gehört auch die Entwicklung von *flumen* zu *fließend waßer* zu *wasser strom*, völlig richtig verdeutscht, denn die Strömung ist es ja schließlich, die den Hund zum Narren hält.

Die Fabel lautet dann weiter bei Steinhöwel: *Im durchlouffen sieht er das flaisch in das waßer schynen, und wānet er sech ain ander stuk in dem waßer, und ward begirig das selb ouch ze niemen, und so bald er das mul uff tet, das selb ouch ze erwüschē (patefecit os, ut etiam eandem arriperet), enpfiel im das, das er vor truog, und fuort es das waßer bald hinweg.*—Bei Luther: *Als er aber den schemen vom fleisch ym wasser sihet, wehnet er, Es were auch fleisch, vnd schnappet gyrig darnach, Da er aber das maul auffthet, empfiel yhm das stuck fleischs vnd das wasser furets weg.*—*Schnappet darnach*, das plastische Mundart-Wort ersetzt den allzu umständlichen und papierdeutschen Satz des Schwaben.

Also stuont er und hett das gewiß mit dem ungewißē verlorn. Darumb welher gytiger zu vil wil, dem würt oft ze wenig.

Der erste Satz heißt bei Luther: *Also verlor er beyde fleisch vnd schemen.* Steinhöwels Wortspiel mit der Antithese von *gewiß* und *ungewiß* hat ein rationalistisches Motiv, von dem übrigens im Lateinischen nichts zu sehen ist: zu dem, was er hat, addiere das, was er glaubt zu haben, daraus erst ergibt sich der volle Verlust. Bei Luther viel schärfer und markiert: *also verlor er beyde.* Worauf dann die Wörter *fleisch* und *schemen* Wirkliches und Scheinbares illustrieren.

Für die hausbackene und umständliche Moral: *sic sepe qui alienum querit, dum plus vult sua perdit.* findet Steinhöwel eine

ganz prächtige deutsche Wendung: *Welher gytiger ze vil wil, dem würt oft ze wenig*.—Luther bringt allerlei Sprichwörtliches, um die Lehre der Fabel zu erläutern, darunter auch: *wer zu viel haben wil, dem wird zu wenig*, in enger Anlehnung an Steinhöwel. In der Reinschrift wird das dann: *Wer zu viel haben wil, der behelt zuletzt nichts*. Der abgeschwächte Gegensatz von *zu viel* und *zu wenig* wird nicht nur radikalisiert, sondern mit *nichts* als Abschluß dramatisiert. Die Lehre ist nicht mehr, daß der Habgierige wenig oder selbst nichts bekommt (dem *wird zu wenig*), sondern daß er nicht einmal, das, was er hat, behält: Bestimmtheit und Prägnanz des Ausdrucks sind nicht zu überbieten.²

In der alten Fabel vom Hahn und der Perle hat schon Steinhöwel die lateinische Wortstellung gut geändert: *Ein han suchet syne spys uff ainer mysti, und als er scharret, fand er ain kostlichs bernlin an der unwirdigen statt ligende*. Luther fasst zusammen: *Ein han scharret auff der misten und fand eine kostliche perlin*. Lateinisches *quaerere escam* ist natürlich so viel wie *Speise suchen*. Wenn es ein Hahn tut, so ist es aber eben *scharren*. Steinhöwel wagt noch nicht den Schritt von der wortlichen zur sinngemässen Wiedergabe, d. h. er tut beides, Luther gibt dem Wort aus konkreter Anschauung vor der vagen Bezeichnung den Vorzug.

Der Hahn sagt dann bedauernd: *Si te cupidus invenisset, cum quo gaudio rapuisset* = *hätte dich ain gytiger gefunden, wie mit großen fröden hett er dich uffgezuket*. Luther sucht lange nach der treffenden Umschrift. *Mancher funde dich gerne* wird zu *o wie mancher funde dich herzlich gerne, der dich mit freuden aufheben wurde*. In der Reinschrift nähert er sich Steinhöwel bedeutend, ändert nur—und das verzaubert das Ganze—den Satz-akzent: *Wenn dich ein kaufmann funde, der wurde dein fro*.

Die Wiederaufnahme des Subjekts des Vordersatzes durch *der* gehört ja der Umgangssprache an, der Sprache—mit einem Lutherwort—*der Kinder, Knechte und Mägde und des armen, gemeinen, einfältigen Haufens*. Und dazu der starke Akzent auf dem abschliessenden *fro*.³

² Richard Jente verdanke ich den Nachweis, daß Luther hier ein altbekanntes Sprichwort wiederholt. Somit wird man—hier wie überhaupt—die *Nutzanwendungen* für Luthers persönlichen Stil nicht heranziehen dürfen: sie sind Volksgut. Ähnliches gilt wahrscheinlich sogar schon für Steinhöwel.

³ *Kaufmann* lesen wir auch im Erstdruck der Fabelsammlung von Erasmus Alberus von 1534, wo von einer Einwirkung Luthers nicht die Rede

Agrum mihi pascendo devastasti: klagt in der zweiten Fabel der Wolf das Lamm an, was bei Steinhöwel ausgezeichnet über-tragen ist: *du hast mir mynen aker gar verwüst mit dynem nagen und verheret.* 'Mit dynem nagen' statt des Gerundium *pascendo* ist gut, und die Verdoppelung des Verbs ist so offensichtlich das Rechte, daß Luther gleich noch weiter geht: *du hast mir meine wisen vnd acker abgenaget vnd verderbet.* So wird nun auch *agrum* zweifach wiedergegeben. Denn nun erst hat der Satz die Feierlichkeit und Schwere der Anklage vor Gericht, der formalen Beschwerde, die auf zweigliedrige *Rechtsformeln* dringt: Der Wolf tut dem Lamm kund und zu wissen, es sei auf *Treu und Glauben* befragt, und habe *Rede und Antwort* zu stehn. Hier sind wir ganz in die Sphäre des peinlichen Rechtsverfahrens eingetreten; Steinhöwel hat den ersten Schritt getan, Luther tut ganze Arbeit.

Der Wolf macht bekanntlich kurzen Prozeß: *Licet tua nequeam solvere argumenta* = *wie wol ich dyne argument und ußzug nit alle widerreden kan.* Wie es sich für die Rechtssprache gehört, sind wieder zwei Rechtswörter gesetzt für ein *argumenta*. Für Luther ist *auszüge* veraltet; seiner Gewohnheit gemäß verdeutscht er das umständliche *argumentum solvere* durch ein Wort: *ob du gleich viel schwetzens kanst, so wil ich dennoch heint zu fressen haben.*—Aber die Reinschrift erfüllt die Bedingung der Doppelung (im engen Anschluß an Steinhöwel): *Vnd wenn du gleich viel aüsreden vnd schwetzen kanst!*

Steinhöwels Wendung *rat und hülfe* in einer andern Fabel hat keine lateinische Grundlage. Ich frage mich, warum Luther wohl entgegen der deutschen Vorlage *trewen rat* schreibt, wenn er nicht vor Augen hatte: *petit auxilium*. An dieser Stelle ist aber wichtiger, daß seine Reinschrift zu Steinhöwel zurückkehrt, denn *rat vnd hülffe* ist die volkstümliche Formel.

Und noch einmal: In der vierten Fabel verläßt Luther plötzlich seine Vorlage, der er sonst fast wortwörtlich folgt. *Victa ovis tribus testibus falsis* ist bei Steinhöwel: *das schauß ward überwunden mit dry falschen zügen.* Aber bei Luther: *Also ward das schaff uber wunden, vnd verurteilt.* So beginnt noch die Reinschrift:

sein kann. Die Gleichung ist nicht etwa *cupidus* = *gytiger* = *kaufmann*, sondern die Wortwahl beruht auf *Matth.* 13. 45, wo es schon in der *Mentel-bibel* von 1461 heißt: *aber das reich der himel ist gleich eim kauffman der da sücht die güten mergrisel.* Auf diesen Kaufmann, der Perlen sucht, ist angespielt.

Also ward das schaff vber—, streicht die alte Wendung und schreibt statt dessen ganz anders: *Also verlor das schaff seine sache*.—Überwunden war es ja durch die drei Zeugen. Nachdem sie weggefallen waren, war eigentlich für das Verbum kein Platz mehr. Ihm kommt keine Anschaulichkeit zu Hilfe.—Steinhöwel erzählt unbefangen nach dem Latein, wie die Sonne Hochzeit hält und zu Hause bleibt, worüber alle Welt ungeduldig wird *so vil, das sie ouch den öbristen got Jupiter darumb scheltwort nicht überhuobent. Darumb ward Jupiter zornig, und fraget ursach der scheltwort*. Die klassische Mythologie setzt Luthern offenbar in Verlegenheit: *Des erschrack alle welt, vnd ward so vngeduldig das sie auch ynn den hymel fluchet vnd schalt* (zwei Verben!), *Es fragt aus dem himel, was das fluchen bedeutet*. Erst den Ort, wo er wohnt, dann das Neutrum des Pronomens statt des Gotternamens, weiter kann man die Vermeidung der erledigten Mythologie ja nicht treiben. Am Rande steht dann allerdings—*es fragt aus dem himel* ist ja kein Deutsch—*Jupiter fragt*. Aber der Theologe und Pädagoge kann sich damit noch nicht zufrieden geben, es heißt daher im Druck: *Es fragt Jupiter aus dem Himmel, Was das fluchen bedeutet*. Erst ist er als oberster Gott verdrängt, dann ist auch noch der Platz am Anfang des Satzes zu gut für ihn. Er ist nicht mehr das ganze Subjekt, er steht im Schatten des Es. Durch die Wortstellung wird er nun ein *Jupiter aus dem Himmel*, ein beiläufiger Himmelsbewohner, neben so manchem andern auch anwesend, vom 'obersten der Götter' keine Rede.

Die sechste Fabel zeigt ein Motiv Luthers, dem wir bisher noch nicht begegnet sind.

Nach etlichen Einleitungssätzen beginnt Steinhöwel: *Ain rind, ain gayß, ain schauß geselten sich* (lat. *socii fuerunt*) *zuo ainem löwen*. Wir sind nicht überrascht, bei Luther zu lesen: *Es geselleten sich, ein Rind, zigen, schaff zu einem lewen . . .* und in der Reinschrift in reinerem Rhythmus: *Es geselleten sich / ein Rind, Zigen vnd schaff / zum lewen // vnd zogen miteinander auff die jaget / ynn einen forst* (forst schon bei Steinhöwel). Sie fangen einen Hirsch und teilen ihn in vier Teile. *Ego primam tollam ut leo*, sagt der Löwe: *Den ersten teil nim ich, darumb, das ich ain leo und ain künig aller tiere bin*. Luther schreibt statt dessen: *Das erste teil geburt mir als einem lewen der aller thier konig ist*. Später rückt dieses Argument an die zweite Stelle, und der Löwe verlangt: *Ein teil ist mein aus der gesellschaft*. Für Äsop wie für

Steinhöwel besteht ein Königsrecht. Denn natürlich gründet sich die Forderung des Lowen auf den Löwenanteil zunächst auf ein verbürgtes Recht. Was Luther an dessen Stelle setzt, ist aber etwas völlig anderes. Als Teilnehmer an der Jagdpartie kommt ihm ein Viertel der Beute zu. Nichts mehr vom Königsrecht! Wir befinden uns in einer Bürgerwelt. Man darf vielleicht in dieser Änderung einen schwachen Nachhall der Bauernkriege, einen Reflex der sozialen Umwälzung sehen, deren geistigster Ausdruck unter dem Namen Reformation läuft. In der Reinschrift wird der Ausdruck ganz klar: *Ihr wisset das ein teil mein ist als eurs gesellen, Das ander geburt mir, als eim konige vnter den thieren.* Der erste Anspruch ist unanfechtbar, der zweite aber fraglich. *Quartam vero qui tetigerit me inimicum habebit.* Wörtlich: Wer aber das vierte Stück anrührt, wird mich zum Feinde haben. Steinhöwel überträgt wieder sehr gut: *welher aber den vierden an regt, des fynd will ich syn.* Kein Wunder, daß Luther folgt: *wer aber das vierde anrurret, des feind wil ich sein.* Dann notiert er am Rande—ganz frei: *wer aber das vierde haben wil, der müs mirs mit gewalt nemen.* Was vorher eine abstrakte Drohung war, die der künftigen Feindschaft, ist nun ganz ins Konkrete gewendet: *Nimm dirs doch, wenn dus haben willst.* Vom *tetigerit* ist nichts mehr geblieben. Die freche Ungeduld und nackte Willkür des Starken, der nicht erst lange nach einem Rechtsboden für sein Tun sucht, ist in einem knappen Satz deutsch geworden.

Äsop schließt dann: *Sic totam predam illam solus improbitate sua abstulit*, wofür Steinhöwel gradezu genial sagt: *Also schilet der untriuw leo die dry von ieren tailen und behielt er sie all.*⁴ Aber Luther folgt ihm nicht, die Lehre, die er aus der Geschichte zieht, ist eine andere: *Also, schreibt er, hatten die drey vmbsonst geerbeitet vnd gehoff.* Oder in seiner letzten Fassung: *Also musten die drey, fur yhre muhe das nach sehen, vnd den schaden zu lohn, haben.*

Der alten Fabel ist der Löwe wichtiger als seine Opfer. Sie liegen abseits der Blickrichtung. Der Held der kleinen Erzählung ist ausschließlich der Löwe. Bei Luther zeigt sich eine Verschie-

⁴ *schilet* vielleicht statt des erwarteten *schiltigt* von *schuldigen*; *improbare* ist in den alten Glossarien meist mit *beschuldigen* wiedergegeben. Besser aber *schielt* (<*schilet*) von *schalten*, *er stieß fort*. Wenn man die Form liest, wie sie ist, als 3. sing. präs. von *schilhen*, *schilen*, bedeutet der Satz: er vertreibt sie durch schele Blicke.

bung der Gewichte. Angedeutet hatte sie sich schon in der Argumentierung des Löwen, wie er nicht mehr allzu stark auf sein Königsrecht pocht. Aber jetzt ist der Focus plötzlich verändert, und nicht der Eine, sondern die Drei sind scharf erfasst. Es ist der Christ Luther, dem die Ohnmächtigen, ja die Ausgebeuteten, die *'umsonst gearbeitet und gehofft haben,'* näher stehen als der König unter allen Tieren. Und so gehört sein erster und sein letzter Gedanke ihnen.

Es ist kaum übertrieben zu sagen, daß hier die alte Fabel aus *Äsop* nicht ins Deutsche, sondern gradezu ins Protestantische übersetzt ist.

Ich fürchte, ich setze mich dem Verdacht der Gespensterseherei aus, wenn ich fortfahre, aus dem flüchtigen Zeitvertreib, mit dem Luther sich über bange Stunden etwas hinweghalf, Auskünfte über die Seelenstruktur des Reformators herauszulesen. Aber die Achtlosigkeit und Nebensächlichkeit dieser Niederschriften macht, daß man klarer als sonst das Genie bei der Arbeit sieht. Hier ist sie nicht Mühe, Verantwortung, Grübeln und Abwägen, sie ist einfache Lehre, vielleicht für das *'Söhnichen Hänschen,'* vielleicht für Kinder überhaupt, eine kleine Weltweisheit in anspruchslosester Form, eine *Biblia pauperum* in dem Sinn, daß nicht göttliche Eingebung, sondern der gesunde Menschenverstand das Wort führt. Was für das lächelnd hingeworfene kleine Werkchen gilt, wie viel mehr muß es erst wahr sein für den Standbild-Luther der Deutschen Bibel.

Wie die Verben als Träger einer starken Bewegung sich vervielfältigen und vordrängen; wie die Wortwahl auf Präzision dringt und den anschaulichsten Ausdruck für ein angeschauts Ding findet, wie die Sätze einfach, ihre Teile und Glieder klar unterscheidbar sind, wie sie sich gliedern nach Takt und Akzent, so daß die Stimmung des Volkslieds in ihnen anklingt, das läßt sich gut erkennen. Wenn man sie so liest, die Handvoll uralter Fabeln, prägt sich ihr saftiges Deutsch ein, als seien sie in anderer Form undenkbar. Es klingt so einfach und so notwendig; es scheint als Meisterwerk vom Himmel gefallen. Und doch ist es über und über getan und in bedächtigem Bosseln und Formen errungen.

So zeugen auch die aus dem Deutschen von 1477 übertragenen, in die Neuzeit hinüber getragenen *Fabeln* für die Grösse des Dichters Luther vierhundert Jahre nach seinem Tode.

RAGAMUFFIN, RAGMAN, RIGMAROLE AND ROGUE

The word *ragamuffin* is first attested in 1393 in *Piers Plowman* as the name of a demon whose "bel-syre" is Belial, and from 1581 on in the meaning 'a ragged, dirty, disreputable man or boy' (1591: *raggamouff*, 1622: *raggedemuffins*).¹ According to the *NED* this word is "prob. from *Rag* sb. 1 (cf. *Ragged* 1c), with fanciful ending"; in the same dictionary s. v. *ragman* we find two entries, the first of which is defined as follows:

1. 'A name given to the Devil, or one of the devils (cf. *Ragamuffin*, *Ragged*, Sw. *ragg-en* ² ['devil']), first attested in two passages of *Piers Plowman*' (in the 16th c. two examples are found, coupled with the adjective *ruffy*).

2. 'A ragged person' (1440: *Prompt. Parv.*).

3. 'A rag-gatherer, -dealer' (1586).

The second, said to be of obscure origin and history, and to be more or less identical with *ragman's roll*, appears in the meanings: 1. a statute of Edward I; 2. a roll, list, catalogue; a long discourse, rhapsody, rigmarole; 3. a game of chance. The information about the second *ragman* is taken from Th. Wright, *Anecdota litteraria* (1844), who in one of the articles of this collection has published from ms. Digby n° 86 (c. 1290) a set of French quatrains, entitled *Ragemon le bon*, which he describes in the following words:

Each of the metrical quatrains of which it consists contains a personal character, good or bad, and the game appears to have been played by each lady or gentleman drawing for a character, and of course where a very bad one was drawn the drawer became an object of mirth and satire. It is evidently intended for a mixed company of both sexes, and of feudal rank, or it would not have been written in French.

¹ Cf. the playful syllable in *tatterdemallion* (*tattertimallion*), *hobbledehoy*, *slabberdegullion*, *flibertigibbet* etc., which pattern harks back to the grotesque vocabulary of a Rabelais (*robidilardique* etc.). Cf. also Germ. *holterdipolter*.

² This Swedish word must be connected, as Prof. Einarsson tells me, with Norw. *ragg* 'grobes, struppiges haar an tieren' (Falk-Torp) and, consequently, must mean 'the hairy one.' Nothing, however, in our OF texts would indicate a connection with anything Germanic, let alone Old Norse.

Wright also quotes an English composition of the 15th century, taken from ms. Fairfax n° 16, entitled 'Here beginneth Ragmane roelle,' the first stanza of which reads:

My ladyes and my maistresses echone,
 Lyke hit unto your humbyble wommanhede,
 Resave in gré of my sympill persone
 This rolle, which withouten any drede
 Kynge Ragman me bad me sowe in brede,
 And cristyned yt the merour of your chaunce;
 Drawith a stryng, and that shal streight yow leyde
 Unto the verry path of your governaunce.

Wright's description of the game in question and his explanation of the extension of its name to charters, lists, etc., by which can be explained our modern *rigmarole* (attested 1736 in this form, 1757 in the form *rigmonrowle*), is the following:

It is well known that the charter by which the Scots acknowledged their dependence on the English crown under Edward I, was popularly called a *ragman roll*; and the name was afterwards applied to other rolls. The origin of the name has been a subject of much doubt. In the chronicle of Lanercost we are told that the Scottish deed just mentioned was called *ragman* on account of the number of seals of the Scottish nobility which hung from it. It appears by the beginning of the following poem that, in the game of *Ragman*, the person seeking his character drew a string, which indicated the stanza that was to be applied to him. If we suppose (which appears to me very probable) that the stanzas were written one after another on a roll of parchment, that to each stanza a string was attached at the side, with a seal or piece of metal or wood at the end, and that, when used, the parchment was rolled up, with all the strings and their seals hanging together so that the drawer had no reason for choosing one more than another, but drew one of the strings by mere chance, on which the roll was opened to see on what stanza he had fallen; if such were the form of the game, we can very easily imagine why the name was popularly applied to a charter with an unusual number of seals attached to it, which when rolled up would present exactly the same appearance.

In the sequel the word *ragman* appears to have been used very generally for any comprehensive list of articles of all sorts arranged without any order, not "drawn up *secundum regimen*," as the compiler of the index to the Towneley Mysteries supposes. In the play of *Juditium*, in this work, Tutivillus, one of the devils who had been busily employed in catching people sinning, says (p. 311),—

Here a *rolle of ragman* of the rownde tabille,
 Of breffes in my bag, man, of synnes dampnable.

The words "of the rownde tabille" have perhaps an allusion to some characteristic of the game. The word occurs twice in *Piers Ploughman*. The first instance is a remarkable illustration of what has been said above: it relates to the pardoner (lin. 135),

Ther preched a pardoner,
As he a preest were;
Broughte forth a bulle
With many bisshopes seles,
And seide that hymself myghte
Assoilen hem alle.

He bouched hem with his brevet,
And blered hire eighen,
And raughte *with his rageman*
Rynges and broches.

Here the *ragman* is the bull *with many seals*. In the other passage of this poem it is applied to the devil (lin. 10,978),—

To go robbe that *rageman*,
And reve the fruyt fro hym.

This is perhaps another word, compounded of *rage* and *mad*, and signifying a fury or wanton.

Thus Wright separates *rageman* 'devil' found in Langland from *rageman* 'name of the game and of a roll with seals' (he reads the former with a *dž* and explains it by *rage* + *mad* 'a fury or wanton'), and in this procedure, at least, he is followed by the *NED* (though this dictionary assumes *ragged* to be behind the first *rageman*), whereas Skeat and Wedgwood seem to believe the two words to be identical. The latter expressly states: "The name of *Ragman* is given to the devil in P[iers] P[lowman], and he is made to preside at our game as the father of sorcery"; however, he would explain this unified word by Swed. *ragg-en* 'devil.' We are surely safe in assuming that the one original word *Rageman* 'devil' explains both articles in the *NED*; ³ but since *Rageman* 'devil' (as

³ The *NED* posits *rageman* n° 2 as trisyllabic because of the consistent spelling with *-e-* (only in the fifteenth century is the form *ragman* proved by a rhyme); but then the same should also apply to *rageman* n° 1 in its *-e-* spelling in Langland.

well as *King Rageman* 'father of sorcery presiding at the game of *rageman's roll*') has been historically preceded by the French *Rageman le bon* (with the typically euphemistic epithet that, in this case, serves to conceal a reference to the devil: cf. *the Eumenides*, *Pontus Euxeinus* etc.), it seems to me futile to look toward Swedish for further clarification of the etymon of Eng. *rageman* 'devil.' It is only from French that the solution can come.

Now, as far as I know, it has not been pointed out hitherto that, in Old French epics, from the thirteenth century on, there can be found a series of names used particularly of traitors and infidels (or giants), to which our *Ragemon* [*le bon*] fits both phonetically and semantically. This series, which I have extracted from Langlois, "Table des noms propres . . . dans les chansons de geste" (1904), I have grouped not in a chronological order (which, in any case, could not be rigorously established, given the difficulties of the dating of OF texts) but in one better suited to my purpose, and have added the symbols 's' (Saracen, infidel), 't' (traitor), 'g' (giant) to the particular names:

Rogomant s

Rogon: three names of t, one of which is called Seigneur de Montorgueil, with the nominative form *Rogues*. There is also a *Rogues* or *Rogonnes*, attested as a knight attending Huon de Bordeaux. A *Rogonnés l'Empereres* occurs as a crusader, along with the variant *Rogiers l'Empereres*.

Ragon de Montayglent t ["peut-être le même que Rogon"]

*Raguenel de Moncler*⁴ s

Rodoem de Monclin s

Rodoé, *Rodoant de Galabre* (and three other *Rodoants*), s; *Rodoal* s; *Giroudet de Rodans*, messenger of Gui de Nanteuil; *Rodamus* s; *Rodain* s.

⁴ The OF form *Raguenel* is evidently echoed by Eng. *ragnell* 'devil,' which occurs in the Chester plays (c. 1500) coupled with *ruffin* (*NED* s.v. *ruffin*).

There is room for doubt as to whether the radical *rag-* could belong to the word family of *ragot* 'hog' attested by Bloch-von Wartburg for the 15th c., *ragoter* 'to root like a hog' (Anjou *râgonner* 'chercher, fouiller avec un bâton, en faisant du bruit,' *raguenasser* 'manier, ou bouleverser avec du bruit'). To this word family also belongs the name of the fat pastry-cook in Rostand's *Cyrano*: *Ragueneau*.

Roboant: seven characters: six s [one of whom is also called *Rodoant de Calabre*], 1 g; *Roboin*⁵ s; *Raboant* ("se battit avec Enéas"⁶), *Rob[e]ant* ("fils de Sabaoth," i.e. of the teacher of Beuve d'Antone), *Roboastre* ("né d'une femme et d'un lutin"),

We see that the majority of the names show an -o- in the first syllable (though the -a- of *Ragemon le bon* is not isolated), and a -[m]an[t] in the last, while the first intervocalic consonant varies: -g-, -d-, -b-. If we assume the -b- to be the original consonant, this would bring us to the name of the Old Testament King Rehoboam (*Roboam* in the form of the Vulgate; his OF name is also *Roboam* e.g. in Guillaume le Clerc's *Bestiaire* v. 14⁷ with the ms. variants *Roboan Robonans*), that son of Solomon who, after consulting with young inexperienced advisers, told his subjects that, if his father had chastised them with whips he would chastise them with scorpions, and, in the ensuing revolt, lost the ten tribes of Israel to Jeroboam—truly a haughty, treacherous king who, in the Scrip-

⁵ This form must be identical with Lyons (and Fr. argot) *rabouin*, It. argot *rabuino* 'devil,' which, in Fr. argot, later developped the meaning 'gipsy' and, in the dialect of Anjou became a 'nom méprisant sous lequel les forains sérieux désignent les roulottiers bohèmes' (Sainéan, *L'argot ancien*, p. 348); if the -o- form is the original one, then our epic name would be the oldest attestation hitherto known of the word family, and the connection with *Roboam* would be evident; if not, we may accept the explanation of Nigra (*AGE* It xiv, 374), who would derive *rabouin* from *rapum* 'carrot' > 'tail' (the devil appearing with a tail), which has also given the Milanese *rabbói*, *rabozz* 'devil' (> Viennese *rawuzzel* 'bugbear,' according to Nigra—but perhaps this latter is better explained by dial. German *rabau*[z] 'coarse fellow' > Fr. *ribau*[z]).

⁶ This name recurs in a scene of Girard de Viane where we are told the story of a *haubert jazerant* acquired from a Jew: it had belonged to the (baptized) Eneas (of whom it is said "Deus parama tant," and "se guarì a loi d'ome sachant"): "Puis le perdi el bois soz Moradant / En la bataille qu'il fist a Raboant." Since the placename *Moradans* is reminiscent of the Saracen name *Moradas* (cf. Langlois), we are probably right in assuming that *Raboant* was a Saracen against whom the *pious Aeneas* had to fight as a true Christian.

⁷ Cf. the entire text: [the poet will tell] 'Come Salomon le temple fist, / Qui pres de quarante anz i mist, / Com apres lui vint Roboam / E come danz Jeroboam / Fu donc des dis lignees reis, / Coment donc changerent les leis, / Coment fu le temple Baal, / Coment donc commença le mal, / Qui als tens de tanz reis dura, / Coment li poeples meserra . . .'. Note in the mss. the variant of the name Jeroboam: *Gerodouans*, parallel to our *Roboam* > *Rodoant*.

tures, is judged with all the contempt due to an ignoble scion of a noble line of kings: as Moréri epitomizes his biography: "L'Ecriture sainte condamne sa mémoire, comme d'un Prince infidèle à Dieu, qui avoit toujours mal fait à sa présence, et qui ne s'étoit point mis en peine de le chercher." Is it, then, unlikely, that haughty traitors or infidels were, in the OF epics, given the name of that ill-famed Jewish King? That, in this same literature, Saracens are made to bear Old Testament names, can be easily seen from Langlois' *Table* (*Abraham, Absalon, Abel*); and giants were often considered in Old French as kinsfolk of infidels, cf. the Romance progeny of *Gog* and *Magog*. That the name of an infidel or a traitor could yield a name for the devil (or a devil) is equally likely: is the devil not The Traitor (compare also the contrary transfer of the names *Satanas* or *Adragant* [*< drago*] to heathen, as attested by Langlois, or that of *Lucifer* and *Astaroz*, cf. Sainéan, *Les sources indigènes* II, 429).⁸

As concerns the forms with *-d-* (*Rodoant*), there is a question whether these should have been listed with the others, since they may be connected with the Arab name *Roduan*, attested by Scheludko at Aleppo in the twelfth century. In that case, however, the derivatives of *Roduan* could have been attracted into the sphere of *Roboan*, thereby serving to explain such forms as *Rodomans*, *Rodoem*, *Rodamus*—and ultimately the Italian *Rodamonte* (of Boiardo) and *Rodomonte* (of Ariosto). The name of the boastful but brave king of Algiers who, in Boiardo's poem, is "un Capaneo, che sfidava gli Dei allo stesso modo che gli uomini" (according to Rajna's definition in "Le fonti dell' Orlando furioso," p. 53), and who becomes with Ariosto "quel fier senza pietà Breusse" (*Orl. inn.* XXIX, 30), belongs clearly to the French tradition of *Rodomans*, *Rodoant*, *Rogomant*: if it is true, as has been traditionally believed (cf. Ménage), that for *Rodamonte* (as well as for other epic names: *Sacripante*, *Gradasso*) Boiardo drew upon the stock of names current among the tenants of his estate et Scandiano, this need prove only what has been attested in other cases: that epic

⁸ As for the comparatively few cases in which a loyal Christian knight is given a name from this series mainly devoted to infidels, we may point to the parallel example of the Arabic name of Aucassin, the Christian lover of Nicolette—to which Scheludko, *ZRPn* XLII, 484, has added other illustrations.—On Cain as the ancestor of infidels cf. M. P. Hamilton, *PMLA* LXI, 315.

names of French tradition had become quite common in Italy in the latter part of the Middle Ages (Le Duchat's 'Latin' etymology: *Rodamonte* = *rode-montes* 'ronge-montagne' is obviously nothing but a humanistic fanciful explanation, patterned on such names as Rabelais' *Rodilard*).

As for the -g- of *Rogomant*, *Ragomant*, Eng. *Rageman* (cf. also the Scotch form *ragment* [item 2 of the *NED*], so important for our purpose), this could perhaps be explained as a vestige of the -h- of the Hebrew name *Rehoboam* (-h- > -g-, cf. such French words as *magasin*, *estragon*, derived from Arabic words with -h-: Steiger, *Contribución*, p. 233). Another explanation has been offered by W. Kalbow in his several attempts, contradictory to each other, to derive *Rogues*, *Rogon*, *Ragon*, *Raguenel* from Germanic sources: on p. 100 of his book "Die germ. Personennamen d. afrz Helden-epos," he derives *Rogues*, *Rogon* from a Germ. *Rocco* attested by Mabillon c. 678; on p. 56 the same forms (plus *Ragon*) are traced back to a Germ. *Roggo* attested by Schönast in Alemannic sources; on p. 56 *Raguenel* is identified ("zweifellos"!) with *Ragenus*, attested in the *Polyptichon Irminonis*. In whatever manner the question of the ultimate origin of the names in -g- may be decided, it seems to me that we cannot avoid the conclusion that these, just like the forms in -d- (*Rodoans*), were attracted into the orbit of *Roboant*. Moreover, it strikes me as very likely that the nuance of arrogance revealed in such a name as *Rogon de Montorgueil*, has come to the *Rogon-Rogue* names through the channel of the Biblical *Roboant* = *Roboam*; and I am even inclined to think that the French adjectives *rogue* 'arrogant, avec une nuance de dureté en plus,' 'dur, pénible' (Godefroy), which is first attested in the *Roman de la Rose* (where it is coupled with *fiers* and *orguillus* and is applied to the Pharisees) ⁹ is nothing but our OF epic proper name *Rogues*, *Rogon* (whatever its origin), which developed first to a common noun and then to an adjective. I find a confirmation of my supposition on the group *Roboam*, *Rogomant*, *Rogues*, *rogue* in the modern argot term *rogomme* 'strong whiskey' (*rogum* in a letter of Mme de

⁹ Up to now no satisfactory explanation has been given of the French adjective *rogue*: ON *hrōkr* is far from convincing, cf. Bloch-von Wartburg; Gamillscheg's assertion that it was first used of horses is wrong, and the modern dialectal meanings of *rogue* ('old, restive horse' etc.) are clearly secondary.

Maintenon),¹⁰ which must have developed from the meaning 'rude,' cf. mod. Fr. argot *rude* 'whiskey' (Sainéan, *Le langage parisien*, p. 379), which offers a transitional form between the OF name *Rogomant* and the adjective *rogue* 'arrogant, dur.' We may assume that the type *Roboant*, *Rodoant*, *Rogomant* has, by error, or, rather, by folk-etymology, been conceived as one of those proper names derived from present participles such as *Baligant*, *Astorgant*, *Aubigant* in the *Roland* (cf. also *Rubicante*, name of a devil in Dante; *Morgante* and *Sacripante* in the Italian heroicomic poems; *Rocinante* in the *Quijote* etc.), and that, in consequence, the supposed present participle was then replaced either by the past participle: *Rodoé* (the same procedure is illustrated by OF *Derramé*, *Desramé* < Arab. *Abderrahman*,¹¹ where the ending *-ant*, ostensibly the equivalent of the ending of the present participle, was replaced by *-é*, probably after the pattern of the couple *aumirant*—*amiré* 'commander'), or by other suffixes (*Rodoal*, *Rodamus*), or, finally, by an ending reminiscent of *oem* < *homo* (*Rodoem*). Is it not even possible that, once the participial ending had been subtracted from *Rogomant* (a stage reflected by *rogomme* 'strong whiskey'), the nominative *Rogues* was constructed (cf. the similar procedure in Celtic *mor-gwenn* > OF *Morgain*, from which a new nominative *Morgue* was formed), which appeared to fit in with the type *Begues*—*Begon*, *Otes-Oton*? If this is the case, we would not need to seek for Germanic antecedents of *Rogues*—*Rogon*, which Kalbow has tentatively assumed.

The English noun *rogue*, which, according to the *NED*, was originally a cant term of the fifteenth century, must evidently go back to the French name *Rogue* in the meaning 'devil' (which we have not hitherto found attested, but which one is warranted to assume, given, on the one hand, the name *Rogue* used of traitors and infidels and, on the other, *Ragomant*, *Rageman*, as names of the devil [cf. particularly *raguel* 'fiend']). There is no possibility, it seems to me, of dissociating entirely, as the *NED* would have us do, the Eng. noun *rogue* from the French adjective *rogue*: they are

¹⁰ I have offered a different, and perhaps, a less convincing explanation of this word in *MLN* LIX, 246.

¹¹ Mr. Artola, one of my students, has suggested to me the equation *Abder[rahman]* > *Ragoman* (with *h* > *g* as in *magasin*), but the fact is that the Mohammedan ruler always appears in OF epics under the name *Derramé*. Still, the suggestion may be worth consideration.

different semantic developments from the same epic name *Rogues*, the one emphasizing more 'devilishness,' the other, 'ruthlessness.'

Ragamouf, *ragamuffin*, in turn, go back to a Fr. **Rogom-ouf*[l]e or **Ragam-ouf*[l]e, which must be a blend of *Ragemon* 'devil,' and such words as OF *ruffien*¹² of the fourteenth century (cf. *ruffy*, which appears associated with our word family in its first attestations) or *maroufle*; again, it could even be a coinage from the *ragemon* stem formed with the OF suffix *-ouf*[le], like *maroufle* itself (cf. the names with Germanic *-ulf* such as *Arnou*, *Marcou*, *Estouf*); Sainéan l. c. II, 429, quotes OF epic names for Sarracens of the type *Marsoufle* (> *Marsilie*), *Aarofle* (> *Aron*).¹³ The idea of 'ragged' appears in *ragamuffin* only as late as 1440, and is consequently quite secondary: in fact, up to today, the word designates a (ragged) street urchin whom decent children should not imitate, and I suspect that 'street urchin' was the original meaning—a meaning which connects immediately with 'devil, demon, imp, heathen' (cf. on the one hand the Walloon *baligant* 'vagabond, brigand, vaurien' and mid. Fr. *baligault* 'badaud' [FEW s. v. *Baligant*], on the other, Sp. *pícaro* 'rogue,' from the name of a Picardian heretic sect, REW 6476a). Folk-etymology has again secondarily transformed the *rageman* 'devil' into a rag-man, a rag-gatherer or -dealer. It is a long way that the haughty Old Testament king has traveled, but I believe we have been able to follow step by step his declining path.

LEO SPITZER

6

CAXTON'S CHESS BOOK

Caxton's translation of *The Game and Playe of the Chesse* exists in two original editions, the first printed at Bruges and the

¹² The Fr. *ruffien* -an is generally considered to be an Italianism, but the existence of an O. Prov. *rofiá rufiá* (cf. also in DuCange, s. v. *ruffiana*, a Latin text from Provence) speaks in favor of a parallel OF *rufien*—which, moreover is postulated by Eng. *ruffin* 'fiend' (attested 1225: *ruffines of hell*; in the Chester plays *ruffian* appears as a variant of *ruffin*), of which *ruffy* may be a variant. I suppose that the **ruffianus* family meant originally 'belonging to the devil (who is traditionally *rufus* 'red'),' and was formed in medieval Latin as the opposite of *Christ-ianus*.

¹³ The suffix *-o[u]ffe* is still in existence in mod. Fr. *argot*: *aristoffe*, *pignouf*, *patapouf* etc.

second at Westminster.¹ The established opinion of their relationship to each other and to their French sources, as presented by Blades,² Aurner,³ Byles,⁴ and Crotch,⁵ can be summarized as follows:

1) Caxton's first and third chapters are derived from the literal translation of the original Latin (Jacobus de Cessolis, *Liber de Ludo Scaccorum*) by Jean Faron (or Ferron). The remainder of the *Game and Playe* comes from the freer, expanded translation by Jean de Vignay—even to the preface, in which Caxton paraphrases Vignay while changing the proper names. The combination of the two French versions is to be thought of as made by Caxton himself.

2) Caxton's translation is a literal one. The only notable alterations in his first edition are his original epilogue, and the two interpolated laments over the degeneracy of England beginning "Alas and in Engeland what hurte doon the aduocats . . ." and "Alas what haboundance was some tymes in the royames. And what prosperite . . ."

3) The second edition is essentially a reprint of the first except for its new preface and epilogue, and the addition of woodcuts.⁶

Disregarded by the last three authorities cited above is the fact that the Axon reprint of the Caxton first edition points out not only a few verbal alterations in the second edition (all but one of them in the table of contents), but also the presence, in the first, of still another interpolation.⁷ This is a longish passage, identified by Axon as original because of its personal element:

¹ Ed¹ consulted in microfilm of the British Museum copy C.10.b.23; Ed² in the type facsimile by Vincent Figgins, *The Game of the Chesse* (London, 1855). The two editions are dated by W. J. B. Crotch, *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton* (London, 1928; EETS., or. s., 176), p. xcix, as from 1475(?) and 1483, respectively.

² William Blades, *The Biography and Typography of William Caxton*. First ed. (London, 1877), pp. 171-76, 230-33; second ed. (London, 1882), pp. 173-78, 232-36.

³ Nellie Slayton Aurner, *Caxton: Mirrour of Fifteenth-Century Letters* (Boston, New York, 1926), pp. 44, 79-80, 91-92, 227-30.

⁴ Alfred T. P. Byles, *The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry* (London, 1926; EETS., or s., 168), pp. xliii, xlv.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. xcix-ci, 10-16.

⁶ Ed¹, fol. 37.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 64 r^o (Crotch counts it as 63 r^o).

⁸ Blades, *op. cit.*, ed. 1882, p. 235, refers to the second lament (which he did not mention at all in 1877) as being added to an original text which he quotes in English, thus giving the erroneous impression that it was added only in Ed².

⁹ Caxton's *Game and Playe of the Chesse*, 1474. A verbatim reprint of the first edition. With an introduction by William E. A. Axon (London, 1883), pp. lxviii, 6, 39.

And also hit is to be supposyd that suche as haue theyr goodes comune & not propre is most acceptable to god / For ellys wold not thise religious men as monkes freris chanons obseruantes & all other auowe hem & kepe the wilfull pouerte that they ben professid too / For in trouth I haue my self ben conuersant in a religious hous of white freris at gaunt Whiche haue alle thyng in comyn amonge them / and not one richer than an other / in so moche that yf a man gaf to a frere iii d or iiii. d to praye for hym in his masse / as sone as the masse is doon he delyuerith hit to his ouerest or procuratour in whyche hows ben many vertuous and deuoute freris And yf that lyf were not the beste & the most holiest / holy church wold neuer suffre hit in religion.¹⁰

But otherwise, the line of opinion begun by Blades has remained unchallenged.

Upon further examination of the texts, however, and of French manuscript evidence, this established view is found to require modification under each of the three headings.

1) The combination of the Faron and Vignay versions cannot be attributed to Caxton's originality, since it also exists in French manuscript tradition. A number of different composite versions are known¹¹; and one of these, in the Cockerell MS,¹² agrees closely with Caxton's text. The resemblance, although including one peculiar common error,¹³ is not complete. There are numerous

¹⁰ Ed¹, fol. 34 v^o.

¹¹ Cf. Felix Lajard, "Jacques de Cessoles, Dominicain," *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXV (originally published 1869; facsimile reprint, Paris, 1898), 27-28, 32-33; also the evidence in notes 12 and 14, following.

¹² Now in the possession of the University of Chicago Library, Accession No. 943063, *Jacques de Cessoles, Livres des Echecs Moralises*, translated from Latin into French by Jehan de Vignay and Jehan Ferron. *Parisian MS. cir MCCCLV*. Hereafter indicated as C.

Copied on the inside of the cover is a statement by Léopold Delisle, in a letter of April 23, 1908, to Mr. Sydney C. Cockerell, then owner of the MS, "Il y . . . a six [of the MSS previously known to him, apparently] dans lesquels le texte de Jean de Vignay a été combiné avec celui de Jean Ferron. . . . Vous verrez que dans votre manuscrit . . . le copiste a combiné le texte des deux traductions."

Delisle's work on the MSS would seem to have been cut short by his death in 1910, and it has not been possible to locate any publication of his findings.

¹³ "Ther is none that is so synfull as he that hath alle the world in despyte," Ed¹, fol. 14 v^o, is so obviously incorrect that Ed², sign C, fol. 1 v^o, emends *synfull* to *blisful* (variation noted by Axon, *op. cit.*, p. 39, calling the Ed¹ reading a misprint). Yet MS C, fol. 7 r^o, has "Il nest nul si grant pechie comme celuy qui ha tout le monde en despit," and it can be seen that *pechie* is mistakenly copied from a nearby sentence.

small variants in which Caxton's originality cannot be suspected; chapter headings are missing from the MS, which in its table of contents indicates the first three chapters only; and it commences, not with the Vignay preface which Caxton paraphrases, but with the Faron preface modified by the insertion of Vignay's name as author.¹⁴ Yet on the basis of the fundamental correspondence, one must believe that Caxton derived his combination of Faron and Vignay from a MS related to the Cockerell, rather than that he coincidentally made the same combination.

The Faron element in this combined version should be recognized as extending, in the chapter headings, to the very end of the work. For although, in wording, Caxton's headings correspond fairly well to those of a Vignay text, the Plimpton MS,¹⁵ the

¹⁴ C, fol. 1 r^o, "A noble home et discret bertran aubery escuier de tarascon frere jehan de vignay de lordre dez freres de haut pas son petit et humble chappelain . . ." Cf. the Faron preface—Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, v (Paris, 1842), 62, quoting MS B. N. fr. 578—"A Noble et discret homme Bertrand Aubant, escuier de Tarascon, frere Jehan Ferron, de l'ordre des frères prescheurs de Paris, son petit et humble chappelain . . ." and the Vignay and Caxton prefaces in Crotch, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-13.

The same insertion of Vignay's name in the Faron preface, suggesting other combined versions similar to that in C and Caxton, is found in MS B. N. fr. 2146 (described by Lajard, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28, under the former number 7978 anc. fonds, as a combination which it is hard to identify with that in C) and MS 1321 in Guillaume de Bure, *Catalogue des Livres de la Bibliothèque de feu M. le Duc de la Vallière*, Vol. I (Paris, 1783)—MS now in Stockholm according to a note by Cockerell inside the cover of C; described by De Bure as the Faron version, but perhaps erroneously, from superficial collation. Similar insertions are also implied in the remark of Paulin Paris, *op. cit.*, v, 15, "Plusieurs fois la grande célébrité de Jean de Vignay a fait qu'on a mis sous son nom la traduction de son émule Jean Farron."

¹⁵ *Le Jeu des Echecs Moralisé*, MS 282 in the collection owned by Mrs. George A. Plimpton, on deposit with the Plimpton Library, Columbia University. Consulted in microfilm. Hereafter indicated as P.

As might be expected where there is a complicated manuscript background, and where some of the phraseology might be re-created independently out of knowledge of the contents of the chapters, Ed¹ shows a variety of cross-agreements with the opening of the table of contents preserved in C (fol. 1 v^o), with both table of contents and chapter headings in P, and even in one instance with the original Latin text of De Cessolis as quoted by Lajard, *op. cit.*, p. 15: the appearance of "epilogacion" in the final headings of Ed¹ but not of P.

division of the twenty-four chapters into four tractates, which is to be found in Caxton and at the beginning of the Cockerell MS,¹⁶ is a feature of the original Latin text which is preserved in Faron's translation but not in Vignay's.¹⁷

As to the text proper, one must regard Blades's limitation of the Faron influence with scepticism. Such scepticism can be based on the known complexities of the French texts (with wide variations among different MSS of each translation, yet the two translations agreeing so closely in Tractate IV that the possibility of plagiarism has had to be considered),¹⁸ and on Blades's failure to indicate the manuscript basis of his statement. It is confirmed by partial collation of the Plimpton MS, which after the end of Tractate I (which according to Blades includes all the Faron material) still shows Caxton failing to reproduce what seem characteristic Vignay expansions.¹⁹ It could be established, however, only by an elaborate textual study.

2) Collation of Caxton's text with the Cockerell and Plimpton MSS²⁰ not only confirms Axon's inference that the entire passage on communism quoted above is original to Caxton, without source in the French,²¹ but also indicates some smaller departures from a close literal translation.

Two short passages, each expanding upon a suggestion in the French but without precise manuscript source, reproduce the elegiac tone which is to be found in the well known interpolations referred to above (and also, it must be conceded, in a number of laments which Caxton needed only to translate):

¹⁶ Ed¹, fol. 3 r^o and *passim*; C, fol. 1 v^o.

¹⁷ Lajard, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 30. (*Of. P, passim.*)

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 31-33.

¹⁹ In P, Chapter IV (not to be found in Caxton, Tractate II, Chapter I): a series of quotations from Isidore and David, and the first part of one from Seneca; later, quotations of three Biblical texts, and one gloss. At the beginning of P, Chapter V (not in Caxton, II, ii): a long argument about the French traditions against female succession, including an historical excursion back to the fall of Troy.

²⁰ C collated completely, P on points of special interest, and for the three passages where there are missing leaves in C, lying between fols. 7-8, 15-16, 28-29 in the modern numbering, which makes no account of the omissions.

²¹ *Of. C*, fol. 16 v^o; P, fol. 41.

La simple parole dun prince doit estre plus estable que le serement dun marchant.

The simple parole or worde of a prynce ought to be more stable thenne the oth of a marchaunt / Alas how kepe the pynces their promises in thise dayes / not only her promises but their othes her sealis and wrytynges & signes of their propre handes / alle faylleth god amende hit.²²

Scipion dauffricque dit quil nest rien sy fort a maintenir comme est amour iusque a la mort et que vraies amours sont fortes a trouuer / et especialment qui sont souuerains sur les autres / et qui ont a gouverner commun de peuple // Et vraiment on trouueroit peu qui portast lonneur de son amy deuant le Juge.

Scipion of Affricque sayth that there is no thyng so stronge / as for to mayntene loue vnto the deth The loue of concupiscence and of lecherye is some dissoluyd and broken / But the verray true loue of the comyn wele and prouffit now a dayes is selde founden / wher shall thou fynde a man in thyse dayes that wyll expose hymself for the worshippe and honour of his frende / or for the comyn wele selde or neuer shall he be founden.²³

Clearly original to Caxton's version are the dimensions in English measures assigned to the walls of Babylon in addition to the translated Lombard and French ones.²⁴ In four superficially parallel passages, however, in which Caxton goes to the trouble of pointing out that he is giving in *English* the etymologies of the name Philometor²⁵ and the word *mulier*,²⁶ and the meaning of two pieces of Latin verse,²⁷ he is in fact merely retranslating a French translation. Thus only the references to the English language (in the first of which the word "english" takes the place of "francois" in the source) constitute variations from strict literalness in following the French. Their motive, difficult to conceive in rational terms, presumably must lie in some feeling for naturalness of

²² C, fol. 3 v^o; P, fols. 8 v^o-9 r^o, similar; Ed¹, fol. 8 r^o.

²³ C, fol. 8 v^o; quotation after *mort* completed from P, fol. 26 r^o; Ed¹, fol. 19 r^o.

²⁴ C, fols. 32 v^o-33 r^o; P, fol. 66 r^o, similar; Ed¹, fol. 62 v^o.

²⁵ C, fol. 2 r^o; P, fol. 3 v^o, lacks the statement that the meaning given is "en francois"; Ed¹, fol. 4 v^o.

²⁶ C, fol. 25 v^o; P, fol. 54 v^o; neither text contains the reference to Latin *mollys aer* which appears in Ed¹, fol. 49 v^o.

²⁷ C, leaf missing; P, fol. 38 v^o; Ed¹, fol. 31 v^o; note that Caxton in freely translating *morte ruant subita* by *shal ben deffetid by sodeyn deth* follows the French rendering *mort soudaine tout ce deffait* without its motive of providing a rhyme for *bienfait* (*merita, merites*). C, fol. 19 r^o; P, fol. 45 r^o; both MSS lack the original Latin preserved in Ed¹ fol. 39 r^o.

expression when one's reader is to be conscious of the translation process.

Still harder to explain is the following correspondence:

De ce dit len i dit commun en france. Tant uault amour comme argent dure. quant argent fault amour est nulle.

Herof men saye a comyn prouerbe in england / that loue lasteth as longe as the money endureth / and whan the money faylleth than there is no loue.²⁸

What look to be two genuine English proverbs, on the other hand, are also introduced in place of a literal translation, one of them with some violence to the meaning of the original:

Tout ce que len luy dit soit tenu secret laquelle chose est contre la nature de plusieurs femmes quar aucunes celent mauuaiseement ce que elles sceuent.

. . . that she be secrete and telle not suche thynges as ought to be holden secrete / Wherefore it is a comyn prouerbe that women can kepe no counceyle.²⁹

Il nous auient souuent aux grans digners que quant nous sommes saoul dez nobles viandes les viandes vilez nous sont agreables.

Hit happeth ofte tymes in grete festes & dyners / that we be fylde wyth the sight of the noble and lichorous metis and whan we wolde ete we ben saciat and fild / And therefore hit is sayd in prouerbe / hit is better to fylle the bely than the eye.³⁰

In either case, manuscript variation in Caxton's immediate source is a conceivable alternative explanation, as it is for three short passages near the end of the book which amount to cursory summaries of longer portions of the French text,³¹ or for a variety of small alterations, additions, and omissions which one hesitates to assign in their entirety to Caxton's originality, or even to his misunderstanding and carelessness.

²⁸ C, fols. 18 v^o-19 r^o; P, fol. 44 v^o, similar but without *en france*; one suspects that in both MSS the words have been rearranged, destroying a *uault-fault* rhyme; Ed¹, fol. 38 v^o.

²⁹ C, fol. 4 v^o; quotation after *secret* completed from P, fol. 13 r^o; Ed¹, fols. 9 v^o-10 r^o (after *prouerbe* another *that women* seems to have been printed, but is heavily marked through).

³⁰ C, fol. 27 v^o; P, fol. 57 r^o, similar; Ed¹, fol. 52 v^o.

³¹ C, fol. 35; P, fols. 70 v^o-71 r^o; about a page of text reproduced by the sentence "And therefore . . . extremyte," Ed¹, fol. 66 v^o. C, fol. 36 r^o, about half a page; P, fols. 71 v^o-72 r^o, longer; reproduced by the short passage "Certainly . . . shamfast," Ed¹, fol. 67. C, fol. 37 r^o, about a quarter of a page; P, fol. 73 r^o, longer; reproduced by the sentence "A Iuge . . . owen place," Ed¹, fol. 68.

3) Variants in the table of contents of the second edition, similar to the five cited by Axon from the Third Tractate, are to be found from beginning to end of the table, and are so extensive that it should be considered a new piece of work. Yet it is not independent of the first edition.

Such a relationship is possible because, in the first edition, the headings which stand at the beginnings of the successive chapters are not identical, as might be expected, with those in the table of contents. They show differences in vocabulary and word order, and in general are a little fuller. In the second edition, these actual chapter headings are reprinted with only a few omissions of words;³² some changes of indention, spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and abbreviation; and the consistent addition of *capitulo primo*, and so forth, at the ends. The reprinting is, indeed, so faithful as to repeat the erroneous *second chappitre* for what actually is the third chapter of the Fourth Tractate, and is correctly labelled *capitulo tercio*.³³

Now in the table of contents of the second edition, there exist not only this same added Latin numbering, and the characteristic printer's style in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and abbreviation, but also those significant variations in wording from the first edition table which have been referred to already. Sometimes these are to be described as original, or at least random. For the most part, however, they bear an unmistakable resemblance to the wording of the chapter headings in the first edition.

A few examples will demonstrate this:

First Edition Table of Contents	First Edition Chapter Headings	Second Edition Table of Contents
This booke conteyneth .iiii. traytees / The first traytee is of the Inuencion of this playe of the chesse / and conteyneth .iii. chapitres The first chapitre is	This first chapter of	This book is deuoyded and departed in to four traytyes and partyes. The first traytye How the playe of the

³² In the heading of Tractate iv, Chapter II: *hym*; iv, iv: *Is*; iv, v: *Is*; iv, vii: *treteth*.

³³ Quotations from Ed²; Ed¹, *seconde chapter*, no Latin number.

First Edition Table of Contents	First Edition Chapter Headings	Second Edition Table of Contents
vnder what kynge this playe was founden	the first tractate shew- eth vnder what kynge the play of the chesse was founden and maad	chesse was fyrst foun- den and vnder what kyng capitulo . . . j
The ii chapitre / who fonde this playe	This second chapitre of the first tractate sheweth who fonde first the playe of the chesse	Who fond first the playe of the chesse capitulo ij
The .iii. chapitre / tre- teth of iii. causes why hit was made and founden	The thirde chapitre of the first tractate treteth wherfore the playe was founden and maad	Wherfore the play was founden and maad Capi- tulo iij
The seconde traytee treteth of the chesse men and conteyneth .v. chapitres		The second traytye
The first chapitre tre- teth of the forme of a kynge and of such things as apperteyn to a kynge	The seconde tractate / the first chapter tret- eth of the forme of a kynge of his maners and of his estate	The forme of a k yng of his maners and estate ca j
And the eyght and laste chapitre is of the epi- logacion. And of the recapitulacion of all these forsaide chapitres.	The eyght chapitre and the last of the fourth book of the epi- logacion and recapitula- cion of this book.	Of the epilogacion and recapitulacion of thys book capitulo viij. ³⁴

It is also true that similarity in printer's style produces an appearance of even closer relationship between the new table of contents and the chapter headings which appear with it in the second edition, but *a priori* scepticism of Caxton's having copied his table from headings appearing later in the same volume is confirmed by textual evidence. For the *hym* of *he meuyth hym* in the heading of Chapter II of the Fourth Tractate, first edition, which is reproduced in the second edition table of contents, is one of the words omitted in its chapter headings.³⁵ Accordingly, it is to be

³⁴ Ed¹, fol. 3 (*to* supplied from Axon, *op. cit.*, p. [5], for a lacuna in the microfilmed copy) and *passim*; Ed², sign. A, fols. 2 v^o-3 r^o.

³⁵ See n. 32, above. Ed², table of contents, *he meuyth hym*; Ed¹ table of contents entirely different.

But the defendant doth that plea deny
 And says in him thy fair appearance lies.
 To 'cide this title is impaneled
 A quest of thoughts, all tenants to the heart,
 And by their verdict is determined
 The clear eye's moiety and the dear heart's part:
 As thus—mine eye's due is thy outward part,
 And my heart's right thy inward love of heart.¹

The central imagery of this sonnet based upon a legal action for partition of land among co-owners has often been commented upon.² But for some reason the allusions to common law pleading and practice³ therein have attracted almost no attention, being only casually mentioned when noted at all.⁴ It is the purpose of this paper to inquire into the nature of these difficult (and therefore largely neglected) allusions in this highly legalistic sonnet.

I

"But the defendant doth that plea deny"

When a lawyer thinks of a *plea*, invariably he thinks of the "answer" filed by the defendant to the plaintiff's *declaration* by which an action at law is commenced. In the technical and intricate art of pleading at common law, the first pleading in an action was the declaration⁵ filed by the plaintiff. This was a formal statement

¹ Kittredge's reading, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (1936), p. 1501. And see generally *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare—The Sonnets* (ed. Rollins), pp. 127-129.

² See: Campbell, *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements Considered* (1859), p. 102; Allen, *Notes on the Bacon-Shakespeare Question* (1900), p. 81; Barton, *Links between Shakespeare and the Law* (1929), pp. 13 ff.; Hazelton Spencer, *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare* (1940), p. 28; Clarkson & Warren, *The Law of Property in Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Drama* (1942), pp. 168-170.

³ Elizabethan dramatists alluded to legal pleading with surprising frequency, as will be shown by citations hereinafter given to passages from their works which are suggested by the discussion of this sonnet.

⁴ See: Davis, *The Law in Shakespeare* (2nd ed., 1894), p. 280; Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 81; *The Sonnets of Shakespeare* (ed. Tucker, 1924), p. 123.

⁵ Declarations are referred to by the Elizabethan dramatists as follows: Chapman: *All Fools* (ed. Parrott, 1914), II, i, 329, IV, i, 305-332.

Webster (ed. Lucas, 1927): *The White Devil*, IV, i, 98; *A Cure for a Cuckold*, IV, i, 33-34, IV, i, 98.

Fletcher (with Massinger): *The Spanish Curate* (ed. Bullen, 1905), IV, vii, 74.

Middleton (ed. Dyce, 1840): *The Phoenix*, I, iv, pp. 328-329; *Any Thing for a Quiet Life*, II, i, p. 439.

to the court of the facts upon which he relied in invoking judicial process against the defendant. Following the declaration, it was the defendant's turn to make a statement answering the declaration. Two courses were open to him: he could file either a demurrer⁶ or a plea.

The *plea* raised an issue of fact or presented new matters of fact which, unless a demurrer were interposed, had to be determined by trial. The *plea*, as a form of pleading, was exclusively adapted for use *by the defendant* in replying to a declaration, and with one exception⁷ *was never used by the plaintiff*.

The pleadings subsequent to the plea, filed alternately by the plaintiff and defendant (assuming no intervening demurrer by either party), were in order: the replication, the rejoinder, the surrejoinder, the rebutter, and the surrebutter.⁸ In actual practice

⁶ The nature and general effect of a demurrer may be briefly described as follows: The demurrer raised a question of law as to the sufficiency of the preceding pleadings, both in form and in substance, to be decided by the judge. No issue of fact was involved. If the defendant demurred to a declaration, he said in effect, "Admitting the facts alleged in the declaration to be true, they do not show a cause of action against me"; or "The plaintiff has stated the facts in a manner contrary to the required form so that he is not entitled to proceed with his action." At common law the judgment on the demurrer was final and disposed of the action. Use of the demurrer was not confined to the defendant in replying to a declaration. It could be interposed by either party at any stage of the pleadings before an issue of fact had been joined. Thus, if the defendant elected not to demur to the declaration but to put in a plea, the plaintiff in turn could demur to the plea—and so on through the entire succession of pleadings.

Shakespeare does not mention demurrers at all, but his fellow dramatists allude to them as follows:

Beaumont & Fletcher: *The Woman's Prize* (ed. Dyce, 1844), II, i, p. 130.

Marston. *What You Will* (ed. Bullen, 1887), II, ii, 85.

Ford (eds. Gifford & Dyce, 1869): *Love's Sacrifice*, III, i, p. 56; *The Broken Heart*, II, ii, p. 246.

Middleton (ed. Dyce, 1840): *The Phoenix*, I, iv, p. 330, II, iii, pp. 364-367, IV, i, pp. 379-381; *A Fair Quarrel*, I, i, p. 458; *The Old Law*, I, i, pp. 9-10.

⁷ In an action of replevin (for the specific recovery of chattels), if the defendant claimed the right to the chattels he alleged his right by a pleading known as an *avowry* or *cognizance*, which was in effect a declaration to which the plaintiff filed a plea as though he were a defendant.

⁸ See 4 Coke's *Institutes*, 14; 3 Blackstone's *Commentaries*, 309-310.

Lest the reader gain the impression that pleading at common law was an unnecessarily tricky battle of wits utterly without relation to the

such pleadings seldom extended beyond the fourth stage before an issue of fact was joined.

It is at once apparent that line 7 of Sonnet XLVI does not square with this specialized definition of the term "plea." In the sonnet, the heart is the plaintiff and the eye is the defendant. Shakespeare does not have this defendant *file a plea* to the heart's declaration; he has the defendant *deny the plea* which must perforce have been filed *by the plaintiff*. It is obvious, therefore, that either (1) Shakespeare was here in error, or (2) he was using the word "plea" in some sense other than as the technical name of a particular pleading.⁹ We think the line can be explained on the latter alternative consistently with seventeenth century legal usage.

Besides being the technical name of the defendant's answer to justice of the cause, we hasten to say that the purpose of pleading originally was to arrive at a *single* issue of law to be tried by the court, or a *single* issue of fact for the jury. A simple illustration will serve: *A v. X. Declaration* in an action of assumpsit for goods sold and delivered to the defendant's wife. *Plea*, that the wife was living apart from defendant and that defendant had notified plaintiff not to sell goods to his wife. *Replication*, that the goods were necessities. *Rejoinder*, that the wife was already sufficiently supplied. *Surrejoinder*, that the wife was not already sufficiently supplied, and the case is tried on that issue.

Following are instances in which these pleadings are referred to in the drama:

(a) Replication:—Shakespeare (ed. Kittredge, 1936): *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv, ii, 13-17; *Julius Caesar*, i, i, 48-52; *Hamlet*, iv, ii, 11-14. Chapman (ed. Parrott, 1914): *The Widow's Tears*, v, iii, 235-237; *All Fools*, ii, i, 309-335, iii, i, 405-411.

(b) Rejoinder:—Chapman: *The Widow's Tears*, v, iii, 235-237; *All Fools*, ii, i, 309-335, iii, i, 405-411, iv, i, 305-332. Beaumont & Fletcher: *The Woman's Prize* (ed. Dyce, 1844), ii, i, p. 130. Ford: *The Lady's Trial* (eds. Gifford & Dyce, 1869), iv, ii, p. 79.

(c) Sur-rejoinder:—Chapman: *All Fools*, iv, i, 305-332.

(d) Rebutter:—Chapman: *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* (ed. Parrott, 1910), v, v, 61-65.

⁹ Certainly such statements as the following, implying that the sonnet correctly portrays technical pleadings, are inaccurate and misleading: "There are regular Pleadings in the suit, the Heart being represented as Plaintiff and the Eye as Defendant." (Campbell, *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements Considered*, 1859, p. 102.) "From the *entering of the plea, denied by the defendant* [!], to the return of the verdict, this Sonnet shows a wonderful familiarity with legal proceedings in court, and follows the natural order of a trial at law." (White, *Commentaries on the Law in Shakespeare*, 2nd ed., 1913, p. 509.) [Italics added.]

the plaintiff's declaration, the term "plea" (1) was sometimes used to mean a legal "action" or suit, and (2) was also a generic term meaning a "pleading" filed by either party.

As to the first, we need only recall that all actions were classified as either *pleas* of the crown or common *pleas*, the former being actions prosecuted by the crown, and the latter ordinary civil actions.¹⁰ Examples of this usage of the term "plea" are to be found in many of the common law forms of declaration. Thus a declaration in an action of trespass would begin: "John Doe, by A. B., his attorney, complains of Richard Roe, who has been summoned to answer the said plaintiff of a *plea* of trespass. . . ." ¹¹

For the second, authority contemporaneous with Shakespeare is found in Cowell's *Interpreter*,¹² in which "plea" is defined as follows:

"*Plea . . . commeth of the French (ploid. i. lis. controversia). It signifieth in our common lawe, that which either partie [italics added] alleadgeth for himselfe in court. And this was wont to be done in French from the Conquest untill Edward the 3 who ordeined them to be done in English. A. 36. cap 15. . . .*"

The statute referred to by Cowell (36 Edward III, Statute 1, c. 15), passed in 1362, provided in part:

" . . . The King . . . hath ordained and stablished by the assent aforesaid, that all Pleas which shall be pleaded in any courts whatsoever . . . shall be pleaded, shewed, defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English Tongue, and that they be entered and inrolled in Latin."

Clearly, it is in this broader sense, embracing all the pleadings, that Shakespeare uses the term "plea" in this sonnet.¹³ It is to

¹⁰ See 3 Blackstone's *Commentaries*, 40. Cf. Sonnet xxxv, line 11.

¹¹ See *State v. Bacon et al.*, 27 R. I. 252, 61 Atlantic Reporter, 653 (1905), for a similar interpretation of the word "pleas" as used in the early English statute 33 Edw. I, St. 2 (1305).

¹² *The Interpreter or Booke Containing the Signification of Words: Wherein is set forth the true meaning of all, or the most part of such Words and Termes, as are mentioned in the Lawe Writers, or Statutes of this victorious and renowned Kingdome, requiring any Exposition or Interpretation*, Collected by John Cowell Doctor, and the Kings Maiesties Professor of the Ciuill Law in the Vniuersitie of Chambridge (1607).

¹³ Some other instances in which the noun "plea" and the verb "plead" are used in the drama (often in a figurative sense) are the following:—Shakespeare (ed. Kittredge, 1936): *The Comedy of Errors*, III, i, 91-92;

be observed, moreover, that this interpretation is consistent with the obvious meaning of the verb "plead" in line 5.

II

"To 'cide this title is impanneled
A quest of thoughts, all tenants to the heart."

The usual comment on these lines is simply that "quest" means a jury.¹⁴ This superficial treatment (characteristic of the legal commentators as well as literary scholars) ignores the fact that the jurors, being "tenants to the heart" (the plaintiff in the action), had an interest in the issue. By present day standards of justice, such interested jurors would be subject to challenge and disqualification, and the most intriguing questions suggested by these lines are whether this was also true at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and, if so, why was it ignored by Shakespeare?¹⁵

There is ample and reliable authority that by Shakespeare's time it was well settled that jurors could be challenged for interest and other causes. Consideration of only two of these authorities will suffice.

Bracton, writing in the middle of the thirteenth century, says:¹⁶

Henry V, v, ii, 101; *III Henry VI*, i, i, 102-103; *Richard III*, i, iii, 85-87, iv, iv, 412-415; *Titus Andronicus*, i, i, 3-4. Chapman (ed. Parrott, 1914): *All Fools*, ii, i, 309-312. Dekker (Mermaid ed.): *II The Honest Whore*, iv, i, p. 253. Webster (ed. Lucas, 1927): *A Cure for a Cuckold*, iv, ii, 88-89. Greene (ed. Collins, 1905): *Orlando Furioso*, i, i, 129-133, 155-161. Peele (ed. Bullen, 1888): *David and Bethsabe*, Sc. vii, ll. 198-201. Lyly (ed. Bond, 1902): *The Maydes Metamorphosis*, i, i, 376-380. Ford (eds. Gifford & Dyce, 1869): *The Lady's Trial*, ii, iv, p. 44, iv, ii, p. 79. Middleton (ed. Dyce, 1840): *Women Beware Women*, iii, ii, p. 582. Massinger (ed. Gifford, 1813): *The Fatal Dowry*, iv, iv, p. 445; *The Roman Actor*, iv, iv, p. 406.

¹⁴ *Sonnets* (ed. Malone, 1780), p. 269; *Sonnets* (ed. Dowden, 1885), p. 186; *Sonnets* (ed. Tucker, 1924), p. 123; *Sonnets* (ed. Rolfe), p. 145. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements Considered* (1859), pp. 102-103; Davis, *The Law in Shakespeare* (2nd ed., 1884), p. 280.

¹⁵ Edw. J. White in his *Commentaries on the Law in Shakespeare* (2nd ed., 1913), p. 509, points out that these jurors "would be prejudiced jurors." John H. Senter in his *Was Shakespeare a Lawyer?* (1903), p. 28, says the jurors "were parties in interest with the plaintiff," and adds, "this would be a travesty on justice." There is no indication that these writers were considering the question from any point of view other than that of the present day. See also *Sonnets* (ed. Tucker, 1924), p. 123.

¹⁶ *De Legibus*, folio 185, translated in Pound and Plucknett, *Readings on the History and System of the Common Law* (3rd ed., 1927), pp. 149-150.

But when they have come, exception may be taken in many ways against the jurors, for they can be repelled from taking the oath, in the same way as witnesses from giving testimony. Thus, an infamous person is repelled from taking the oath, to wit, a person who has been convicted of perjury, because he has lost his law. . . . Likewise, he is repelled who has made any claim of right in the thing concerning which he ought to swear. . . . Likewise if he be so under his [the party to the action] power, that he may be controlled or hurt or such like, as if he be in his household or so under his hand that he can be aggrieved in any way in regard of suits, services, or customs. . . . And it is to be known that if once they be chosen with the consent of the parties, they cannot be refused except on account of new and supervening cause.

Although Plucknett casts some doubt upon the reliability of Bracton's statement of the law, especially his importation of the law relating to witnesses,¹⁷ it is certain that challenges for interest were firmly established prior to the seventeenth century. Sir Edward Coke, a contemporary of Shakespeare, lists¹⁸ four kinds of challenges to the polls of the jury (i. e., exception to particular jurors as distinguished from a challenge to the array or whole panel¹⁹), one of which was a challenge *propter affectum* for suspicion of bias or partiality. The fact that a prospective juror was kin to either party, that he had an interest in the action, that he was a party's master, servant, counsellor, or steward, among other relationships, would support this challenge.

A party to a cause was not compelled to challenge a prospective juror who had an interest in the action. He could waive the right, and if he consented to the juror he could not later raise the objection. This was stated to be the law by Bracton and is still the law today.

Why, then, did Shakespeare choose to subject this "defendant" to a decision of an interested jury from whom a fair verdict could hardly be expected? Beyond question it was a deliberate choice because (a) the exclusion of interested jurors is a rule of simple

¹⁷ *A Concise History of the Common Law* (2nd ed., 1936), p. 120.

¹⁸ *Coke on Littleton*, 156-157. See also 3 Blackstone's *Commentaries*, 361-365, citing Coke.

¹⁹ Challenges to the array or to the whole panel might be made on account of partiality or some default in the sheriff who arrayed the panel (3 Bl. Comm., 359). Thus if the sheriff, in order to favor the plaintiff, selected the whole panel from among the plaintiff's tenants, a challenge to the array would have been proper.

justice, fully appreciated by laymen without legal training, and (b) the fact that this jury was interested does not escape the reader and must certainly have been apparent to Shakespeare.

The first possible answer to suggest itself is that the choice may have been dictated by the limitations of meter, rime scheme, and number of lines inherent in the sonnet form. That theory has its attractions, but on close examination it does not appear to be a valid answer for a number of reasons. It is to be observed that the phrase "all tenants to the heart" ending line 10 is the *beginning* of a rime. In the rime scheme of the normal Shakespearean sonnet, line 10 ends in a new sound which rimes with the ending of line 12. Thus it is unlikely that when Shakespeare wrote line 10 the use of the word "heart" was suggested by the necessities of the rime. Further, the rime of this sonnet is a decided departure from the usual pattern. Here, instead of a new rime for the final couplet, the sounds (indeed the very words) ending lines 10 and 12 are repeated.

Another fact which should not be overlooked is that in line 10 Shakespeare follows the romantic notion that the seat of the thoughts is in the heart. There is ample evidence, however, that Shakespeare was aware of the function of the brain.²⁰ Undoubtedly it would have been possible for Shakespeare to keep the rime pattern of the sonnet regular, and at the same time to avoid both the interested jury and the romantic idea of the intellectual function of the heart. Disclaiming any intention whatever of improving the sonnet, the following may be suggested merely by way of illustration:

To 'cide this title is impanneled
A quest of thoughts, all tenants to the *mind*,
And by their verdict is determined
The portions to the eye and heart assign'd:
As thus· mine eye's due is thy outward part,
And my heart's right thy inward love of heart.

It seems to us that the romantic idea of line 10 is the key to the problem. Of course Shakespeare knew his jury was interested. He may or may not have known that interested talesmen could be challenged and disqualified; that fact was unimportant for his purposes. He was writing romantic poetry—and *there* interested jurors may bring in a just verdict even if they cannot be trusted to do so

²⁰ See, for example, Sonnets L and LXXVII; *Macbeth*, v, iii, 37 ff.; *The Merchant of Venice*, i, ii, 19; *Hamlet*, iii, iv, 137.

in actual practice! In fact the interested jury, far from being offensive, serves to heighten the poetic effect just as *dramatic* effect (not to say justice!) is served by Olivia's promise to the unfortunate Malvolio:

This practice hath most shrewdly pass'd upon thee;
But when we know the grounds and authors of it,
Thou shalt be both plaintiff and the judge
*Of thine own cause.*²¹

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A SOURCE FOR MELVILLE'S *CLAREL*: DEAN STANLEY'S *SINAI AND PALESTINE*

When Melville went to Palestine in October, 1856, it was possible that he had already read one of the century's most popular descriptions of the region: Arthur Penhryn Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, which first appeared the preceding March. Whether or not he read it then, however, he did own a copy of the printing of 1863, inscribed with the date April 4, 1870.¹ And when *Clarel* was published in 1876 evidences of Stanley's book were scattered through its pages, many of them corroborated by the markings in Melville's copy.

Since the geographical scope of the book is, of course, greater than that of Melville's own journey, his most obvious borrowings in the poem are from those passages in Stanley which describe what he himself never saw. Lengthiest of all is the digression in *Clarel* on Petra, which is reminiscent of the report of the "*Petra Party*" Melville met in Jaffa.² The details of the picture, however, missing in Melville's journal, come from *Sinai and Palestine*.

Here Stanley insisted first of all upon the sombreness of Petra's coloring, contradicting the testimony of other travellers to its

²¹ *Twelfth Night*, v, i, 360-363.

¹ Melville's copy is preserved in the Manuscript Room of the the New York Public Library.

² *Journal up the Straits* (New York, 1935), p. 68. There is no evidence in his journal or his correspondence that Melville visited Petra, to which he referred throughout his prose.

brightness. With all his predecessors he agreed as to the grandeur of the eastern approach to the city, through the famous *Sik* or cleft, but the picture with which he concluded was the temple El Deir on top of the western cliffs. For largely on the evidence of this structure's site he based his belief that Petra is ancient Kadesh.

To this theory Melville made no allusion in *Clarel*, though he did refer to it in the margin of his New Testament.³ But like Stanley, whose words on the subject he underscored, he represented Petra as a place of shadows and of deep rather than dazzling colors; in Stanley's sequence he pictured first the cleft and then the temple of Petra; and all the while he echoed many of the actual words in the Dean's account. The conversants in the poem are the ex-sailor Rolfe, who has seen the city, and the optimistic Anglican priest, Derwent, who questions him about it.

*Clarel**Sinai and Palestine*

'The City Red in cloud-land lies	... the Red City . . .
Yonder . . .	
'Twas a new Jason found her out—	
Burckhardt, you know.' 'But tell.'	
'The flume	
Or mountain corridor profound	... like Burckhardt in modern
Whereby ye win the inner ground	times . . .
	... streaked and suffused with
Petraean; this, from purple gloom	purple . . .
Of cliffs—whose tops the suns illumine	... red and purple alternately . . .
Where oleanders wave the flag—	... purple variegations . . .
Winds out upon the rosy stain,	... the flowering oleander . . .
Warm colour of the natural vein,	... light and rosy tint . . .
Of porch and pediment in crag.	... that extraordinary veining . . .
One starts. In Esau's waste are	
blent	
Ionian form, Venetian tint	
Statues salute ye from that fane,	... with Grecian façades.
The warders of the Horite lane a Greek Theatre . . .
'But come,	... <i>Horite</i> habitations.
Imagine us now quite at home	You turn up a torrent-bed in the
Taking the prospect from Mount	western cliffs . . . into the vast
Hor.	cluster of rocks which face Mount
Good. Eastward turn thee—skip-	Hor on the north.
ping o'er	The walls of the interior of the Deir
The intervening craggy blight:	itself, as well as the steps, are

³ Melville's New Testament is preserved in the Houghton Library at Harvard University.

Clarel

Mark'st thou the face of yon slab-
 bed height
 Shouldered about by heights? what
 Door
 Is that, sculptured in elfin freak?
 The portal of the Prince o' the Air?
 Thence will the god emerge, and
 speak?
El Deir it is; and Petra's there,

Down in her cleft. Mid such a scene
 Of Nature's terror, how serene
 That ordered form. Nor less 'tis cut
 Out of that terror—does about
 Thereon: there's Art.'

Sinai and Palestine

sculptured with the usual accom-
 paniments of these inscriptions—
 crosses and figures of the wild
 goat, or ibex.

The Arabic name, *El Deir*

. . . before you opens a deep cleft

. . . .

This is the *Sîk*, or "cleft"

. . . the cleft being made by the rod
 of Moses

. . . I almost think one is more
 startled by finding in these wild
 and impracticable mountains a
 production of the last effort of a
 decaying and overrefined civili-
 sation, than if it were something
 which, by its better and simpler
 taste, mounted more nearly to
 the source where Art and Nature
 were one.

When Derwent proposes to enter this portal, Rolfe replies:

'Nay, forbear;
 A bootless journey. We should wind
 Along ravine by mountain-stair—
 Down which in season torrents
 sweep—
 Up, slant by sepulchres in steep,
 Grotto and porch, and so get near
 Puck's platform, and thereby *El*
Deir.
 We'd knock. An echo. Knock again—
 Ay, knock forever: none requite:
 The live spring filters through cell,
 fane,
 And tomb: a dream the Edomite!'

. . . a precipitous ravine

. . . a continuous staircase

. . . the dry torrent

. . . the bed of the torrent

. . . numerous sepulchres

. . . a green platform

*This staircase is the most striking
 instance of what you see every-
 where. Wherever your eyes turn
 along the excavated sides of the
 rocks you see steps, often leading
 to nothing; or to something which
 has crumbled away*

. . . *Edomite habitations.*⁴

⁴ *Clarel* (Constable Edition, London, 1922-24), I, 298, 299; *Sinai and Palestine* (New York, 1863), pp. 88-92, 97, 98. Hereafter Stanley's book is referred to as Stanley. All the passages quoted from Stanley which are marked in Melville's copy are printed in italics; Stanley's italics are indicated by small caps.

Another necessarily borrowed picture in *Clarel* is the celebration of the Greek Easter, for the date of Melville's brief visit in Palestine was January. Three facts about it he apparently got from Stanley: the transportation of the fire from Jerusalem to Bethlehem by a horseman, the belief that the lamps over the Sepulchre were first lighted by angels, and the custom of the pilgrims to bathe and to dip their shrouds in the Jordan. These details, the first two marked in Melville's Stanley, are expatiated upon by Rolfe in the poem.⁵

In referring to the convent on Mount Hor Melville did not even pretend to give a direct account, as he did for Petra and the Greek Easter, but prefaced his description of the sunbeam which penetrates the Chapel of the Burning Bush once a year with the authority, "they tell." It was Stanley who told the story, one of the first to do so, for he noted that it "has not found its way into books."⁶

But Melville also relied on Stanley to help him describe places he too had seen: the "mountain town" of Jerusalem, which disappointed them both, the "purple . . . wall" which surrounded it, the "hamlet" of Bethany.⁷

' . . . she's not austere—[Judea] . . . Judah is the true climate of
Nature has lodged her in good zone— the vine . . .
The true wine-zone of Noah . . . '

' Look, by Christ's belfry set, . . . the minaret of Omar beside the
Appears the Moslem minaret! ' Christian Belfry . . .

Excellent then—as *there* bestowed— . . . the long descent of three thou-
And true in charm the downward sand feet, by which the traveller
road. "went down" from Jerusalem

Quite other spells an influence throw . . . to Jericho. . . .¹⁰
Down going, down, to Jericho.

' 'Tis Terra Santa—Holy Land: . . . the "terra damnata" of the
Terra Damnata though's at hand Betrayal.¹¹
. . . '

Are these throngs . . . the rich revenues of the mer-
Merchants? [within the Sepulchre] chant Church of Armenia.¹²

⁵ *Clarel*, II, 81, 82, 18; Stanley, pp. 463, 464, 308-310.

⁶ *Clarel*, II, 20; Stanley, p. 46. See also Stanley's and Melville's citation of Josephus' testimony that a Divinity was thought to inhabit Sinai before the coming of the Israelites; their comparison of Judea to the Spanish table-lands, and of the palms of ancient Jericho to those of Memphis. (*Clarel*, I, 216, II, 159, I, 228; Stanley, pp. 48, 49, 171, 301.)

⁷ *Clarel*, I, 6, 5, 4, 195; Stanley, pp. 169, 167, 166, 168.

⁸ *Clarel*, II, 264; Stanley, p. 162.

¹⁰ *Clarel*, I, 197; Stanley, p. 416.

⁹ *Clarel*, I, 123; Stanley, p. 455.

¹¹ *Clarel*, I, 184; Stanley, p. 450.

¹² *Clarel*, I, 17; Stanley, p. 456. Compare also Melville's and Stanley's

Some of Stanley's geological as well as geographical descriptions of Palestine are also recognizable in *Clarel*; his belief, for instance, that Sodom was destroyed not by fire but flood:

'Tut, tut—tut, tut. Of aqueous force,
Vent igneous, a shake or so,
One here perceives the sign . . . '

*The traces of igneous action on the granite rocks belong to their first upheaving. . . . Everywhere there are signs of the action of water, nowhere of fire.*¹³

The Dean's insistence upon the original verdure of the land also stirred Melville's imagination, picturing how the aboriginal hunter

down the tube of fringed ravine . . . when Abraham and Lot looked
Siddim descried, a lilled scene. . . . down from the mountain of Bethel,
on the deep descent beneath them.
. . . "It was well watered everywhere as the garden of the Lord.
. . . ." ¹⁴

Interspersed with such scenes as these in *Sinai and Palestine*, of course, Melville found much Biblical history, some of which is also to be found in *Clarel*. He marked Stanley's tribute to Elijah and allusions to the brook Cherith, and on the title page of the book he wrote, "the Red City of Elijah the Gileadite"; in the poem it is Mortmain who is associated with the prophet, his Gilead and his Cherith.¹⁵ Of other stories connected with certain localities Stanley certainly reminded Melville if he did not inform him: Joshua at Ai, David's flight through Bahurim, the healing of Naaman, Abraham entertaining angels under the oak of Mamre, the battle of the five kings.¹⁶ Occasionally it is the same verse of Scripture which they quote: Abraham watching as "the smoke . . . went up" from the plain of Siddim, Matthew's "exceeding high" mountain of the temptation, Hosea's cryptic, "Out of Egypt have I called my son."¹⁷

descriptions of Jerusalem's ruins, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Damascus, Bethlehem, the Church of the Nativity. (*Clarel*, I, 39, 29, 30, II, 263, 264, 181, 209, 210; Stanley, pp. 118 ff., 182, 456, 303, 402, 104, 432, 433.)

¹³ *Clarel*, I, 310; Stanley, p. 23. ¹⁴ *Clarel*, II, 6; Stanley, p. 281.

¹⁵ *Clarel*, I, 313, II, 56, 150; Stanley, pp. 299, 321.

¹⁶ *Clarel*, I, 227, 203, II, 159, I, 260, 290, 291; Stanley, pp. 198, 199, 185, 303, 22, 103, 141, 282.

¹⁷ *Clarel*, II, 7, I, 229, 127; Stanley, pp. 103, 130, xxvii. See also *Clarel*, I,

But Melville's purpose in *Clarel* was even less than Stanley's in *Sinai and Palestine* to write a historical guidebook, and some of the Dean's finer points he ignored altogether: his theory that Shaveh was on Mount Gerisim rather than on the Mount of Olives, where Melville placed it; his report that olive trees, which Melville said were extinct, were still to be seen at Bethany.¹⁸ Rather Melville hoped, like other nineteenth century pilgrims, to discover the presence of a Divinity lingering in Palestine. His picture of that Divinity was, like Stanley's and Renan's, a romantic one with notable emphasis on Jesus' love of simple nature:

And, ay, He comes: the lilies blow!

...

Who pleased Him so in fields and
bowers,

Yes, crowned with thorns, still loved
the flowers. . . .

...

Him following through the wilding
flowers

By lake and hill, or glad detained

In Cana—ever out of doors. . . .

And if the beauty of nature attract
His notice, it is still of the same
simple and general kind,—the
burst of the radiance of an east-
ern sun,—the lively instincts and
movements of the careless birds
over His head,—the gay colours
of the carpet of flowers under His
feet. If there be any one passage
of the older Scriptures which
specially represents the natural
storehouse of the Parables of the
Gospel, it is the gentle and touch-
ing burst of the imagery of spring
in the Song of Songs: "The
winter is past, the rain is over
and gone; the FLOWERS appear on
the earth; the time of the singing
of BIRDS is come. . . ."¹⁹

But since the landscape of Palestine contrasted so grimly with this picture, Stanley had to conclude that the geography and the history of the Holy Land were "wholly without regard, perhaps even indifferent or hostile" to each other, and that the value of individual localities was "imaginative and historical, not religious."²⁰ And so Melville, too, conceded. For the geologist, Mar-
goth, knows no Biblical history; searching for specimens he queries,

217, II, 247, I, 132, I, 7, 219, 186; Stanley, pp. 306, 207, 130, 190, xxxvii.
On the last two of these pages Melville marked the Scriptural quotations
which he too used.

¹⁸ *Clarel*, I, 15, 195; Stanley, pp. 246, 184.

¹⁹ *Clarel*, II, 31, I, 196, 254; Stanley, p. 425

²⁰ Stanley, pp. 111, 192.

"Moses? who's Moses?"²¹ And the pilgrims are convinced at the end of their journey that the spirit they seek is fled.

Thus Melville found in *Sinai and Palestine* not only confirmation of his own observations of the scene and support for his own spiritual longings, but a rationalization of the discrepancy between the reality and the ideal which he, too, tried to make. Like a true romantic, however, Melville remained unsatisfied with his result. To the orthodox Dean the wasteland of Palestine brought comfort and joy, since it supported the doctrine of the resurrection. But to Melville the flight of the god was always saddening and there is melancholy if not grief in Clarel's thought at the empty Sepulchre: "Not hearsed is He."²²

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TRUMBULL AND GRAY'S *BARD*

The American poet John Trumbull is of course known to have been influenced by Gray's *Elegy*,¹ and his preference for that poem² seems to have caused critics to overlook his indebtedness to the *Odes*. There is, however, reason to believe that the *Bard* also made a marked impression on him, for several of his poems in situation and general tone bear a distinct resemblance to the *Bard*. The prophet in *The Destruction of Babylon* foretells with enthusiasm the downfall of his enemies, and Balaam, perched upon a crag above the armies of Israel, predicts the future at length in phraseology and versification which owe a noticeable debt to Gray's poem. Indeed, even the metrical resemblance between the *Bard* and the *Prophecy of Balaam* is marked. The stanzaic structure of the

²¹ *Clarel*, I, 310.

²² *Clarel*, I, 23.

¹ See Alexander Cowie, *John Trumbull, Connecticut Wit* (Chapel Hill, 1936), pp. 69, 147, 148; Leon Howard, *The Connecticut Wits* (Chicago, 1943), pp. 51, 52; Clare I. Cogan, "John Trumbull, Satirist," *The Colonade*, XIV (1919-1922), 83-84 (The Andiron Club of New York City, 1922). A standard edition of Trumbull's verse is printed in the last named volume.

² Alexander Cowie, "John Trumbull as a Critic of Poetry," *NEQ*, XI (1936), 788.

latter, although not as carefully worked out and consistent as Gray's, is an unmistakable imitation in its peculiar combination of long and short lines. In both poems the most casual examination will discover a very similar grouping of three, four, and five beat lines with a frequent use of a six beat line to close a stanza. The rime schemes also, although not identical, bear a superficial resemblance despite Trumbull's lack of consistency in every stanza, for among other similarities, both are frequently based upon the quatrain.

The tenor of the entire poem is reminiscent of the *Odes* generally and the *Bard* particularly in its brassy quality, vocabulary,³ and use of personifications. Compare:

What echoing terrors burst upon mine ear!
What awful forms in flaming horror rise!
 Empurpled Rage, pale Ruin, heart-struck Fear,
 In scenes of blood *ascend*, and skim before my eyes.
Balaam, Col., p. 490

and:

. . . *What terrors round him wait!*
 Amazement in his van, with flight combin'd,
 And sorrow's faded form, and solitude behind.
Bard, ll. 60-62
 Fell Thirst and Famine scowl. *Ibid.*, l. 81
 . . . *what solemn scenes . . .*
Descending slow. . . Ibid., ll. 105-106

The vocabulary of much of Trumbull's verse shows his debt to the *Bard*: such words from the latter as *array*,⁴ *sable*,⁵ and *gore*⁶ are common in his work. In using them Trumbull has found it possible to note and imitate certain typical constructions of the *Bard*. The use of an inverted sentence structure beginning with a

³ Compare "On lofty Peor's *brow* / That *rears* its forehead . . ." (*Balaam, Colonnade*, p. 488) and "From Peor's high, illumined *brow*" (*ibid.*, p. 489) with "On a rock whose haughty *brow* . . ." (*Bard*, l. 15) and "Sublime their starry fronts they *rear*" (*ibid.*, l. 112). The italics in the quoted passages throughout this paper are mine.

⁴ "The host of Israel stretch'd in deep *array*" (*Balaam, Col.*, p. 488); "He wound with toilsome march his long *array*" (*Bard*, l. 12).

⁵ "And shrouds of *sable* wrap thee with the *dead*" (*Babylon, Col.*, p. 516); "Robed in the *sable* garb of woe" (*Bard*, l. 17); "Is the *sable* warrior fled? / . . . He rests among the *dead*" (*ibid.*, ll. 67-68).

⁶ ". . . swam with sainted *gore*" (*Babylon, Col.*, p. 515); "Smear'd with *gore* . . ." (*Bard*, l. 36); "The bristled boar in infant-*gore*" (*ibid.*, l. 93).

key word he found particularly convenient when he encountered such lines of Gray's as "*Sublime* their starry⁷ fronts they rear" (*Bard*, l. 112).⁸

Sublime the Muse shall lift her eagle wing:

Future Glory of America, Col., p. 497

Sublime the Prophet stood.

Beneath its pine-clad side,⁹

Balaam, Col. p. 488

Nor is it difficult to find other specific expressions¹⁰ from the *Bard* which Trumbull has borrowed. "Visions" are perpetually "ascending" or "descending" before his prophets. The following four lines seem to have impressed him:

But oh! what solemn *scenes* on Snowdon's height

*Descending*¹¹ slow their glittering skirts unroll?

Visions of glory,¹² spare my aching sight.¹³

Ye *unborn ages* crowd not on my soul!

Bard, ll. 105-108

A typical imitation is this:

Before his eyes eternal wonders roll,

Celestial *visions* open on his soul,

Unfolding skies the *scenes* of fate display,

And heaven *descending* in the beams of day.

Babylon, Col., p. 515

⁷ "A *starry* crown invests . . ." (*Babylon, Col.*, p. 515).

⁸ Compare "*Fair* laughs the morn, and soft the zephyr blows" (*Bard*, l. 71) and "*Fair* as these vales, that stretch their lawns so wide, / As gardens smile in flow'ry meadows *fair*" (*Balaam, Col.*, p. 489).

⁹ ". . . Snowdon's shaggy *side*" (*Bard*, l. 11).

¹⁰ Note Trumbull's acknowledged imitation: "And ancient *beards* and *hoary hair*, / Like *meteors*, stream in troubled air" (*M'Fingal*, Canto iv, *Col.*, p. 385); "Loose his *beard*, and *hoary hair* / Stream'd like a meteor, to the troubled air" (*Bard*, ll. 19-20).

¹¹ Note: ". . . for *visions* true / Again *ascending* wait thy view" (*M'Fingal*, iv, *Col.*, p. 383); ". . . *scenes* of blood ascend . . ." (*Balaam, Col.*, p. 490). See n. 14.

¹² ". . . the solar *glories* spread; / Her power, her *grace*, by circling worlds approved" (*Babylon, Col.*, p. 515). Compare "Attemper'd sweet to virgin *grace*" (*Bard*, l. 118).

¹³ "Spreads from the *aching sight*, and fades into the sky" (*Balaam, Col.*, p. 488).

The line "Ye *unborn ages*¹⁴ crowd not on my soul!" (*Bard*, l. 108) provides more than a hint for "And *unborn ages* view the ripen'd day" (*Future Glory of America*, Col., p. 496). Furthermore, Trumbull's "And see, *bright* Judah's Star *ascending* / *Fires* the east with *crimson* day" (*Balaam*, Col., p. 489) seems to be a combination of at least two passages from the *Bard*: "Tho' fann'd by Conquest's *crimson* wing" (l. 3) and "In yon *bright* track, that *fires* the western skies" (l. 103). Finally we may add that

The boast of genius and the pride of praise,
Gay pleasure's charms by *fairy* fancy *dress'd*,
Youthful Expectations, Col., p. 500

clearly indebted to

Fierce war, and faithful love,
And truth severe, by *fairy* fiction *drest*.
Bard, ll. 126-127

In the trend from "neo-classical" to "romantic" taste such evidence as this has a certain interest. Although Trumbull has not taken over the Celtic and medieval aspects which appealed to Gray, Macpherson, and Blair, he has been strongly influenced by the versification, situation, and rather extravagant diction of a poem which contained those elements to a high degree. Surely if this holds true of a colonial American poet, we may wonder if such poetry as the *Bard* did not find a wider and more appreciative audience in the late eighteenth century than has been assumed by many.

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QUESTIO QUID IURIS

For all but two centuries and a half, editors of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, from Thomas Tyrhwhitt through Fred Norris Robinson, have struggled vainly to extort a meaning from the three words in Latin which appear in line 646 of the *Prologue*. The trouble is that very often it is not possible to understand Latin

¹⁴ "The years *unborn* ascend to sight; / He saw their opening *morn* arise" (*Balaam*, Col., p. 488). Compare also: "Gone to salute the *rising morn*" (*Bard*, l. 70).

words when they have been removed from their context. It is the purpose of this paper to point out that the context of the words quoted by Chaucer is an ancient writ current in English law from about 1300 or so for several hundred years. A specimen to serve as a model for persons who needed to utter this writ is to be found in the great collection of the forms of writs issued under a variety of authors' names or anonymously with a title like *Natura brevium* some twoscore times between 1494 and 1635. Lord Coke says that this collection is "right profitable," and it is indeed so for us, because at fo. clxii of the edition of [1545?] the following pertinent materials appear:

Brief [= writ] de quid iuris clamat est tiel Rex vic[ecomiti] salutem. Prec[imus] tibi quod distingas A. per omnia terr[arum] et catellum etc. Et quod de exit etc. Et quod habeas corpus eius cora[m] Justiciariis nostris apud westm[onasterium] tali die etc. ad cognoscend[um] quid iuris clamat in uno mesuagio cu[m] pertin[entibus] in curia nostra concessit K. per fine[m] inter cos[ignatores] fact et ad audiend[um] etc. etc.

Cest briefe gist lou ieo graunt le revercion de montena[n]t a termede vie a un ho[mm]le p[ro] fyne leve en la court le roy, et le tenant ne voet mie attourner, celuy a q[ui] le revercio[n] est graunt ava[nt] cest brief luy chace dattourner, Et nota que si le tenant a terme d[e] vie clayme revers[ion] p[ro] celuy que ad graunt a terme de son vie donques il serra chace d'attourner, mez si le [?] clayme dauer fee simpl[e] en lez tenementes, soit trouve que il nad pas fee simple, il perdra s[e]is[in] de la t[er]re. . . .¹

The discussion of the writ is continued through another long paragraph, but the material quoted is ample to show that there was once a writ which was designated by its first three words, *quid iuris clamat*. The Law French goes on to say that the writ was used to summon before a court that man who had refused to comply with a decision concerning title, which decision had been previously rendered.

The summoner knows no more of the technicalities of the law—"this elvysh nyce lore"—than the Canon's Yeoman knows about the theory of alchemy.² How the dolt had learned even these scrappy fragments Chaucer tells us explicitly in ll. 639 ff:

¹ Almost the same text appears on fo. 166, v^o of the edition of 1534.

² Cf. my paper on the Canon's Yeoman's prologue and tale, in "Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*," pp. 685-698 (Chicago, 1941).

A few termes hadde he, two or thre,
That he had lerned out of some decree—
No wonder is, he herde it al the day;

The words which the summoner parrots uncomprehendingly have been understood no better than he did simply because we have not known that these tags of Latin had been picked up in the courtroom by the summoner because he had heard them repeated a score of times daily, whenever a new case came up relating to the efforts of a plaintiff to enforce a defendant to comply with a decision already rendered. Nowadays, the business might be begun thus: "N is summoned to show cause for failure to comply;" or "to show reason why he should not be held in contempt of court because . . ." It is obvious that such a writ would be in very frequent use in a day when the power to enforce a decision of this kind lay almost exclusively in the hands of the plaintiff. This situation was even more striking in those courts of canon law in which the summoner was active, for by the end of the fourteenth century the weakening of the power of courts of canon law had progressed notably.

The valiant efforts of editors of Chaucer to wring a meaning of some kind from these puzzling words have failed for the very human reason that anybody who knows some Latin can hardly refrain from reading the obvious modern meaning into ancient Latin words. Who can resist rendering the word *Questio* in line 646 by modern English "question"? Not wishing to appear to cast contumely on my betters, I restrict myself to quoting an expert in the history of English law on this sort of thing:

Some technical phrases and the names of writs and other processes were untranslatable except at the risk of ridicule. How could *nisi prius*, *quare impedit*, *fieri facias*, *habeas corpus*, [or *ne exeat*] be done into decent English? The later statute allowed such expressions to remain in their Latin dress.³

It is plain that we should do well to imitate the discretion of "the later statute" by leaving the Summoner's tipsy mumblings in their duly impressive Latin, just as we do today with a writ *ne exeat* (pronounced in my hearing by lawyers today as if spelled *knee exyat*, the final syllable to rhyme with *hat*, *cat*, *mat*), re-

³ Percy H. Winfield, *The chief Sources of English legal History*, Cambridge [Mass.], 1925, p. 14.

cognizing that the legalistic jargon has its own unique value when its frame of reference is understood clearly.⁴

Even at this late date, we cannot yet say of Chaucer what an Abbott of Mont St.-Michel said sagely of Vacarius, that he was "Vir honestus et juris peritus," but one day the time will come when it can be said in sober truth.

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SPANISH *SANTURRÓN*

THIS word looks like a mere Spanish derivative from *santo* 'saint.' All scholars have taken it to be so, e. g. Hanssen, *Gramm.*, § 378. But let us remark that while Hanssen has collected a good many derivatives in *-arrón* (*nubarrón*, *ventarrón*, *vozarrón*, *abejarrón* etc.), this is the only case he has found of a suffix *-urrón*. This very isolation was the reason for this foreign word being transferred to the more copious class of the words in *-arrão* when it was adopted into Portuguese: *santarrão*.

Surely enough we can perceive now in *santurrón* a kind of Spanish suffix *-urrón*, but even that is only a secondary result, since the original form was **santorón*. Our word is cognate to obsolete French *santoron*, and there can be little doubt that the Spanish-Portuguese forms come from French, since in this language the word appears about two hundred years before Spanish *santurrón*; the earliest known occurrence of the latter is in Padre Isla, while in French we have it, with the same meaning of 'religious hypocrite,' in La Fontaine, in Cotgrave and in Rabelais,¹ that great flagellator

⁴In the same twilight zone of the obscure meanings of legalistic terms in Law Latin or Law French wander my paper, "Chaucer's Love-Days," in *Speculum* xv (1940), pp. 36-55, and *Juridical Folklore in England*, (Durham, N. C., 1944).

¹See Sainéan, *La Langue de Rabelais*, II, 267, and cf. Spitzer, *BhZRP* xxix, 35n. Littré, in the text of his dictionary, catalogues *santoron* as a variant of *santon* 'Moslem hermit'; he follows thereby the example of Le Loyer, *Discours et Histoire des Spectres*, Paris 1605. This identification, apparently secondary,—*santon* is, on the contrary, a Hispanicism in French and English—is not confirmed semantically by the text of Rabelais, our most reliable authority; but it may be regarded as an indirect proof of

of all sorts of hypocrisy, who mentions the *santorons* among a whole gang of boon companions:

Hypocrites, hydropiques, patenostriers, chattemittes, *santorons*, cagots, hermites

Quart Livre, chap. 64 (a similar passage in the *Pantagruéline Prognostication*, chap. 5).

Now here we have a specimen of the Old French way of pronouncing Lat. *-um* as *-on*: *santoron* is evidently the Latin genitive *sanctorum*, which in medieval French occurs with this spelling and with the meaning "argent recueilli dans les troncs de tel ou tel saint" (Godefroy).² Perhaps we could trace the Rabelaisian *santoron* to this meaning, referring to the vulgar accusation, brought against church people, according to which they are in the habit of taking this money; but a more probable explanation would be that it is a direct application of the Latin word *sanctorum* in one of the meanings admitted by Littré in his Supplement: either because this word is often repeated in his prayers, or because pseudo-religious people like to be regarded as saints.³ Actually *-orum* does not act here as a genitive ending but rather as a kind of pejorative suffix employed popularly as typical for ecclesiastical things and persons connected therewith, who are always resorting to Latin and to Latin phrases; such a suffix as appears in the popular Spanish word *latinórum* = *latinajo* 'a phrase or word in dog Latin.'

The word might have been adopted into Spanish during the Middle Ages, at the same time as the Cluny monks were entering

the popularity of *santoron* in XVIth and XVIIth Century French, where this word and the foreign *santon* were confused. The passage in La Fontaine (*Épître XXIII*, éd. Rénier, p. 207), strongly ironical, has *santoron* probably in the same meaning as in Rabelais, of whom it is apparently a mere reminiscence. As to Cotgrave, his words are clear: "A hypocrite or a counterfeiter of saints."

²In Portuguese *sanctorum* or *santoro* means 'blessed bread' (Figueiredo) or 'present given by the Godfather to his Godchild in All-Saints' day' (*RLus.*, II, 252).

³"Unus e sanctorum numero," as Cotgrave suggested. The following passage by Peire Cardenal may be quoted in support of this theory: "Li clerc si fan pastor / e son aucizedor / e semblan de *sanctor*; / quan los vey revestir, / e pren m'a souvenir / de n'Alengri, q'un dia / vole ad un parc venir, / mas pels cas que temia, / pelh de mouton vestic, / ab que los escarnic; / puey mangec e trahic / selhas que·l abellic" (Appel, *Chrest.*, 76. 3).

Spain, and the Galice road was crowded with pilgrims; it was the time when so many ecclesiastical gallicisms and provençalisms were introduced: *fraile*, *monje*, *canonja*, *deán*, *preste*, *hereje*, *chantre*, *manteo*, *maitines*, *oblea* etc., and the obsolete *milagre* (*miragle*), *convente*, *maison* 'monastery' (Menéndez Pidal, *Orig.*, 78 and 576). But as the oldest attestation of *santurrón* recorded by the *Diccionario de Autoridades* belongs to the XVIIIth. Century, it is more probable that its introduction was later, contemporary with the adoption of such a word as Astur. *freru* "corredor de iglesias que pide para un santo que lleva en una urna" (Rato).

Another Spanish adaptation of the same word can be traced to a somewhat earlier date. *Santulón* appears in *La Cueva de Salamanca*, I, sc. II, of Ruiz de Alarcón; and to-day this form is preserved in Argentina, Chile, Peru, Ecuador and Central America (Lemos, *Semántica*; Malaret, *Supl.*). This form has an *l* < Fr. *r*, as in *charnela* < *charnière*, and the doublets *santulón*—*santurrón* are comparable to Sp. *peluca*—Cat. *perruca* < Fr. *perruque*. In Portuguese, *santilão* is attested by Fr. Amador Arraes, according to Moraes.⁴

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⁴ Any connection between *santurrón* and the word *wanturero* (or *wantorero*) of the *Poema de Yúfuf*, A 60b, is more than doubtful; its favorable meaning ('saint'? 'santon'?) leads us very far from our word: "Kuando entronon por la billa, lax jentex xe marabellaban; / el dia era nublo i el [Yúfuf] lo aklaria . . . Dizien todax lax jentex ad akel merkader / xe yera anjel o onbre o *wanturero*." There is also an *Aben Xantair* from Toledo, Xth. Century, in Menéndez Pidal, *Orig.*, p. 102. Phonetically *wanturero* comes nearer to *santulario*, as found in Spanish ballads (Pagès) and to-day in Cuba and Colombia, but *santulario* has also the pejorative meaning (Martínez Moles: "*santulario*, *santurrón*"; Sundheim: "*santulario*, *santurrón*, nimio en los actos de devoción; según Cejador vale en España supersticioso en venerar cosas"; Pagès: "*santularia*, *santurrona*"). In any case *santulario* has nothing to do with *santurrón*. It is merely an alteration of *santuario*: Cat. *santuari* is attested in the XVIth Century with the same meaning (see Aguiló), and O. Fr. *saintuaire* is a synonym of 'saint'. For the insertion of the -l-, cf. *APTUARIUM > Arag. *atulario* (Spitzer, *Anales del Inst. de Ling. de Cuyo*, III, 2).

THE TERM 'LANGUAGE' IN *LE PELERINAGE DE CHARLEMAGNE*

Professor Leo Spitzer has maintained that *li language*, as used in *Le Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, is an Occidental counterpart in the middle of the twelfth century of an expression known previously in The Near East.¹ The transcription of line 209 is "car li language i uenēt de trestute la uile" according to J. Koch.² The setting for the passage is a bazar near the church of Sainte-Marie-Latine, which received that name because it was occupied by Latin monks prior to the Crusades.³ The first interpretations had shown that the term refers to people: "nations speaking different languages," given by Michel in his 1836 edition; "ceux qui parlent les langues étrangères," adopted by Godefroy, iv, p. 713b; "Leute verschiedener Zunge," proposed by Koschwitz-Thurau in their 1923 edition.⁴ Spitzer concluded that *li language* designates "the foreign national groups."⁵

The verse 213 is the only passage wherein the poet waxes personal (if we overlook verse 860, which is a mere bit of padding); he does so as a result of his mistaken notion that the merchants display their cloth and their spices right inside the church. Long ago, Gaston Paris⁶ argued that it was exclusively upon Moslems that the poet calls down the wrath of the Lord, and Spitzer takes the same attitude. On the other hand, Gautier, the editors, and Heinemann took issue with Gaston Paris, and saw in the verse a threat against the Christian natives.⁷

¹ *MLN*, LIII (1938), 20-21.

² There was only one manuscript, and it was lost in 1879; cf. *Romania*, LXIV (1938), 102.

³ Sources for this appellation are indicated by A. Beugnot, *Assises de Jerusalem*, II (Paris, 1843), 536.

⁴ An obvious case of confusion worse confounded is the double translation, "people of all tongues," and "tongues of different peoples," offered for the text and then for the glossary by A. J. Cooper, *Le Pelerinage de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1925), pp. 13 and 86, and by K. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfrz Sprache* (Halle, 1932), pp. 255 and 393.

⁵ This definition was repeated by the late R. C. Bates, *Yale Rom. Studies*, XVIII (1941), p. 36.

⁶ *Romania*, IX (1880), p. 25.

⁷ L. Gautier, *Les Epopées fran.*, III (Paris, 1880), 273; E. Koschwitz—G. Thurau, *Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinopel* (Leipzig, 1923), 66; T. Heinemann, *Zts. rom. Phil.*, LVI (1936), 535.

In order to arrive at a valid definition of the word, it behooves us to see how it applies to inhabitants of places other than Jerusalem. It referred to the Knights Hospitallers on the Island of Rhodes, as Spitzer discovered in a recent issue of the *Guide Bleu*. They were first organized into separate nationalities in 1323 under the Grand Master Helion de Villeneuve.⁸ In 1530 the Order of Saint John was forced to move to the Island of Malta.⁹ It seems to me, however, that the application of *language* to "a national or provincial group within a religious and military order" is not the original idea but rather a specific transferral. If I am justified in my contention, then the expression is not to be treated as an echo of the polyglot Orient. Therein lies the gravamen of this investigation. This word-study reveals rather a literal translation of the Biblical equivalent, as has been proposed vaguely by the *NED*.¹⁰

Du Cange devotes the first part of his article on *lingua* to the mediaeval usage of the French term as a synonym for the Latin *natio*, which he correlates with *γλώσσα*. This Hellenistic word was introduced in the Septuagint metonymically to denote people speaking a distinct language. The ultimate origin, however, is the Hebrew *לשון*, as used in Isaiah LXVI 18.¹¹

In a sequel to the article under discussion, *MLN*, LIII (1938), 553, Mrs. Grace Frank and Miss R. Burkart also decline to limit the threat to Moslems.

⁸ F. C. Woodhouse, *The Military Religious Orders of the Middle Ages* (London, 1879), pp. 59 and 135.

⁹ L. Sainéan, *La Langue de Rabelais*, II (Paris, 1923), 289, treats the expression "tous peuples, toutes nations, . . . toutes langues" as a "synonymie commune à plusieurs idiomes," and he quotes the first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*: "*langue* se prend aussi quelquefois, comme dans l'ordre de Malthe, pour la nation." Even though Sainéan, *ibid.*, p. 560, G. F. Burguy, *Gram. langue d'oïl*, III (Leipzig, 1856), 219, and others accept the definition "nation," it is too sweeping. The *languages* of Malta include the four nations, France, Italy, Germany, England, but they also embrace the four provinces, Auvergne, Provence, Aragon, Castille. The same denotation is implied in the name Languedoc.

¹⁰ The *NED* adduces the earliest English example of *tongue* [in sense 9] in the 1382 version of the Holy Bible which John Wycliffe made from the Latin Vulgate, Daniel V 19, and the first example of *language* [in sense 5] as a variant in his 1388 version, while starting the history of the synecdoche with the *Cyclopædia* of Ephraim Chambers in 1727. These words, consequently, entered the English language long after the cognate words became current in French.

¹¹ M. H. Bresslau, *Hebrew and English Dictionary* (London, 1855), s. v.:

Now if we assemble the relevant examples of Du Cange, *ibid.*, and those of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, vii pages 143b and 145a, we find *langage* used in the *Roman de Garin le Loherain*, *Assises de Jerusalem*, *Chroniques* of Froissart, and *langue* used in the *Assises de Jerusalem*,¹² *Chronique de Nangis*, a document of 1348, *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, *Lucidaire*. An earlier example is *langage* in the *Conte del Graal* by Chrestien de Troyes,¹³ but the oldest one has been given as our point of departure: *li langage* in *Le Pelegrinage de Charlemagne*. In all of these ten instances, *langage* or *langue* is a generic term used anent "any community of people having a language of its own."

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SAMUEL ROGERS'S APPROACH TO THE BLANK-VERSE DRAMATIC MONOLOGUE

It is surprising that no Browning scholar has observed how closely some of the tales in Rogers's *Italy* (1822) approach Brown-

"generally speech, language, and in the latter sense used for people with a distinct language." Although this Hebrew word is not mentioned in the list compiled by D. S. Blondheim, *Les Parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina* (Paris, 1925), pages xlv-lxviii, his documentation is ample to prove that certain passages of the *Vetus Latina* reflect the Hebrew original with or without the intermediary of the Septuagint; cf. J. Trénel, *L'Ancien Testament et la langue fran. du moyen âge* (Paris, 1904), p. 13.

¹² Beugnot, I, p. 212, based his edition on the manuscript of Venice: "est en la merci dou seignor de perdre quanque il a et la laingue aussi." He commented upon the thought that a plebeian might suffer loss of his tongue as well as loss of all his wealth for failure to employ the town crier [cf. II, pp. 29 and 203]. Apparently Littré, III, p. 249b, also saw an anatomical term in the edict. On the other hand, Du Cange, who read the manuscript of Dupuy, adopted the variant: "quanque il y a en la langue." The punishment would thus entail loss of all that which the plebeian owns in the province.

¹³ G. Baist and A. Hilka, *Der Percevalroman* (Halle, 1932), verse 8178. It is defined as "Volksstamm" by W. Foerster and H. Breuer, *Wörterbuch zu Kristian von Troyes' Sämtlichen Werken* (Halle, 1933), s. v.

ing's monologues in blank verse, the earliest of which were published in *Men and Women* (1855). Rogers's purpose was not to reveal his speakers' characters, which revelation was, of course, Browning's chief interest; nor did Rogers endeavor to resuscitate the spirit of Renaissance Italy, or to bring into poetry an invigoratingly fresh conversational style. *Italy's* lines are metrically as impeccable as those of *Human Life* (1819); its diction is as neo-classically exact as that of *The Pleasures of Memory* (1792). Yet the form or at least two of *Italy's* non-autobiographical relations, "Monte Cassino," and "An Adventure," distinctly parallel the form of the Browning blank-verse monologue.

"An Adventure," like any Browning monologue, pitches without preface into action, the first detail implying clearly the conversation which has preceded the moment of beginning.

Three days they lay in ambush at my gate,
Then sprung and led me captive. Many a wild
We traversed, but Rusconi, 'twas no less,
Marched by my side, and —" etc.

The concluding lines, reminding the reader of the listener's presence, neatly frame the monologue.

Ere his tale was told,
As on the heath we lay, my ransom came;
And in six days, with no ungrateful mind,
Albert was sailing on a quiet sea.
—But the night wears, and thou art much in need
Of rest. The young Antonio, with his torch,
Is waiting to conduct thee to thy chamber.

"Monte Cassino" is told by a Benedictine monk. Again, the opening lines, which, although introducing two speakers, could as easily have been spoken by one (the listener's question being echoed by the monk), suggest as adroitly the situation and the actions that have gone before as the opening lines of *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, or of *Fra Lippo Lippi*.

It is by no means the intention of this note to suggest that Browning conceived the idea of a dramatic monologue in blank verse from the selections considered here. I wish only to point out as a fact

deserving notice that Samuel Rogers's *Italy* anticipated the blank-verse dramatic monologue which Browning developed into a mature form.¹

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NEVIZANUS, ARIOSTO, FLORIO, HARINGTON, AND
DRUMMOND

Sir John Harington indicates his sixteenth Epigram as "translated out of Casaneus his Catalogus gloriae mundi." The Latin is found in Part 2, Consideration 22: "Mulier propter eius pulchritudinem, & formositatem laudanda est," p. 51v of the edition of Venice, 1576:

Triginta haec habeat, quae vult formosa vocari
Femina, sic Helenam fama fuisse refert.
Alba tria, & totidem nigra, & tria rubra puella,
Tres habeat longas res, totidemq'; breves.
Tres crassas, totidem graciles, tria stricta, tot ampla;
Sint ibidem huic formae, sint quoq'; parva tria.
Alba cutis, nivei dentes, albique capilli,
Nigri oculi, cunnus, nigra supercilia.
Labra, genae atque vngues rubri, sit corpore longa,
Et longi crines, sit quoque longa manus.
Sintq'; breves dentes, auris, pes, pectora lata.
Et clunes, distent ipsa supercilia.
Cunnus, & os strictum, stringunt ubi cingula, stricta:
Sint coxae, & collus, vulvaq; turgidula.
Subtiles digiti, crines, & labra puellis.
Parvus sit nasus, parva mamilla, caput.
Cum nullae aut rarae sint hae, formosa vocari
Nulla puella potest, rara puella potest.

As Cassaneus indicates, he found the poem in the *Sylva Nuptialis* of Johannes Nevizanus (Nevizzano), first published in 1516.

¹S. S. Curry in his consideration of the history of the monologue (*Browning and the Dramatic Monologue*, Boston, 1908, 113-132) treats as logical antecedents of the form "monologue lyrics," and cites as specimens Marlowe's *The Passionate Shepherd to His Love*, Drayton's "Come, let us kiss and part," other Elizabethan lyrics, and many of Burns' poems, notably "John Anderson, my Jo" and "Afton Water." Certainly, "Monte Cassino" and "An Adventure" bear more resemblance to the Browning monologue than any lyric does.

Harington was not the first to present this poem in England. In 1591 it was printed in a free Italian version, accompanied by a closely parallel English translation, in the *Second Frutes* of John Florio (pp. 130-131), with no acknowledgment of indebtedness. There seems to be no reason to suspect any influence of Florio's version on Harington. In the *Second Frutes*, Florio uses other borrowed matter without acknowledgment, though I have observed no other instance so striking as this.

In 1614 (?) William Drummond published among his *Madrigalls and Epigrams* fourteen lines in couplets entitled *Beauties Idea*. This is a rendering of Nevizanus' poem, with the omission of the first six lines, except for their reference to Helen, and of the last two. Drummond applies his verses to Chloris "my Hope, and only Joy," and brings in also a reference to Venus. Otherwise he follows his original closely, though with rearrangement of material.¹ *Beauties Idea*, then, should be added to the list of Drummond's translations.²

The poem evidently belongs to the tradition of describing by enumeration of which Lessing wrote in the *Laocoon*, chap. 20. Indeed Lessing's chief instance, Ariosto's Alcina (*Orlando Furioso* 7.11-15), has some of the qualities of Nevizzano's lady. She has white teeth, breast, neck, and hand. Though her hairs are blonde (not quite *albi*), her eyes and brows are black. Her cheeks and mouth are red. *Augusta* applied to her body may be interpreted as long, and her hand and hair are long. Her foot is short, her hand slender, and her breast *largo*, equivalent to *pectora lata*. Perhaps both descriptions owe something to a common convention.

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¹ In his note on the poem, L. E. Kastner, following Wm. C. Ward (*Poems of Drummond*, New York, 1894, vol. 1, p. 164), writes of line 3: "*White is her Haire*, etc. both the edition of 1616 and the one privately issued in 1614 read '*Haire*' in this line. This is obviously incorrect; probably *Hand* should be read" (*The Poetical Works of Drummond*, Manchester, 1913, p. 232). But *Haire* is correct, being a translation of *capilli*. It is curious, however, that in line 6 Drummond renders *pes* as *Bellie* (1616) and *Wombe* (1614, 1656 and 1659, 1711); is it a mere slip or did he have an incorrect text of the original?

² Kastner (ed. cit., I. xxx) does not list Nevizanus among Drummond's neo-Latin sources.

EASTWARD HO! AND A WOMAN IS A WEATHERCOCK

Predicting a dire future for the prodigal Quicksilver, the upright Golding in *Eastward Ho!* declares:

... methinks I see thee already walking in Moorfields without a cloak, with half a hat, without a band, a doublet with three buttons, without a girdle, a hose with one point and no garter, with a cudgel under thine arm, borrowing and begging threepence.¹

This is but part of a longer speech; and since it is static rather than dramatic, from the point of view of an actor it might effectively be cut. Who the initial actor was we do not know, but it may well have been Nathan Field, a principal member of the Queen's Revels which in 1605 first produced the play² and of the Lady Elizabeth's men who retained the play and later revived it.³ Whether or not Field played the part of Golding, he undoubtedly was familiar with the play.⁴ He seems, moreover, to have remembered this speech when in 1609 he wrote his *A Woman Is a Weathercock*. In that play the vindictive Captain Pouts, having been wounded by Strange for slandering Kate, cries:

'Zoons! methinks I see myself in Moorfields, upon a wooden leg, begging threepence.'⁵

This passage W. C. Hazlitt and John Payne Collier have connected with the disguised Brainworm in *Every Man in His Humour*; but Hazlitt is clearly wrong in saying that Field's passage "is only copied from a situation given to Brainworm,"⁶ just as Collier is wrong in saying that Brainworm is represented upon a wooden leg.⁷ It seems clear that the Field passage is a borrowing from

¹ I, 1: 177 ff.; *English Drama 1580-1642*, ed. Brooke and Paradise (New York, 1933).

² E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), III, 254-256.

³ *Ibid.*, 255.

⁴ He may even have been imprisoned for appearing in it; his biographer, indeed, says "we may safely assume" that he was [R. Florence Brinkley, *Nathan Field, the Actor Playwright* (New Haven, 1928), p. 26].

⁵ IV, 2; p. 396, ed. A. W. Verity in *Nero and Other Plays* (London, 1888).

⁶ *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England* (London, 1866), IV, 40.

⁷ See *Every Man in*, 1616 version, II, 5: 100; *Ben Jonson*, ed. Herford and Simpson (Oxford, 1925—).

Eastward Ho!, one which apparently has not been noticed by editors of *Eastward Ho!*⁸ or *A Woman Is a Weathercock*,⁹ or by commentators¹⁰ who might have been interested in it. The borrowing is, of course, slight indeed; but it may possibly have significance. It may show the actor-playwright remembering a passage which had proved effective in the theatre and, with the actor's awareness of the audience pulse, ruthlessly cutting away its impedimenta.

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A NOTE ON OTTO LUDWIG'S *HEITERETEI*

Otto Ludwig's *Heiteretei*, whose name serves as the title of the story,¹ is a tall, strong and at the same time handsome young woman, who makes her living as a *Botenfrau*, going errands with her *Schiebkarren*. She is quick of repartee, and always ready to play a prank on the stronger sex, which she affects to despise. On one occasion (p. 13) she pretends not to be able to extricate her heavily laden cart, which is stuck in the mud up to the hubs. The tailor, the weaver, and finally the husky smith try successively to pull out the cart, but in vain. Thereupon *Heiteretei*, with some effort, to be sure, pulls it out unaided, and thus has the laugh on the men. On p. 260 this incident is referred to:

"ja, und daß sie tut, als könnt' sie den verbrannten Karrn nicht herausbringen aus dem Dr—ck, und man springt bei aus christlicher Liebe, und es ist ihr nur darum, daß sie einen auslachen will."

There is no manuscript witness extant; the first book edition of 1857 (p. 413) has the same reading. No editor comments on the passage, in which *verbrannten* is evidently a misprint for *verdamnten*.

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⁸ E. g., J. W. Cunliffe, 1913; T. M. Parrott, 1910-1914; Julia H. Harris, 1926; H. Harvey Wood, 1934-1938.

⁹ J. P. Collier, 1829; W. C. Hazlitt, 1875; A. W. Verity, 1888.

¹⁰ E. g., E. Koeppl, *Ben Jonson's Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker* (Heidelberg, 1906); Mina Kerr, *Influence of Ben Jonson on English Comedy* (Philadelphia, 1912); and Brinkley, *op. cit.*

¹ *Die Heiteretei und ihr Widerspiel* herausgegeben von Paul Merker, 1912. München und Leipzig, verlegt bei Georg Müller.

SUR UN PASSAGE DE *PANTAGRUEL*

M. Boulenger a spirituellement dit 'qu'il est aujourd'hui possible d'entendre Rabelais, ou à peu près.'¹ Il reste, en effet, des passages qui sont encore obscurs. Voici l'un d'eux: 'En ce point entra en la salle où l'on banquetoit, et hardiment, qu'il espoventa bien l'assistance; . . .'² Les *Chroniques admirables*³ donnent une autre leçon: 'et croyez hardiment qu'il espoventa. . . ' N'est-ce pas là une variante plus satisfaisante?

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REVIEWS

La Pensée européenne au XVIII^e siècle de Montesquieu à Lessing.

Par PAUL HAZARD. 3 Vols. Paris: Boivin, 1946. Pp. vi + 377 + 301 + 156.

Paul Hazard died in Paris on April 12, 1944. He had taken an active part in the defense of France up to the summer of 1940, had escaped to America, and had begun his courses at Columbia when Marshal Pétain recalled him to France. His American friends urged him not to go and reminded him that Hitler's promises, on which the actions of the Marshal were based, were worth exactly nothing. However, he felt that France needed him, that he must answer the call, whatever sacrifices and hardships it might entail. Accordingly he and his wife returned to France early in 1941. When he beheld Vichy, he realized what was going on. Pétain, he concluded, was either a traitor or in his dotage. He certainly did not understand Hazard, for he offered to make him rector of the University of Paris. Hazard declined. Pétain insisted, ordering

¹ Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes*, éd. de la Pléiade (Paris, 1934), p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 207 (*Pantagruel*, ch. iv). Cette leçon apparaît dès l'édition in-4^e de *Pantagruel*, chez Claude Nourry, à Lyon, et se retrouve dans toutes les éditions de *Pantagruel* que nous avons consultées, en particulier dans l'édition de François Juste, à Lyon, en 1533 (cf. la réimpression par P. Babeau, Jacques Boulenger et H. Patry [Paris, 1904], p. 15).

³ *The Tale of Gargantua and King Arthur* . . . ed. by Huntington Brown (Cambridge, 1932), p. 59; *La seconde Chronique de Gargantua et de Pantagruel*, éd. p. Paul Lacroix (Paris, 1872), p. 68. J'ai étudié les relations entre les chroniques gargantuines et *Pantagruel*, dans un article qui paraîtra dans *PMLA*.

him to obey. Hazard still objected and finally asked if the Germans had been consulted. This was a detail the aged puppet had overlooked. When Hazard's name was proposed, the Germans refused their approbation. Hazard then taught at the University of Lyons until, in the summer of 1942, he was allowed to return to the Collège de France. His death prevented his welcoming to Paris his American friends.¹

In these three volumes he has left us his final message. They were completed in manuscript before his death, were seen through the press by his wife, and appeared in the third quarter of 1946. They combine the clarity, the wit, and the interest in ideas of the "philosophes" with the warmth and charm of "l'homme de sentiment," whose history Hazard also intended to write:

Il faudrait, pour achever l'histoire intellectuelle du dix-huitième siècle, considérer la naissance et la croissance de l'homme de sentiment, jusqu' à la Révolution française. Cette entreprise, nous l'avons commencée, déjà; nous la poursuivrons; nous l'acheverons peut-être quelque jour. . . . (I, v)

But this was not to be. What we have might be called 'The Rise and Fall of the *Philosophes*.' It concerns their efforts to free mankind from ancient prejudices, their close approach to victory, the opposition they encountered both without the movement and within, and their failure to solve the problems they had undertaken to study. They left a divided, but not a desperate Europe, which personifies

plus que tout autre continent, la condition humaine. Elle n'admet pas que ce qui est, doive être nécessairement: elle ne s'abandonne pas au nirvana. Elle ne met pas sa confiance dans un mécanisme qui, augmentant le bien-être, endort la pensée. Elle n'est pas lâche; elle ne se soumet pas, . . . ses découragements sont sans lendemain. (II, 261-2)

The book is a sequel to the *Crise de la conscience européenne*, which, as has been suggested, might better have been called the *Crise de la conscience de quelques européens*, since the *crise* had not been generalized. And, indeed, the earlier title might better have been given to the sequel, for it was in the eighteenth century that the struggle took on wide significance. Hazard describes the methods employed by the leaders, their use of irony, their pursuit of happiness, their attack on organized religion, their offer of deism, their interest in science, their efforts to reform government, morals, education, the writing of history, and law. They traveled from one European country to another, they discussed ideas, they wrote to one another at a time when "les lettres n'étaient pas la corvée, mais les délices de chaque jour" (I, 316). But their gods, Nature and Reason, were not in accord. The year that the Academy of Berlin awarded to Adolf Friedrich von Rheinard the prize for his discussion of the "système de Pope contenu dans la proposition:

¹ I have learned most of these facts from Mme Hazard.

Tout est bien," came the earthquake at Lisbon. And Lessing attacked Voltaire in much the same temper as that in which the Frenchman had sought to crush "l'infâme."

With the internationalism, under French leadership, of the *Philosophes* contrasted the enthusiasm roused in 1765 by de Belloy's *Siège de Calais*, praise of *italianità*, and Gleim's *Chants d'un grenadier prussien*, which prepared the way for the triumphs of nationalism in the nineteenth century and the woes that still follow them.

The only important omission I find in the work, as in its predecessor, is due to the almost complete neglect of the theater. Yet the stage must have contributed to the broadcasting of ideas. If Marmontel's mother, the wife of a village tailor, knew by heart large portions of *Zaïre*, surely the heroine's reflection that religion is largely a matter of geography — "J'eusse été près du Gange esclave des faux dieux," etc.—was not without its effect in bringing about liberation from ecclesiastical oppression.

But the author gives so much that in contrast this omission is quite pardonable. Based on his own investigations and on those of many scholars, presented as objectively as one could ask, written with the delightful clarity, taste, and humor that gave Hazard his seat in the French Academy, the work will be profitable to specialists and to those who are not, to all, indeed, who would know a society that is not ours, but upon whose discoveries, combats, and hopes much of our own depends.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Milton and the Renaissance Ovid. By DAVIS P. HARDING. *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, xxx, iv. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1946. Pp. 105. \$1.50, paper; \$2.00, cloth.

Although this monograph is ostensibly a study of sources, it is one which seldom stoops to the mere assembling of parallels. Mr. Harding has added much that is significant to our understanding of Milton's indebtedness to Ovid, and yet one finds even more interest in what he has contributed to our knowledge of Milton's early reading, Milton's turning away from classical mythology, Milton's acquaintance with Renaissance redactions of Ovid, Milton's adherence to his own principle of decorum, and the complex problem of the poet's reliance on his readers to respond imaginatively to connotative allusions.

What is true of most problems in Miltonic studies is true of Mr. Harding's subject: it has been repeatedly considered by previous scholars. One of the most persistent concerns of Milton's editors since the time of Hume has been the annotation of Milton's allusions

to, and borrowings from, Ovid among the other classical writers. Mr. Harding acknowledges his own debt to such works as Osgood's *Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems*, Rand's *Milton in Rustication*, Hanford's *Youth of Milton*, and Bush's *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*. But Mr. Harding's study takes a direction which—save for Professor Bush—scholars have not previously followed. His purpose was to see Ovid as Milton saw him, to examine the Renaissance editions of Ovid which Milton himself might have used, and, after studying the annotations which reveal the prevailing Renaissance interpretation of Ovid, to reevaluate the use which Milton made of the Roman poet. This is a praiseworthy intention reflecting, as it does, a rather recent tendency towards a more sophisticated historical point of view among students who have found it necessary to base critical judgments of any sort on reconstructed cultural contexts. Having justified his own book on the ground that previous studies were concerned only with the classical, not with the Renaissance, Ovid, Mr. Harding assumes the burden of showing significant differences between the two Ovids and of proving that an acquaintance with the Ovid known to the Renaissance affects our reading of Milton. He succeeds in both.

Mr. Harding's opening chapter sketches adequately—though not definitively, for little direct reference is made to patristic or scholastic writers—the fabrication of the Christian Ovid in the Middle Ages. He shows how Ovid was adapted to Christian purposes by means of allegorical and tropological interpretation and how this medieval reading of Ovid was perpetuated by the fourteenth-century *Ovide Moralisé* and by such subsequent works as the *Metamorphosis Ovidiana Moraliter . . . Explanata* of Petrus Berchorius, the annotated edition of the *Metamorphoses* by Raphael Regius, the commentaries of Petrus Lavinius and Jacobus Miccyllus, and the heavily "allegorized" translations of the *Metamorphoses* by Arthur Golding and George Sandys. This is a highly interesting chapter which demonstrates how vastly different *Ovidius Christianus* was from *Ovidius Romanus* and how widespread this moralized reading of Ovid was through the first quarter of the seventeenth century. All such interpretations, as Mr. Harding tells us, proceeded from the desire to reconcile Ovid's tales with orthodox Christian theology. Ovid's treatments of the Creation and the Flood were accepted as Roman versions of the accounts in Genesis, and many of the myths retold by Ovid were interpreted in allegorical or tropological terms. Thus, for example, Ovid's version of the Flood "differs only in giving Noah and his wife the poetical aliases of Deucalion and Pyrrha" (p. 15).

In laying a foundation for evaluating Milton's use of this Ovidian tradition, Mr. Harding fulfills three subordinate biographical purposes of his study: to consider the part which St. Paul's School

played in cultivating Milton's enthusiasm for Ovid; to trace chronologically the thread of Ovid's influence on Milton; and to explain each successive change in Milton's attitude towards Ovid. In fact, the brilliant argument by means of which Mr. Harding proves, quite convincingly, that Milton must have entered St. Paul's earlier than the accepted date 1620—Mr. Harding believes that April, 1617 is the most likely date—is one of the most impressive parts of his book. If his argument is as sound as it appears, Milton's acquaintance with Ovid must have begun as early as 1619. The Latin poems written at St. Paul's (1617-25) and at Cambridge (1625-29) are thoroughly Ovidian in tone and are characterized by four kinds of borrowings: epithets taken from Ovid and applied to the same person or thing; epithets taken from Ovid but applied to different persons or things, phrases taken from Ovid but used in quite different contexts, and phrases widely separated in Ovid but fused and taken over by Milton. It is Mr. Harding's contention that Milton's warm admiration of Ovid—and especially of his love poetry—persisted until he left Cambridge, but that by the spring of 1630 Milton had ended his apprenticeship to Ovid's erotic poetry. Although the influence of Ovid on these Latin poems has long been acknowledged, Mr. Harding argues that "occasional instances of the poet's indebtedness to Ovid have gone unnoticed, largely because the editors have not acquainted themselves with the established interpretation of the text of the *Metamorphoses* in Milton's own day" (p. 49); and he succeeds, with several specific instances of considerable interest, in showing how an acquaintance with the Renaissance interpretation of Ovid materially affects our reading of Milton's allusions to the Latin poet.

The last two chapters of Mr. Harding's book, on *Comus* and *Paradise Lost*, seem distinctly inferior to the first three. Here the reader is increasingly troubled by the author's failure to distinguish meticulously between allegorical and tropological interpretations, by his tendency, when the influence is slight and insignificant, to claim more than evidence warrants, and especially by his refusal, in at least one instance, to consider all possibilities.¹ Mr. Harding's chapter on *Paradise Lost* in particular would be greatly strengthened if he brought to his subject a wider knowledge of patristic, scholastic, and rabbinical commentaries on the Bible and of medieval Christian homiletics. Such an acquaintance would probably have supported his argument as a whole but would have demanded modification of his assertion that "among the multitudinous sources from which Milton derived suggestions for the treatment of his themes, only the Bible has a more important role than the literature

¹ In discussing Milton's description of *Comus'* magic rod (p. 64f.), Mr. Harding argues that Milton was indebted to Ovid alone rather than to Spenser, as has usually been understood. The evidence, however, does not exclude the possibility of Milton's being indebted to both Ovid and Spenser.

of Greece and Rome" (p. 67). However, much as conservative readers will discount a few mere verbal parallels, Mr. Harding has shown that there are many features of *Paradise Lost* laden with Ovidian connotations for the seventeenth-century reader but lost upon the reader of today, largely because we have forgotten the Christianized Ovid.² And his comment on the allegory of Sin and Death in *Paradise Lost* does, indeed, make that episode far more suggestive to the modern reader.

Mr. Harding concludes that Ovid's influence on Milton ended with *Paradise Lost*; he has found no more than "a shadowy trace of indebtedness to Ovid" in *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, and he believes that this negative evidence "strongly implies that there came a time when . . . [Milton] could no longer see any common ground of truth between classical mythology and Christian teaching." Once Milton had convinced himself that pagan myths were merely fiction, he was unable to condone their use in Christian poetry and "turned his back on the bright, enchanting world of pagan mythology" (p. 98 f.). This is a most reasonable thesis, both because it follows from the sort of evidence which Mr. Harding has presented and because it agrees with other critics' conclusions, arrived at from different directions. It must be noted however, that such a view tends to put greater emphasis on Milton's Hebraism than some critics would allow, since Mr. Harding's whole purpose really results in demonstrating that the world of pagan mythology was not bright or enchanting to Milton merely because it was classical, but rather because it was both classical and capable of Christian interpretation.

F. MICHAEL KROUSE

The University of Cincinnati

From Classic to Romantic, Premises of Taste in Eighteenth-Century England. By WALTER JACKSON BATE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946. Pp. x + 197. \$3.00.

This volume contains the Lowell Lectures given in the spring of 1945; and is dedicated to the Lowell Lecturer of the spring of 1925, Professor A. N. Whitehead, to whom the younger lecturer acknowledges "a great debt." In six lectures, or chapters, Mr Bate first outlines the classic and neo-classic conceptions of art and aesthetic judgment, founded on confidence in reason and the rationality of the universe; then traces the scrutiny of reason's claims by

² The association of Satan with both Phaeton and Typhon, for example, was common in Renaissance interpretations of Ovid and seems to have been intended by Milton in several passages (*P. L.*, I, 196-200, 230-38; III, 591-98, 374-82).

psychological empiricism which ended by dissolving them, and which simultaneously encouraged the growth of individualism and of subjective theories of taste; and finally presents the outcome in what he terms "the English romantic compromise."

The story, of course, is an old one; though it can perhaps be endlessly retold with significant variations. Parts of it have, in fact, been retold in recent years with new detail or with fresh interpretation by a number of scholars. Mr Bate appears to owe nothing to any of these except Professor Lovejoy. Though he centres his version of the story in the literary critics and theorists, he is especially concerned to connect them with the currents and shifts of philosophical thought which, as he says, they reflect. In this he shows penetration and skill; and the connexions he establishes do much to lessen the dreariness of another encounter with du Bos, Rapin, Dacier, Bysshe, Gildon, Alison, Gerard, and others—all familiarly known to the seasoned reader of articles and monographs on literary theory of the eighteenth century. Indeed, Mr Bate's treatment of his subject suggests that the natural affinity of his volume is, not with the works just alluded to, but rather with such works as Professor Whitehead's *Science and the Modern World*, Mr Michael Roberts's *The Modern Mind*, and Professor Basil Willey's books.

Yet this juxtaposition is not fortunate, and could, if closely followed up, be unfair to Mr Bate. For his real theme is not that momentous and central subject, the eighteenth-century breakdown of faith in rationalism and shift to subjective, anti-rational individualism;—not this, but something more limited, and derivative. His real theme is the reflection of this "fundamental and pervasive" shift to be discerned in "premises of taste," in literary and artistic theory. The unhappy consequence is that, with two exceptions presently to be mentioned, pale and shadowy figures crowd Mr Bate's foreground, and obscure his intelligent grasp of the "fundamental and pervasive" alteration which controls their movements. The effect is that of putting the cart before the horse. The fact, nevertheless, that comparison with the work of Professor Whitehead and the others named above does suggest itself is striking testimony to Mr Bate's success in discovering significance in his subject, and to his success also in an arduous task of integration. Mr Bate is, in truth, thoughtful, judicious, and acute. He has discriminately brought into view the real bearings and quality of the classic and neo-classic "conceptions of the nature and purpose of art"; and from this solid foundation he rises, in his third chapter, to a discussion of Johnson which, taking it as a whole, can only be called a triumph of critical discernment, finely conceived and incisively presented. Johnson is one of the two exceptions alluded to above; and the other is Reynolds who, in the same chapter, is also soundly, though less notably, discussed.

But when this much is said, as a deserved tribute to Mr Bate's

the bourgeois, the artist, the lover, and the writer, though the chapter on "l'Amoureux" seems unnecessary or too long in view of the relative insignificance of the theme of love in the greatest of the Tourangeau novels.

It is these novels which are the subject of the second part of Prof. B.'s study, "le Peintre de la Touraine." No one will quarrel with the statement (p. 129) that Boylesve's "études de mœurs provinciales forment probablement la partie la plus solide de son œuvre et celle qui restera la plus vivante," though one may well quarrel with Prof. B.'s excessive praise, in the early chapters of his book, of such *œuvres de jeunesse* as *Sainte-Marie des fleurs* and *le Parfum des îles Borromées*. In his painstaking critique of the Tourangeau novels, Prof. B. proves conclusively that Boylesve was both a skillful "peintre" and an acute "psychologue" who "n'est pas plus réactionnaire qu'il n'est révolutionnaire" (p. 260), and that his "romans provinciaux" constitute a forceful depiction of "le premier stade de la désintégration de la bourgeoisie de sa province" (p. 251). Prof. B. rightfully emphasizes Boylesve's objectivity and the fact that "jamais (il) ne prêche" (p. 225); unfortunately, he is himself unable to maintain the same high level of objectivity. He constantly interjects his own opinions, which usually reflect a nostalgia for the good old days in the French provinces and a personal philosophy of conservatism which would seem, at the very least, to be out of place in a doctoral dissertation. Take, for example, this comment on Mme Coeffeteau, of *la Jeune fille bien élevée*, described as

un personnage intéressant qui incarne bien l'âme de sa classe dans une dangereuse période de transition. . . . nous autres qui recueillons actuellement les fruits de tous ces changements, nous sommes tout prêts à sympathiser avec la pauvre femme et à regretter que la vie de nos vieilles provinces ne soit pas restée ce qu'elle était pendant les siècles de cristallisation; et la vie que mènent les nations plus radicalement avancées que la nôtre ne peut guère nous inspirer que le regret du conservatisme de nos aïeux (pp. 203-204).

Prof. B.'s study is not free of factual errors; we are told, for instance, in a foot-note to p. 163, that *l'Enfant à la balustrade* was written ten years after *Mademoiselle Cloque*; actually they were only four years apart. And the scholarly apparatus leaves much to be desired. The list of the "Œuvres de Boylesve" is far from complete; such works as *les Bains de Bade* (1896), *la Marchande des petits pains pour les canards* (1931), *Ah! Placez-moi* (1922) and others are not even mentioned. The title of *Souvenirs du jardin détruit* is given as *Souvenirs d'un jardin détruit*. Many of the 27 volumes that are listed are given, strangely enough, not the dates of original publication but those, presumably, of the editions used for the study. Thus, Boylesve's very first novel, *le Médecin des dames de Néans* (1896), is dated 1926; *Mademoiselle Cloque* (1899) is dated 1921; *la Becquée* (1901) is dated 1905, and so on.

The bibliography of secondary sources is very incomplete; not a single American article on Boylesve is listed and many French items are lacking, notably the Sat., Jan. 23, 1926 issue of *les Nouvelles littéraires*, largely devoted to an "Hommage à René Boylesve" in which such writers as Henri de Régner, Paul Valéry, Jacques des Gachons, Jean-Louis Vaudoyer, Gérard-Gailly and others paid tribute to their recently deceased friend and confrere. Finally, there is an "Index des noms de personnes" which is merely a list of names, without page-references, and so of little use. Prof. B. has written a highly readable book, which will be welcomed by all lovers of the delicate art of Boylesve; but the definitive scholarly work on the subject still awaits an author.

AARON SCHAFFER

The University of Texas

The Use of Color in Literature. A Survey of Research. By SIGMUND SKARD. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1946. Pp. 87. (*Proceedings*, vol. 90, no. 3.)

Students of literature cannot afford to overlook the publications of the American Philosophical Society, even if most of them are concerned with alien fields. In recent years the journals of the Bartrams and Cailliet's *Idéaliques* attest this fact, and the society is soon to publish a monograph on the French dramatist, Alexandre Hardy, that will correct many statements that have been made about his life and reproduce a large number of hitherto inaccessible documents. Further evidence is supplied by the fact that last year the society brought out Mr. Skard's important contribution to the history of the use of color in literature.

His work is primarily a bibliography that lists the titles of nearly 1200 works in many languages. No one who studies a writer's use of color can safely ignore it. The list of titles is preceded by a survey of the field to the end on 1938, excellent despite the loss in Japan of the cards on which the work was based. In the first of the two chapters into which the survey is divided Mr. Skard discusses briefly remarks made by the ancients, medieval churchmen, Renaissance painters, and Goethe about the use of color in literature, but he finds that the careful investigation of the subject began in 1858 with Gladstone's *Studies on Homer*. Among later writers special attention is given to Groos and Weisgerber, special praise to Demorest's treatment of Flaubert. In his second chapter Mr. Skard discusses the use of color in various epochs. The authors whose works have most stimulated investigation are Dante, Goethe, and Hugo, but the list includes many others, from Homer to Hofmannsthal and Conrad. Gaps in our knowledge are clearly indicated, so that the survey may well suggest many subjects for dissertations.

There is no real difficulty in understanding Mr. Skard, but it is unfortunate that he was obliged to translate his manuscript himself from Norwegian into English. An over-generous use of the definite article is often apparent, and there are a number of peculiar expressions.¹ Only once, however, is the reader misled. This happens when Skard writes, "Huizinga's description of the fall colors of the Middle Ages" (p. 177) instead of "Huizinga's description of color in the later Middle Ages."²

In concluding the author finds that the results of color research are fragmentary and that we are far from having satisfactory surveys even of the greatest stylistic periods, but he contends that the field is fertile and that the problems that present themselves are fundamental to all literary research. His book will do much to make such future investigation more than merely something to be desired.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Beowulf in Modern Verse with an Essay and Pictures. By GAVIN BONE. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1945. Pp. x + 84. 15/-.

All students of Old English (and a good many others) will want this book for the pictures in it—fresh and bold illustrations of events in *Beowulf*. Here are bright-colored impressions of the struggle between the Geat and Grendel, the fight between Beowulf and Grendel's dam, the terrifying country about the mere, the unhappy men as they sit on the shore awaiting their leader's return from the bottom of the sea—seven in all. Here too are brief comments on such critical matters as the poet's skill in narration and description, and his intention in writing the poem.

There are several pages on translating *Beowulf*. Bone's aim is to reproduce the poem's "noble brevity in many passages; its magisterial movement; and its picturesque and peculiar equivalents for ordinary things." Rejecting the long couplet of Strong and Leonard, the original meter of the poem used by Scott-Moncrieff (who "will not budge a quarter of an inch to be intelligible"), and blank verse (because of its strong poetical traditions that are completely irrelevant in a translation of *Beowulf*), Bone uses lines of varying length riming in quatrains. The result is not good on first

¹ For instance: "Against this background the author follows how the terms held their ground" (p. 187); "all forms of material civilization compends and compilations" (p. 188); "elementary investigations are still undone" (p. 203); "the three horses of the Apocalypse" (p. 188, three of the four?); "St. George" (p. 231; he means the German poet, not the dragon's conqueror).

² The slip is the more surprising as Skard cites, not only the Dutch title, which means "The Autumn of the Middle Ages," but the English translation, entitled "The Waning of the Middle Ages."

impression, but I have discovered that reading the translation aloud improves it no end: one gets a sense of the verse-paragraphs—the stops are chiefly internal—and the rime only now and then impedes the flow of a passage.

The diction is intentionally “fresh and bold.” The use of such a word as *scuggy*, which “so obviously means what it says,” is not at all out of place; and many of the kennings are vividly translated, as *dawn-sound of dismay* for *morgenswäg*. A good deal of liberty is taken with the original: nearly 500 lines are left out, other lines are condensed; the parts of the minstrel’s song about Hildeburg and Hengest are rearranged. But this is an impressionistic translation; and though one must agree with the writer of the preface that the ideal translation of this poem is “on before,” it is good to have this record of the impression made by *Beowulf* on a young artist and poet whose untimely death in 1942 not only prevented his revising this work and completing the series of illustrations but also deprived us of further contributions to Old English studies.

HENRY BOSLEY WOOLF

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BRIEF MENTION

French Studies. A Quarterly Review. As the editorial board of *MLR* contains specialists in English, German, and Spanish only, the need for a British learned magazine devoted to French has been for some time obvious. The answer is the launching of this new review under the general editorship of Mr. Ewart, who associates with himself MM. Clapton, Dechamps, Green, Orr, Rudler, and Vinaver. The first number (Jan., 1947), which runs to 94 pages, contains two long articles—one on fifty years of research devoted to Mallarmé, the other concerned with recent works on seventeenth-century literature—and two short ones: the reproduction by Mr. Vinaver of Flaubert’s hitherto unpublished *Influence des Arabes d’Espagne sur la civilisation française du moyen âge*, and a note in which Claudel is quoted as correcting a statement made by Yeats in regard to *l’Annonce faite à Marie*. These are followed by seventeen reviews, three pages of “Varia,” and five of “Books Received.” The magazine is published at Oxford by Mr. Basil Blackwell. The annual subscription is 25 shillings. Early in its sixty-second year, *MLN* is delighted to see this evidence of the pioneering spirit on the part of its transatlantic neighbors and extends to *FS* its most cordial greetings and best wishes.

H. C. L.

Modern Language Notes

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SWIFT AND MR. JOHN TEMPLE¹

I

Basically, the feelings between Swift and Sir William Temple were probably cordial. Professor Woodbridge has disproved the tradition of mutual diffidence and resentment.² But he has not settled some problems. Why was Temple hesitant to forward his protégé's independent career? If he was angry with Swift for leaving his employ in 1694, why had he recommended Swift for a position in 1691? Part of the explanation for such inconsistencies lies in an event which has been slighted by biographers: perhaps only a couple of months before Swift joined the Temple household, Sir William's son John drowned himself.

That suicide ended Temple's role as a father. Although he was devoted to his children,³ he lost all nine. Their deaths—to judge from reports of his reactions to such losses—were intense shocks to him,⁴ especially those of Diana and John Temple. And his misfortunes seriously affected his conduct.⁵ Sir William had, Lady

¹ Throughout this paper the author is indebted to the late Professor W. T. Morgan of Indiana University for bibliographical guidance.

² Homer E. Woodbridge, *Sir William Temple* (New York, 1940), pp. 219-40 and *passim*.

³ His sister calls him "an extream fond father" and "a fond and indulgent Father," also describing him as pleased by children's way of talking (Sir William Temple, *The Early Essays and Romances*, ed. G. C. M. Smith, Oxford, 1930, pp. 192n, 28, 29).

⁴ His sister characterizes him as "wounded to the heart by griefe especially upon losses of his friends and children"; she reports that the death of his uncle, Dr. Hammond, in 1660, made Temple fall "quite sick" (Temple, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29).

⁵ Woodbridge infers from Lady Giffard's comments that the deaths of

Giffard reiterates, been "infinitely fond" of his fourteen-year-old daughter⁶ and was so shaken for weeks after her death that he was unable to manage his affairs properly. "The truth is" he wrote, "my heart is so broken with a blow I received in the most sensible part of it that I have done nothing since as I should do, and I fear never shall again."⁷

Two aspects of John Temple's life are relevant to this inquiry: his father's sponsorship of his political activity and his father's attitude toward him. Miss Longe—who, though quite unreliable, worked from some documents as yet unpublished—says John Temple's career was dominated by Sir William. She concludes that "though employed in various minor but delicate transactions he [John Temple] never seems to have made his mark, and was morbidly conscientious."⁸

The father certainly did not discourage his son. When the boy was barely nineteen (February 12, 1673-74), a ready offer of his services was sent by Sir William to Gourville, the unscrupulous French diplomatist, whose true nature Sir William evidently failed to appreciate.⁹ About half a year later (September 4, 1674) Sir William wrote of leaving the heats of the political scene to his son and urged Danby to entrust the ambitious youth with confidential messages: "tho' he be young . . . he may be trusted . . . for he has a good plain, steady head, and is desirous to do well."¹⁰ In a few months (on December 4, 1674) he was joking about the young man's zeal in serving under a visiting statesman. John, he wrote, seemed likely to "take notice of us no longer, having the honour of being absolutely retained in my Lord Latimer's service since his arrival here."¹¹ When the king wished Sir William to become secretary of state in June, 1667, John carried the letters of request from Danby,¹² the type of mission which Sir William's brother, Sir John Temple, had on occasion performed for him. And when the father left for England the following

the five children in Ireland upset Temple so much that he may have engaged in public affairs to soften his grief (Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 53).

⁶ Temple, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 21.

⁷ Edward R. Turner, *The Privy Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Baltimore, 1927), I, 446.

⁸ Julia G. Longe, *Mariha Lady Giffard* (London, 1911), p. 150.

⁹ Temple, *Works* (London, 1757), IV, 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹² Temple, *Works*, II, 407.

month (July 5, 1677), the son accompanied him.¹³ In 1680 Sir William sent him to acquaint Charles II with Sir William's "resolutions to pass the remainder of my life like as good a private subject as any he had, but never more to meddle with any public employment."¹⁴

However, the implications of this promise seem to have been broadened when it was renewed, in November, 1686, to James II.¹⁵ Lady Giffard indicates that Sir William had resolved never to involve himself in any illegal affairs or attempts to make divisions in the royal family. He apparently imposed this resolution upon his son, for he refused to let John ("who had bin very uneasy to be denyed the leave he had soe impatiently begged of his Father to meet the Prince of Orange at his landing") aid William III officially before the king's coronation, April 11, 1689.¹⁶ On the following day, however, John replaced William Blathwayt as secretary of war.¹⁷ He does not seem to have been particularly well qualified for this office,¹⁸ which in the main was doubtless a token of the king's esteem for Sir William.¹⁹ Early one evening within a week of this appointment—probably about six o'clock, Friday, April 19, 1689—John Temple jumped out of a boat on the Thames near London Bridge and was drowned, thus ending a history which seems to corroborate Miss Longe's generalizations.²⁰

¹³ Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹⁴ Temple, *Works*, II, 243-44.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 540, *Early Essays*, pp. 23-24

¹⁶ *Early Essays*, p. 24.

¹⁷ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (Oxford, 1857), I, 521.

¹⁸ See [Guillaume de Lamberty,] *Memoires de la derniere revolution d'Angleterre* (La Haye, 1702), II, 291-92; also *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, ed. E. M. Thompson (London, 1878), II, 133.

¹⁹ Emile Pons writes that John Temple's secretariat was a position "que son père lui avait fait attribuer" (*Swift; les années de jeunesse*, Paris, 1925, p. 137n).

²⁰ The most detailed account of the suicide is that of Lamberty (*op. cit.*, pp. 290-93), quoted, in translation and with omissions, by Abel Boyer (*Memoirs of the Life and Negotiations of Sir W. Temple*, London, 1714, pp. 414-18). Other apparently original versions occur in Luttrell, *op. cit.*, I, 524; Thompson (Hatton), *op. cit.*, II, 131-33; *The Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. J. J. Cartwright (London, 1875), p. 458; Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *Correspondence*, ed. S. W. Singer (London, 1828), II, 274;

In one of two extant suicide notes John wrote that he had received from his father, sponsor of this disastrous career, "especially of late all the marks of tenderness in the world."²¹ Sir William had indeed been strongly attached to John from the boy's childhood. In a letter of about 1657 Lady Temple writes to Sir William, "I gave Jack the kiss you sent him and he mems [remembered his?] little duty and gave me another for you."²² In the April, 1683, dedication of the second part of his memoirs to John Temple, Sir William begins, "I do not remember ever to have refused any thing you have desired of me."²³ The father also expressed an anxiety that his own existence was obstructing his son's fortunes,²⁴ and in 1686 he "devided his little estate equally between his son & himselfe."²⁵

Family records are tactfully reticent about his reactions to the suicide, but he was probably overcome. Boyer calls it "the most grievous Accident that befel Sir *William Temple* in the whole Course of his Life, and under which a Man of less Fortitude and Philosophy than he, would certainly have sunk."²⁶ And Lady Giffard bears witness that his last ten years were overcast as a result of it:

with this deplorable accident ended all ye good fortunes so long taken note of in Sr W. T. famely & brought a cloud upon ye remainder of his life & a damp upon ye good humor so natural to him & so often observ'd yt nothing could ever recover.²⁷

Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time (Oxford, 1823), III, 352. The best analysis of the incident is in Woodbridge (*op. cit.*, pp. 216-18); but he does not use the *DNB*. spelling of William Blathwayt, and he follows Boyer in both misspelling Lamberty and giving inaccurately the title of his book, *Memoires de la derniere revolution*. The dates given for the suicide are April 19 (Thompson [Hatton] and Clarendon), 18 (Luttrell), and 14 (Lamberty and Boyer).

²¹ Temple, *Early Essays*, p. 194.

²² *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple*, ed. G. C. M. Smith (Oxford, 1928), p. 202.

²³ Temple, *Works*, II, 243.

²⁴ See Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney, *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second*, ed. R. W. Blencowe (London, 1843), II, 14-15; also Temple, *Works*, II, 244.

²⁵ Temple, *Early Essays*, p. 23.

²⁶ Boyer, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

²⁷ Temple, *Early Essays*, p. xii.

Professor Woodbridge and T. P. Courtenay have disposed of the myth of Sir William's stoical indifference.²⁸

II

Jonathan Swift was probably part of the Temple household, temporarily at Sheen, by June, 1689 (two months after the drowning, if not sooner), while Sir William was still settling his son's affairs.²⁹ In the succeeding decade he twice left that household on his own business. The first absence lasted more than a year, from May, 1690, to the summer or autumn of 1691. The second extended from May, 1694, to May, 1696. According to the conventional interpretation of these separations Temple valued Swift almost exclusively as a secretary. At the time of the first absence Temple supposedly did not appreciate his assistant and therefore did not mind Swift's departure. By 1694, presumably, he had grown so dependent upon Swift's aid as to be angry with him for leaving.

Now if Temple was quite willing to see Swift go to Ireland in 1690, to recover from an illness, he was evidently eager to have him return in 1691; for Swift did so on an improved footing, being admitted to his patron's confidence and sent to Oxford in preparation for the priesthood. Since the original departure had been with Temple's connivance if not encouragement,³⁰ the affair is

²⁸ Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-18; T. P. Courtenay, *Memoirs of the Life, Works, and Correspondence of Sir William Temple* (London, 1836), II, 130-32.

²⁹ Both the place and the date of the beginning of Swift's first stay with Temple are disputed. Harold Williams proposes Moor Park "before the close" of 1689 (*The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams, Oxford, 1937, I, 4), apparently relying on John Forster, whose wording he uses (John Forster, *The Life of Jonathan Swift*, London, 1875, I, 55); F. E. Ball suggests Moor Park in the spring of 1689 (*Swift's Verse*, London, 1929, p. 16); Ricardo Quintana gives Sheen in the spring of 1689 (*The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift*, London, 1936, p. 6); and Woodbridge and Pons argue for Sheen in June, 1689 (Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 219 and note). See also Arthur E. Case, "Swift and Sir William Temple—a Conjecture," *MLN*, LX, 259-65.

In any event Swift surely began to live with the Temples very shortly after John Temple's suicide and probably while Sir William was still settling his son's affairs.

³⁰ See Temple's letter, recommending Swift to Sir Robert Southwell, in *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. F. E. Ball (London, 1910), I, 1-3.

suggestive of an indefinite vacation for reasons of health. This interpretation is strengthened by Swift's blaming the decision on the "advice of physicians, who weakly imagined that his native air might be of some use to recover his health,"⁸¹ and his implication that he had not wholly welcomed the plan. Temple would have agreed with the physicians, to judge from his advice to Henry Sidney in a similar situation⁸² and from the emphasis on climate in his essay, "Of Health and Long Life."⁸³ Perhaps, then, Temple encouraged Swift to experiment with the therapeutic effects of the Irish climate but was happy to take him in when the trial failed. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand why Temple should have expedited a trip toward which Swift indicated some diffidence and yet have welcomed him back afterwards.

For 1694 the known facts are more complex. An understandable desire for independence had been growing in Swift until he wished to leave again.⁸⁴ Temple's anger with him over this reasonable decision is so incomprehensible that even the most cautious biographers have had to conjecture a quarrel between the two men in order to account for it.⁸⁵ If there was such a quarrel, it was not the cause but the excuse for Temple's displeasure. His underlying opposition to Swift's wishes is commonly attributed to Swift's indispensability as a secretary. This suggestion does not, however, jibe with the circumstances of Swift's return in 1696; for it was only at Temple's insistence that he went back to England.⁸⁶ It

⁸¹ *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Temple Scott (London, 1907), xI, 377.

⁸² "I cannot but wish you in some place that would be for your health" (Romney, *op. cit.*, II, 53).

⁸³ Temple, *Works*, III, 266-303. He names the northern Irish as one of several examples to demonstrate that "the natives and inhabitants of hilly and barren countries have not only more health in general, but also more vigour, than those of the plains" (p. 280).

⁸⁴ See Swift, *Correspondence*, I, 10, 12.

⁸⁵ Henry Craik, *The Life of Jonathan Swift*, 2 ed. (London, 1894), I, 60; Forster, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Quintana, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8; Pons, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁸⁶ Swift writes to John Winder on April 1, 1698, "I have had, at least, three or four very wise letters . . . declaring much sorrow for my quitting Kilroot, blaming my prudence for doing it before I was possessed of something else"; the context suggests that he was considered to be doing himself an injustice by remaining with Temple (Swift, *Correspondence*, I, 22). Jane Swift writes to Deane Swift on May 26, 1699, that her brother's

seems unlikely that a mere secretary should in less than three years have so ingratiated himself with his employer that for two additional years the latter waited upon his change of heart.

Moreover, if Temple relied heavily upon him as a secretary, it is curious that Swift's presence had little observable effect upon Temple's literary production. According to the accepted opinion, the period from 1691 to 1694 should reveal a wealth of either compositions or publications, at least in comparison with the period before 1691. On the contrary, however, all except four of Temple's individual productions as listed by Woodbridge were written by 1691.³⁷ And of the remainder the major item, *An Introduction to the History of England*, was published late in 1694 or early in 1695,³⁸ while Swift was away and his cousin, Thomas Swift, was Temple's secretary. Indeed, nothing by Temple besides this one work and new editions of earlier books was published after 1691 until Swift's editions of the posthumous publications began to appear in 1701.³⁹

The chief quality which Swift was called upon to exhibit in his secretarial capacity was, Woodbridge intimates, his beautiful penmanship.⁴⁰ It seems likely that little of the copy upon which this talent was exercised occupied Swift's attention between 1690 and 1696. "Nothing of his [Temple's] ever printed in my time was from the original," wrote Swift to Lady Giffard in 1709.

The first Memoirs was from my copy; so were the second Miscellanea. so was the Introduction to the English History. so was every volume of

"best friend Sir William Temple . . . was so fond of him . . . that he made him give up his living in this country [Ireland], to stay with him at Moor Park, and promised to get him one in England" (*ibid.*, p. 30). Thomas Sheridan writes that Swift in 1696 received "a kind letter from Sir William himself, with an invitation to Moor-Park" (Thomas Sheridan, *The Life of Jonathan Swift*, London, 1784, I, 20). And W. M. Mason, perhaps following Sheridan, writes that at this time Swift "was invited back by Sir William Temple, who, during his absence, became sensible how necessary Swift was to his existence" (William Monck Mason, *The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of St. Patrick*, Dublin, 1820, p. 235).

³⁷ Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-42.

³⁸ Professor Woodbridge has kindly written to me that the first edition is dated 1695 on the title page; however, the *Term Catalogues* (II, 379) list it under Michaelmas, 1694.

³⁹ Woodbridge, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

Letters. They were all copied from the originals by Sir William Temple's direction, and corrected all along by his orders.⁴¹

Swift must have completed the transcriptions of the *Memoirs* and *Miscellanea* which he mentions, however, before going to Ireland in 1690, since the one was first published in 1691 and the other in 1690. Swift's edition of Temple's letters did not appear until after Temple's death, although he must have been occupied with them throughout his sojourn with Temple.

Thus from 1691 to 1694, when he was supposedly making major demands upon Swift's editorial skills, Temple neither wrote nor published any of his significant known works except *An Introduction to the History of England*. If Swift's value as a clever amanuensis fully "explains why in 1692 Temple was reluctant to part with Swift"⁴² and why Temple was angry with Swift in 1694, Sir William should have been frantic with exasperation in 1690.

III

What other motivation had Temple to maintain the dependent relationship without furthering Swift's career? It seems probable that the bereaved father transferred to the young newcomer—himself a posthumous child—some of the attitudes which he had originally shown toward his own son. Such an hypothesis gains credibility not only through its clarification of the questions asked at the opening of this inquiry but from several additional circumstances: parallels between the treatment of John Temple and of Jonathan Swift by Sir William, the latter's bequest to Swift, and rumors that Swift was the illegitimate son of Sir William.

In three aspects of his relationship with Swift, Temple recalls his own behavior toward his son. Both Swift and John Temple, for example, carried confidential messages for Sir William. These were sometimes of considerable importance, as on the well-known occasion of Swift's presenting Temple's argument for triennial parliaments to King William in 1693 (compare John Temple's bearing to his father, in 1677, Charles II's invitation to become secretary of state). Other instances are so common that Lady Giffard could write, in 1697 or 1698, that she had sent Swift with

⁴¹ Swift, *Correspondence*, I, 171-72.

⁴² Woodbridge, *loc. cit.*

"another compliment from Papa to ye King where I fancy he is not displeased with finding occasions of going."⁴³

Both Swift and John Temple were deeply involved in Sir William's composition of his memoirs. It was at his son's "repeated request"⁴⁴ that he began to write the second part in 1683, and it was to his son that he dedicated this. But the work was printed from Swift's copy, and it was included in Sir William's general bequest to Swift of the "care, and trust, and advantage of publishing his posthumous writings."⁴⁵

The last of the similarities is the most striking. Although Sir William had often been separated from his son for long periods, he does not seem to have relaxed his affectionate control of the youth. He may have sent John to school in France.⁴⁶ He probably guided the young man's diplomatic career. Yet in 1689, when thirty-four-year-old John wished to join the Prince of Orange upon the latter's arrival in England, Sir William repeatedly "denied the leave"⁴⁷ to him and insisted upon prohibiting a presentation until considerably later. However, Sir William let John Temple be made the new king's secretary of war immediately after the coronation. With Swift, too, Sir William calmly accepted—if he did not suggest or urge—one long separation for improvement of health in Ireland and another, very short one for additional education at Oxford. He introduced Swift to King William and made him some ambiguous promises.⁴⁸ Yet when twenty-seven-year-old Jonathan wished to break the tie altogether and to live independently of his patron, Sir William became angry—though not so angry that he was not glad to receive Swift again when the latter was ready to return. One might conjecture that Temple's emotion was intensified by his memory of the suicidal effect which independence had had upon his son.

Quite distinct from such analogies with John Temple is a second indication of Sir William's paternalism towards Swift. When Henry Temple died, that quarter of Sir William's unencumbered personal estate which had earlier been willed to him remained

⁴³ Longe, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁴⁴ Temple, *Works*, II, 243-44.

⁴⁶ Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 156, 158.

⁴⁵ Swift, *Prose Works*, XI, 380.

⁴⁷ Temple, *Early Essays*, p. 24

⁴⁸ Swift, *Prose Works*, XI, 378-80; *Correspondence*, I, 30, 157; III, 301; Forster, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-72 and *passim*.

unprovided for. In a codicil dated February 2, 1697-98, Sir William left one hundred pounds of that share to his cousin, William Dingley, and the same amount to "Mr. Jonathan Swift, now dwelling with me." He bequeathed no comparable sum to any other person not related to him, although Stella received the lease of some lands in Ireland. Swift is also the only non-relative not designated "servant" in the whole will.⁴⁹

A third circumstance which strengthens the hypothesis that Temple transferred certain of his paternal attitudes to Swift is the rumor that Swift was Temple's son by Abigail Erick Swift. Although this silly suspicion is notoriously baseless, it seems generally to have derived from contemporary wonder at the extent of Temple's kindness.

Sir William Temple's friendship [writes Orrery] was immediately construed to proceed from a consciousness, that he was the real father of Mr. Swift, otherwise it was thought impossible, that he could be so uncommonly munificent to a young man, no ways related to him, and but distantly related to his wife.⁵⁰

Certainly the consensus in the early eighteenth century was that Temple's generosity toward Swift was fatherly.

On all these counts it seems safe to suggest that one of the main elements in the relationship between Swift and Temple was the paternal sentiment which Temple had transferred from his dead son to Swift and that one of the causes for the seeming inconsistencies in that relationship was the ambivalence of Temple's attitude, which fostered dependence but based itself on affection. These assumptions would not only help to account for Temple's treatment of Swift, both in general and on the two occasions of his leaving Moor Park, but also supply an additional argument against the "legend of Swift's bitter servitude to a peevish and pompous invalid."⁵¹

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⁴⁹ Courtenay, *op. cit.*, II, 484-86.

⁵⁰ John Boyle, Earl of Orrery, *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London, 1752), p. 15. An equally outrageous specimen is of course the article by C.M.P.G.N.S.T.N.S., "Anecdotes of Dean Swift and Miss Johnson," in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, xxvii, 487-91.

⁵¹ Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

OLD WELSH *ENNIAUN* AND THE OLD ENGLISH
PERSONAL NAME ELEMENT *WEN*

KCD 755¹ is the record of a lawsuit brought before a shire-moot at Aylston, Herefordshire, in the reign of King Cnut. The name of the plaintiff, who sues his own mother for some landed property in the county, is given by Kemble as *Eadwine Eanwene sunu*. His text is derived from the version printed by G. Hickes, *Dissertatio epistolaris* (Oxonii 1703), pp. 2-3, where, however, the person under notice appears as *Edwine Enneawnes sunu*. Hickes's source, it is true, was a copy, 'recenti manu non sine mendis plurimis, & lacunis descriptum,' of a lost original, but the text, as he gives it, is in perfectly good late Old English and there seems to be no reason to doubt its substantial accuracy.

Now Kemble, who, like Hickes, took the mysterious *Enneawn* to be the mother of Eadwine, was pardonably puzzled by the curious form and abnormal genitive ending of the supposed feminine name and consequently altered it to *Eanwen*, which would seem to be a perfectly normal OE compound of the elements *Ean-* and *-wēn*. In his *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge 1897), Searle duly records this occurrence of the name, which incidentally is the only evidence we have for its existence, and via Searle it was taken over into M. Boehler's *Die altenglischen Frauennamen* (Berlin 1930), p. 65. Some years ago Miss A. J. Robertson reprinted the original text of Hickes in her *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge 1939; No. 78). She regards the form *Enneawn* as 'obviously corrupt' (p. 401) and, correctly pointing out that the name is 'not necessarily that of Edwin's mother,' suggests that we may be concerned with OE *Eanwine*.²

There is, however, no need to assume a corruption at all. *Enneawn* clearly goes back to Old Welsh *Enniaun*, which is well evi-

¹ The abbreviations for sources and counties used in this article are generally those employed in the publications of the English Place-Name Society. Note that ASCh or Robertson stands for A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge 1939), ASW or Whitelock for D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge 1930), LibEl for *Liber Eliensis*, ed. D. J. Stewart (London 1848) and PNDB for O. von Feilitzen, *The pre-Conquest personal names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala 1937).

² Recorded as the name of an 8th-c. Northumbrian prince.

denced in early Welsh sources, the ultimate base being Lat. *Annianus*.³ The diphthong *ia*, which was unfamiliar to West Saxon, was replaced by *ea*.⁴ Eadwine was evidently of mixed ancestry, and the name of his father is an interesting addition to the small number of Celtic personal names, mostly borne by Welsh princes, that have hitherto been found in OE charters.⁵

Apart from the fact that, as we have seen, the emendation proposed by Kemble is unnecessary for the establishment of a satisfactory etymology of the form *Enneawn*, there is, however, another weighty objection to his reconstruction. As I hope to show below, we have actually very little if any real evidence for the use of the word *wēn* f. 'belief, hope' as an element in OE personal names. The compounds supposed by Searle and Boehler to contain this theme are as follows.⁶

A) As a first element.

Wēnbeorht: The form *Wenberht* dux 852 (12th) BCS 464 (= ASCh 7) is, as recognized by Robertson (p. 273), an error for *Werenberht*. The person referred to appears as a signatory to royal charters from 845 to 873.⁷ The first element is OE *Wer(e)n-*, on

³ See on this name, particularly its later history, M. Förster in *Texte und Forschungen . . . für Felix Liebermann* (Halle 1921), p. 196, and for references to early forms J. Baudiš, *Grammar of early Welsh* (London 1924), §§ 60 n. 1, 184·3 n. 1. The name enters into the Glamorganshire place-name Eynon's Ford (B. G. Charles, *Non-Celtic place-names in Wales*, London 1936, p. 127).

⁴ For *ia* of various origin in Kentish, West Mercian and Northumbrian see Luick, *Hist. Gramm. der engl. Sprache*, §§ 247b, 248, 260 n. 1.

⁵ The Welsh names in the TRE portion of DB are listed in PNDB p. 29 f.

⁶ Boehler, of course deals only with names where, in her opinion, *-wēn* enters as a second element and with feminine names in *Wen-*; cf. her general survey of such compounds, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 f. Her material is fuller than that of Searle. To save space detailed references to these writers have generally been omitted, nor have I deemed it necessary to specify as such a couple of additional occurrences of forms in *-wen* noted by myself but not recorded by Boehler. Special points made by the latter writer in her etymological discussions have of course been duly acknowledged in their proper place.

⁷ *Uuerenberht* prefectus, *Werenberht*o ministro regis ac prefacto 845 (or.) BCS 448, *Werenberht* c. 848 (cont.?) *ibid.* 452, *Werberht* dux 855 (11th) *ibid.* 487, *Weremberht* dux 855 (11th) *ibid.* 488, *Werenbearht* 859 (or.) *ibid.* 497, *Uuerenberht* minister 860-62 (11th) *ibid.* 502, *Uuerenberht* 873 (or.) *ibid.* 536.

which see R. Müller, *Untersuchungen über die Namen des nord-humbrischen Liber Vitae* (Berlin 1901), p. 103.

Wēnburh f.: This name is supposed to enter into the boundary-mark on *uuenburge byrgge* (for *-brycge*) 958 (c. 1260) BCS 1036 (bds of Ducklington, O; Abingdon cart., MS B), a derivation which is no doubt formally possible. However, there is some evidence for *e* < *y* in MS B of the Abingdon cartulary, and F. Langer, *Zur Sprache des Abingdon Chartulars* (Berlin 1904), p. 43, may well be right in explaining the form as a variant of the well-authenticated OE *Wynburh*.⁸

⁸ Of the parallels adduced by Langer, *op. cit.*, p. 42 f we may note the following: *Kenerico* by the side of *Cunrices* 958 BCS 1035 (OE *Cyneric*), *Bedene*, *Bydene* 965 BCS 1171 (OE *byden*; now Beedon, Berks), *ferhþe* 956 BCS 955 < OE *fyrhþ*, on *tetan hyll* of *tytan hylle* 957 BCS 1002 (bds of Hinksey, Berks); all in the section written by the second scribe. In the portion written by the first scribe we find *Wensige* episcopus 926 BCS 659, the reference being to bp Wynsige of Salisbury.

To avoid unnecessary repetition we may point out here once for all that *e* for *y* is more or less common in the early dialects of K, E, Sf, Nf, Sx, Sr, Ha, Mx (including the city of London), Herts, C, Beds and Bk. As is now generally recognized, this dialectal feature had a much wider range than was formerly held; see PNDB p. 56 note 2 and the references given there, to which should now be added H. Kökeritz, *Studia neophilologica*, 10 (1937/38), p. 90 f. (on *e* < *y* in Ha), the same writer's *The Place-names of the Isle of Wight* (Uppsala 1940), pp. xcviiff, H. Bohman, *Studies in the ME dialects of London and Devon* (Goteborg 1944), pp. 33-85 and the recent volumes of the Place-Name Society on Hertfordshire (1938), p. xxv, Middlesex (1942), p. xvii and Cambridgeshire (1943), p. xxv. In some post-Conquest MSS, notably DB, AN influence may sometimes be responsible for the occurrence of *e* for *y* or *i*. Furthermore, even in dialects which normally either preserved *y* or unrounded it to *i*, we are surely justified in reckoning with a certain tendency for the vowel when occurring in the weakly stressed second element of compounds to become reduced to a more or less indistinct or slurred sound, for which *e* would be a convenient graphic representation. Cf. the partly parallel development of *-frið* > *-ferð* discussed in PNDB p. 51. It should also be noted that Ekwall, *Studies on English place-names* (Lund 1936), pp. 115 ff., assumes a sporadic development, outside the *e*-area, of *y* > *e* in stressed syllables, owing to the influence of preceding labial consonants. This phenomenon may be illustrated by the form *uuenburge* above and by frequent *Wenstan* in the Worcester cartulary by the side of *Wynstan*; cf. *infra*.

It may be added that the problem of the development of OE *y* in the transition period and in early ME and of the exact phonetic value of the

Wēnflæd f.: *Wenflede* (2x, dat.) 942 (15th) BCS 775 (Do; Harley 61), a *religiosa sancte conversacionis monialis femina*, is plausibly identified by Whitelock (p. 109) with *Wynflæd*, daughter of *Beorht-wynn*, who owned land in Do and Wilts and drew up her will c. 950 (ASW 3 = KCD 1290, MS 11th c.).

Wēngēat: DB *Weniet* (Searle p. 582) reflects OE *Wyngēat*; PNDB p. 428.

Wēnheard: Searle refers to the boundary-mark to *wēneardes smede*. of *wēneardes snede* 943 (c. 1130-50) BCS 786 (bds of Tisted, Ha; Cod Wint). The second word is apparently OE *snæd* 'piece of (wood-)land, clearing,' but the interpretation of the first must be left open. The identity of the original vowel in the first syllable is doubtful⁹ and we cannot even be certain that it is a personal name at all.

Wēnhelm: Among the clerics of St. Augustine's enumerated in the Canterbury charter BCS 1010 (bef. 958, contemp. MS; cf. ASCh 32) appears one *Wenelm*. The language of the document being strongly Kentish throughout, the form under notice is most prob-

sounds variously rendered by *y*, *u*, *i* and *e* in cartularies and chronicles is, of course, one of the major cruxes of English sound-history, and much work remains to be done before it can be fully elucidated. So far only a few ME cartularies have been systematically analyzed from a phonological and diplomatic point of view, and the absence, in most cases, of adequate data on their orthographic peculiarities renders a conclusive judgment of individual spellings extremely difficult. Exactly to what extent the forms of proper names occurring in the various ME cartularies should be assumed to reflect the contemporary local dialect of the copyists as distinct from the traditional OE scribal usage represented by the original records (cf. on this point PNDB p. 37 f) is still a moot question which calls for a separate investigation in each case. A further complication is added by the fact that forms only available in KCD cannot always be implicitly relied on in view of the editor's unfortunate habit of normalizing his text. The reservations just stated should be borne in mind in judging the etymological suggestions put forward in the present paper.

⁹ *æ* by the side of *e* in the Cod Wint may reflect OE *æ*, *ǣ*, *ǣ*, *ē* or *e* (whether from WG *e* or resulting from *i*-mutation of *-an(n)-*); cf. R. A. Williams, 'Die Vokale der Tonsilben im Codex Wintoniensis,' *Anglia* 25 (1902), pp. 418 ff., 431, 481 ff., 487 f. OE *y* occasionally appears as *e* (op. cit. p. 449), but there are no safe cases of *Wen-* < *Wyn-* in the material analyzed by Williams.

ably a local variant of *Wynhelm*.¹⁰ The person referred to may perhaps be identical with the Canterbury presbyter *Wynhelm* c. 914 BCS 539, 638.

Wēnnōð: The forms *Uuenoðo* ministro 986 (14th) KCD 654 (dat., 2x), *Uuenoðus* 1065 (14th) *ibid.* 817, both from the Malmesbury cartulary (MS Lansdowne 417) and referring to the same person, are taken by Searle to prove the existence of an OE *Wēnnōð*. As the language of the vernacular portions of the MS is late ME and the proper names occurring in it frequently appear in very corrupt spellings, no definitive suggestion can be offered and the reconstruction attempted by Searle, while not *a priori* impossible, must remain conjectural.¹¹

Wēnrīc: The form *Wenric* in DB goes back to OE *Wynrīc*; see PNDB p. 429.

Wēnsige: *Wensige* minister 958 (13th) BCS 1030 (W; Harley 436) is the same man as *Wynsige* (*Winsige*) minister who witnesses a great number of Eadwig's and Eadgar's charters at least from 957 up to 973.¹² Most probably this *Wynsige* is also identical with the contemporary Cambridgeshire magnate *Wensius*, who is twice referred to in the LibEl c. 970-75.¹³ A form *Wenzige* also appears

¹⁰ *e* for *y* is also found in *geltes*, *geberige* (var. *gebærige*). Note further such inverted spellings as *Æðelwyrd* (3x), —*æs*, *yfter*, *yftær*. Cf. on this charter F. W. Bryan, *Studies in the dialects of the Kentish charters of the Old English period* (Chicago 1915), pp. 11, 14, 17 and 25 f.

¹¹ KCD 817 lists a number of earlier grants among them that recorded in 654. The second form has therefore no independent authority but merely copies the first. In the version of the cartulary printed by J. Brewer from another and somewhat earlier MS (*Registrum Malmesburiense*, London 1879-80; MS c. 1300), the corresponding forms are *Vuenodero* ministro and *Vuenod* (vol. i, pp. 320, 323).

¹² 957 BCS 999, 958 *ibid.* 1028, 1036, 1037, 963 *ibid.* 1112, 967 *ibid.* 1210, 970 *ibid.* 1257, 1269, 973 *ibid.* 1292.—The appearance of a witness of this name in 974 BCS 1308 is due to a mistaken copying of an earlier charter; cf. Robertson p. 349.

¹³ *Wensio* (dat.) LibEl (MS late 12th) p. 127, *Wensius Wlfrisi* (for *-rici*) *cognatus*, *Wensio* (dat.) *ibid.* p. 151. He witnessed a transaction concerning property in C in the presence of abbot Beorhtnoð of Ely (+ 981) and bp. Æðelwald of Winchester (963-84). At a hundred-moot in Whittlesford c. 975 he sued another local magnate for allegedly withholding payment for land at Swaffham. Note also that one of the charters signed by *Wynsige* minister (BCS 1269) is recorded in the Ely book.—On *e* for *y*, a normal

on one Wilton coin from the reign of Æðelred II (B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska kongl. myntkabinettet*, Stockholm 1881, p. 156). No parallel forms in *Wyn-* or *Win-* have been noted from this place, but Wilton was a small mint and the moneyer in question may well have been the same as the contemporary *Wynsige* who worked at Exeter and London (*op. cit.*, pp. 55 f., 123). On *Wenesi* for *Wynsige* in DB see PNDB p. 429.

Wēnstān: The form *Wenstan*, adduced by Searle from 961-70 (11th) BCS 1139 (Heming) and also found in several other contemporary charters, is a scribal variant of *Wynstān*, the person referred to being a Worcester cleric of that name who signed from 963 to 978.¹⁴ On DB *Wenestan* < OE *Wynstān* see PNDB p. 429.

Wēnðrȳð f.: In LibEl incidental mention is made of a local saint *Wendredae* (gen., p. 192: 2x), *Wendrethae* (gen., pp. 195, 196) in connexion with the translation of her relics by abbot Ælfsige (981-1019) from the village of March, C, to Ely and their subsequent removal by the Danes in 1016. No further information seems to be available about this saint.¹⁵ The second element of her name was evidently *-ðrȳð*, and OE *Wynðrȳð*, which is on record, seems the most likely etymon. On *e* < *y* see note 13 *supra*. Boehler (p. 152) takes the OE form to have been *Wēnðrȳð*.

B) As a second element.

Ælfwēn: According to the *Chronicon abbatiae Rameseiensis* (ed. W. D. Macray, London 1886) the wife of Æðelstan 'Half-king,' a prominent East-Anglian noble (d. c. 960), was a certain *Alfwen*

C variant, see note 8 *supra*. The LibEl specifically exhibits frequent vacillation between *i*, *u* and *e*; cf. *Ælfwennæ*, *-wenne* (notes 16, 18 *infra*), *Sewenna* (pp. 38, 42) < OE *Sāwynn*, *Fanbrige* (p. 197), *-bruge* (p. 212), *-brege* (pp. 100, 198) > *Fambridge* (E), *Ælftred* (p. 146), *Alftreth* (p. 153) < OE *Ælfðrȳð*, *Ætheldredæ* (p. 132), *-drydæ* (p. 133), *-drethæ* (p. 142) < OE *Æðelðrȳð*. Even original *i* is occasionally written *e*, as in *Ælfsueth* (p. 116) < OE *Ælfswið*

¹⁴ *Wenstan* clericus 966 BCS 1182, 967 *ibid* 1206, 1207, 969 *ibid* 1232, 1239, 1240, 1241; *Wynstan* clericus 963 BCS 1105 and 16 other charters, the latest being 978 KCD 620. Another variant is *Wunstan* clericus 969 BCS 1242, 977 KCD 615.

¹⁵ St. Wendred's Church in March is mentioned in 1343; see J. F. Madan & W. M. Palmer, *Notes on Bodleian MSS relating to Cambridge* (Cambridge 1931), p. 73.

(pp. 11, 53; MS A, early 14th c.). In the second instance, however, MS B of our text, which is earlier (late 13th c.) and frequently better than A, has the variant *Alfwennæ* (dat.). As shown by the double *n*, her real name was undoubtedly *Ælfwynn*.¹⁶ This is probably true also of *Alfwen* c. 1020 (14th) ASW 25 (Sf cart. = KCD 960), the daughter of Thurketel Heyng, who, as Whitelock (p. 180) points out, is also referred to as *Aelfwen religiosa reclusa quedam apud Sanctum Benedictum in Holm* in a late 11th c. life of St. Edmund.¹⁷ The second element would have Sf *e* for *y*. In the case of *Aluuen* 12th c. (?) LVH 136 (Ha) no certainty is possible, but *e* for *y* is not infrequent in Ha sources (cf. *e* note 8 *supra*), and like DB *Aluuen*, *Aluene*, on which see PNDB 161, the form presumably goes back to OE *Ælfwynn*.¹⁸

Æscwēn: The forms *Æscuuen de Staneie* (Stonea, C) c. 950 (late 12th) LibEl p. 133, *Æscuuen* *ibid.* p. 136 may well represent OE *Æscwynn*, on which see Boehler p. 24. Cf. note 13 *supra*.

¹⁶ The *Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia* (ed. W. H. Hart & P. A. Lyons, London 1884-93; MS 14th c.) calls her *Alfwen* (vol. iii, pp. 165, 166) or *Aylwynæ comitissæ* (gen.; vol. i, p. 268) and records her death under the year 983. She was buried at Chatteris and is most likely, as suggested by Tanner (*Notitia monastica*, London 1744, p. 40; cf. also Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i, 1655, p. 251) and E. W. Robertson (*Historical essays*, Edinburgh 1872, pp. 179 f) identical with the *Alfwennæ* . . . *cognomento Domine* (gen.) who is mentioned in LibEl (p. 188) as having been instrumental, with her brother Eadnoð, abbot of Ramsey and later bishop of Dorchester (d. 1016), in founding the Benedictine nunnery at Chatteris. The traditional date for that event (c. 980) would therefore seem to be probably correct; cf. D. Knowles, *The religious houses of medieval England* (London 1940), pp. 136, 142. E. Power, *Medieval English nunneries* (Cambridge 1922), dates it c. 1010.

¹⁷ *Heremanni archidiaconi Miracula Sancti Eadmundi* (MS c. 1100), in F. Liebermann, *Ungedruckte anglonormannische Geschichtsquellen* (Strassburg 1879), p. 234. The author, who wrote his work c. 1097, was archdeacon at Bury St. Edmunds, Sf. A safe example of *e* < *y* in this text is *Aelfgeth* < *Ælfgyð* (p. 239).

¹⁸ *Alfwenne* (dat.) c. 1030 (late 12th) KCD 932 (LibEl p. 207, the daughter of Oswig and Leoflæd, Stetchworth, C) is of course *Ælfwynn*, like *Alfwennæ* (dat. and gen.) 10th c. *Chronicon abbatiæ Rameseiensis*, pp. 60, 61, 76 (daughter of Æðelstan Mannessunu). *Alfwen filia Alfelme*, described *ibid.* p. 149 as the mother of Harald Harefoot, is a mistake for *Ælfgyfu*, the consort of King Cnut.—Boehler (p. 23) is aware of the ambiguity of the material listed by her under *Ælfwēn*.

Beorhtwēn: The only evidence adduced for this name is the form *Beorhtwene* (dat.) 939 (15th) KCD 376 (= BCS 744; Do). The exact reading is, however, doubtful. The letter following *w* must be either missing or illegible in the MS for Birch prints *Beorhtw[i]ne* though without stating the reasons for his emendation, which may be quite conjectural.¹⁹ If, however, we are right in supplying an *i*, the correct etymon is of course *Beorhtwynn*. In fact, according to Whitelock (p. 109), the person referred to is probably identical with *Byrhtwynne* (dat.) 950 (cont.) ASW 3 (Do, W, = KCD 1290).

Cēolwēn: In the Latin version of BCS 566 (c. 900; Cod Wint, 12th c. = KCD 1070), a bilingual charter with the rubric *Ceolwenne cweðe of Aweltunæ* (Alton, W), the name of the testatrix appears as *Ceolwen*, whereas the OE text has *Ceolwin*²⁰ (KCD l. c. incorrectly *Ceolwen*). This is clearly *Cēolwynn*, which Boehler (p. 44) accepts as an alternative possibility.

Cynewēn: Among the witnesses to BCS 585 (AD 901, W; MS 14th c., very corrupt spellings)²¹ figures one *Kynewen*, who naturally cannot be a woman. The form evidently stands for *Kyneþen* < OE *Cyneþegn* with *w* (*wynn*) for *þ* by scribal error and normal late WS reduction of *gn* > *n* (Luick, *Hist. Gramm.* § 251), as in *Kyneþen* 969 (11th) BCS 1240 (Heming).

Dēorwēn: *Dereuuen* 1086 DB 154 (a burgess of Oxford) presumably stands for OE *Dēorwynn*, on which see Boehler p. 52, *e* for *y* being due to AN influence.

Dunwēn: This name has been incorrectly reconstructed by Searle (p. 548) and Boehler (p. 52 f.) from the form *Duuen* in H. Ellis, *A general introduction to Domesday Book* (London 1833), ii, p. 77, which is, however, a misprint for *Duuan* 1066 DB 302 (Y) < OIr *Dubhán*; see PNDB p. 227.

Ēadwēn: The mother of St. Godric of Finchale (+ 1170) is called *Aedwen*, 'quod consone significat "Beatitudinis, amicam" seu "Societate beatam,"' in the Bodley MS (Laud Misc. 413, late 12th

¹⁹ In supplying the missing letter Birch may conceivably have been prompted by a mistaken association with the common masculine name *Beorhtwine*.

²⁰ The OE version is also printed by Robertson, ASCh 17.

²¹ E. g. *Aeustan*, *Uurgstan*, *Welfrich*, *Wilfrige* etc.

c.) of Reginald of Durham's *Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Godrici* (ed. J. Stevenson, London 1847, p. 22). MS Harley 322 (late 12th c.), which represents the earlier version of Reginald's work, has the variant *Edwenna* (*loc. cit.*, note).²² The double *n* in this form shows that the original name must have been *Eadwynn*, as is perhaps also suggested by the popular etymology quoted above which presupposes association with OE *-wine*. An excellent parallel is afforded by the name of St. Godric's sister *Burhwynn*, which appears as *Burcwen*, *Burchwene* (corrected from *Burchwine*) and *Burchwine*²³ in the Bodley MS (*op. cit.*, pp. 23, 139, 140), the corresponding Harley readings being *Burgwenne*, *Burchwene* and *Burwenne* (*ibid.*, pp. 24 n. 3, 139 n., 141 n. 2).²⁴

Herewēn: This name is supposedly attested by the form *Heruen* in J. Stevenson's edition of the *Liber Vitae ecclesiae Dunelmensis* (London 1841), p. 53 (early 13th c.). The MS reading is, however, *Herueu* (Facs. ed., London 1923, fol. 42 b, col. 5), an AN form of OG *Her(e)wig*; see T. Forssner, *Continental Germanic personal names in England* (Uppsala 1916), p. 150 f., who cites several occurrences of *Herueus*, *Heruei(us)* from LVD.

Lēofwēn: In a Sf charter dated c. 1038 and printed ASW 24 (from MS Cambridge Univ. Library Ff 2.33) mention is made of a certain *Lefwen*, the wife of Thurketel Heyng.²⁵ That her real name was *Leofwynn* is however conclusively proved by the form *Lefwyne* (dat.) which occurs in another version of the same charter (BCS 1020 from MS Add. 14, 847). Moreover she has been plausibly identified by Whitelock (pp. 179, 184) with *Leofwenne* (dat.) 1035-40 (11th) ASW 26. On Sf *e < y* see note 8 *supra*.²⁶

²² Galfrid's Life of St. Godric, which is based on Reginald and printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, T. 5 (1866), pp. 69 ff. from a 15th c. MS, has *Ædwen* (p. 71). In Roger of Wendover's *Chronicon sive Flores historiarum* (ed. H. O. Coxe, London 1841), ii, p. 341 she is referred to as *Eadwenna*.

²³ With the gloss "quod "Amicam civitatis" resonat, vel certe "Thalami amabilem consociam."

²⁴ The fact that the name of the daughter was *Burhwynn* would to some extent seem to furnish independent proof of the etymology suggested here in view of well-known tendency in OE nomenclature for the elements contained in the names of parents to reappear in those of their children.

²⁵ In her translation of the charter Whitelock (p. 69) normalizes the form to *Leofwyn*.

²⁶ *Lefquene* (dat.) ASW 24, *Lefquena* DB represent OE *Lēofwēn* f.; see PNDB 311.

Mārwen: The form *Maruuen* DB 1066:2 x (Bd, Nf), 12th c. LVH 53 (Ha) is taken by Boehler (p. 98) to represent an OE *Mārwen* (!), the first element of which she would explain as a variant of *Mār-*. Like *Meruen(a)* in DB (Ha, E), which Boehler (p. 100) derives from *Merewēn*, it clearly goes back to OE *Mār-wynn*; see further PNDB p. 326 f.

Merewēn: See *Mārwen*.²⁷

Ōswēn: In his *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*²⁸ Abbo of Fleury mentions one *Oswen*, *beatae recordationis foemina*, who is said to have tended the martyred saint's body (c. 870). The same name recurs in William of Malmesbury who bases his description of the incident on Abbo.²⁹ The original reference being found in a Sf text, the form would be consistent with derivation from OE *Ōswynn* (cf. note 8 *supra*), as is indeed suggested by the variant *Oswenna* in a 15th c. abstract of the legend.³⁰ On *Ōswynn* see Boehler p. 106.

Sāwēn: As sole evidence for this name Boehler (p. 111) adduces the DB forms *Seuen*, *Seuuen* (1066, Li), which are, however, best explained as scribal variants of *Su(u)en* < ON *Sveinn*; cf. PNDB 358. An alternative etymon is OE *Sāwynn*.³¹

Wulfwēn: Like DB *Wluuen(e)*, *Vluuen(e)*, on which see PNDB 428, *Wuluuen* 12th c. (?) LVH 137 (Ha) probably goes back to OE *Wulfwynn* (common; Boehler 135).

From the preceding survey of the relevant material it will have been seen that the current assumption of an OE personal name element *wēn* rests on very precarious foundations. Of the 26 alleged compounds with this theme 6 or 7 owe their existence to scribal

²⁷ *Modwenna* is the name given in ME sources to a 6th-century Irish woman saint, on whom see now J. F. Kenney, *The sources for the early history of Ireland* (New York 1929), pp. 366-371. The original form appears to have been *Moninna*, which may have been anglicized *Modwynn*, as Boehler (p. 149) hesitatingly assumes.

²⁸ Ed. T. Arnold in *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, i (London 1890), where the relevant passage occurs on p. 20. Abbo's work was composed c. 985 and survives in a MS from c. 1100.

²⁹ *Oswen quædam sancta mulier*, Wm of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, i (London 1887), p. 265, *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (London 1870), p. 154.

³⁰ *Memorials* . . . iii (1896), p. 352.

³¹ *Sāwynn* is recorded once in the 7th c., but apparently turns up again as *Seuuen* in the *Liber Vitae of Thorney Abbey* (11th or 12th c.; see D. Whitelock, *History*, N. S. 23, 1938/39, p. 70.

errors, misprints or arbitrary emendations of MS forms, viz. *Wēnbeorht*, *Beorhtwēn*, *Cynewēn*, *Dūnwēn*, *Ēanwēn*, *Herewēn* and probably *Sāwēn*.³² In the case of *Ælfwēn* (one instance), *Cēolwēn*, *Ēadwēn*, *Lēofwēn*, and *Ōswēn*, variant readings either in the same document or in collateral MSS prove that we are concerned with compounds in *-wynn*. Identification with persons bearing names in *Wyn-* enables us to remove from the list all or most of the forms entered under the headings *Wēnflād*, *Wēnsige* (3 instances) and *Wēnstān* (1 example).

Some forms occur only in DB, where OE *wynn* normally appears as *wen*, and can be disposed of summarily: *Wēngēat*, *Wēnric*, *Dēorwēn* and *Merewēn*, as well as the DB spellings entered under *Wēnsige*, *Wēnstān*, *Ælfwēn*, *Marwēn* and *Wulfwēn*. Considerations of dialect and phonology (cf. note 8 *supra*), which in all the above cases reinforce the various other criteria employed, tend by themselves to discredit or cast grave doubt upon the accepted derivation of the spellings listed under *Wēnburh*, *Wēnhelm*, *Wēnðrýð*, *Ælfwēn* (2 examples) and *Æscwēn*, as well as of the LVH forms s. nn. *Marwēn* and *Wulfwēn*. The supposed evidence for *Wēnnōð*, finally, occurs in an untrustworthy MS, and *Wēnheard* has been inferred from a field-name of uncertain meaning.

Apart from irrelevant or obscure cases like *Wēnbeorht*, *Wēnnōð* etc. all the forms discussed in the present article can thus be derived from well-authenticated names in *Wyn-* or *-wynn*, a common and prolific element in OE nomenclature.³³ As we have seen, many examples admit of no other etymology, and it seems reasonable to assume that the remaining cases where no positive certainty is possible should be explained in the same way. Hence it appears legitimate to conclude that unless fresh evidence should turn up for the theme *wēn*, we are scarcely justified in reckoning with it as an element in OE personal names.³⁴

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³² This may however be a genuine phonetic doublet of *Su(u)en*.

³³ A number of compounds in *-wynn*, mostly found in ME sources and not included by Searle, are listed by the present writer in an article on 'Some unrecorded Old and Middle English personal names,' *Namn och Bygd* 33 (1945), pp. 77, 79, 81, 84, 85, 87.

³⁴ It may be added that DB *Wenning* (Searle 582) stands for OE *Wynning* (PNDB 428).

THE ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS AND AKENSIDE'S
PLEASURES OF IMAGINATION

When Mark Akenside published his philosophic epic, *The Pleasures of Imagination*, in 1744, the psychology known as the "association of ideas" had already been accepted by the best minds of the period as the most suitable explanation of the operations of mind and imagination. In short, the special type of mental activity known as the "association, or connection, of ideas" was generally understood to occur when ideas are so joined in the mind that one idea almost invariably is succeeded by those which in some way—resemblance, contrast, causality, or contiguity—are attracted to it. After Hobbes, Locke, Addison, Berkeley, Hutcheson, and Hume, among others, had employed this psychology to explain the way in which the mind or human nature is prone to act and had applied it with varying degrees of success to an understanding of critical theory, it remained only for the poets to popularize the association of ideas and so to pass it on to intellects of lesser magnitude. Mark Akenside was among the first poets to give this psychological theory such popular literary expression. In his poem, *The Pleasures of Imagination*, the association of ideas is as fundamental to his concept of the imagination as it is to Hobbes's philosophy of the fancy.

Convenient aids to the understanding of Akenside's concept of the imagination are furnished in the prose remarks that accompany the obscure, inflated rhetoric of his poetry. In "The Design" prefixed to this philosophic poem founded upon the writings of Addison, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson, Akenside clearly points out to his readers that some of the imaginative pleasures arise "from the relations of different objects one to another." As these pleasures, he continues, are apparently in great measure dependent "on the early association of our ideas, and as this habit of associating is the source of many pleasures and pains in life, and on that account bears a great share in the influence of poetry and the other arts, it is therefore mentioned here and its effects described." The importance of association, thus made explicit at the outset, becomes especially obvious in that section of Book III which the "Argu-

ment" explains as "The operations of the mind in the production of the works of imagination described."¹

The prose remarks suggest the respect in which Akenside holds the psychology of association. His application of associationism to an understanding of his central subject, the nature of esthetic response and imaginative creation, is only further evidence of the significance of the association of ideas for critical theory in the eighteenth century. Akenside believes that the operations of the mind involve the processes of association. That is to say, he maintains that the association of ideas in the memory is an invaluable aid to imagination when the latter selects images from it for "the curious aim of mimic Art" (III, 354). In this way art's imitations will remain comparable to their sources in nature. Equally as significant as this Hobbesian concept of the associative memory supplying the plastic imagination with images is Akenside's belief that custom, formed by chance (or contiguous) associations of ideas (III, 321 ff.), is of fundamental importance in the explanation of man's esthetic responses to natural scenery. These two uses of the theory of association are, it will be remembered, not much unlike Addison's combination of the associationism of Hobbes and Locke in *Spectator* 416 and 417.

Why, Akenside begins, do the varied scenes in nature affect the poet with beauty or sublimity? Is the source of their effect in God? "Or rather from the links Which artful custom twines around her [the mind's] frame?" (III, 310-11) The latter conjecture is apparently accepted as the correct one; and Akenside expands upon it as the explanation of the emotional and esthetic effects that several unrelated natural scenes have upon man. The customary association of ideas is described in accordance with Locke's analysis of the way chance associations form habits:

For when the different images of things,
By chance combin'd, have struck the attentive soul
With deeper impulse, or connected long,
Have drawn her frequent eye. . . .

This subjective association of ideas joins ideas of which the sources in nature are really separate and distinct:

¹ *The Poetical Works of Mark Akenside*, ed. Rev. A. Dyce (Boston, 1875), pp. 117, 166.

. . . howe'er distinct
 The external scenes, yet oft the ideas gain
 From that conjunction an eternal tie,
 And sympathy unbroken.²

These associations then produce a chain of connected ideas. Akenside believes that temper or the prevailing passion determines the movement of this train of ideas in the mind:

Let the mind
 Recall one partner of the various league,
 Immediate, lo! the firm confederates rise,
 And each his former station straight resumes:
 One movement governs the consenting throng,
 And all at once with rosy pleasure shine,
 Or all are sadden'd with the glooms of care. (III, 318 ff.)

Like Hume, who compares association to gravity, Akenside compares the associational attraction to an operation in physics, to the effects of magnetic attraction upon two points of a compass:

. . . whate'er the line
 Which one possess'd, nor pause nor quiet knew
 The sure associate, ere with trembling speed
 He found his path, and fix'd unerring there.³

² III, 312-8. In a comment on other lines but peculiarly appropriate here, Akenside has explained how the subjective habitual associations may produce pleasure from disagreeable objects (p. 189, note to I, 234 ff.): "Though the object itself should always continue disagreeable, yet circumstances of pleasure or good fortune may occur along with it. Thus an association may arise in the mind, and the object never be remembered without those pleasing circumstances attending it; by which means the disagreeable impression which it at first occasioned will in time be quite obliterated." Other subjective expressions, but not certainly associationist, are in I, 481 ff., 526 ff. Cf. also III, 462-4: "By what fine ties hath God connected things When present in the mind, which in themselves Have no connection." The lines following these (III, 464 ff.) give a poetic version of the passage from Addison's *Spectator* 412 which Hume used to illustrate the double association of ideas and impressions or feelings. (See Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40) in *The Philosophical Works*, ed. Green and Grose [London, 1875], II, 83.) It is not inconceivable, therefore, for Akenside to think likewise of the combination of sensuous effects as operating within the sphere of associationism.

³ III, 334 ff. This poetic figure is also used by Shenstone in his didactic blank verse essay named *Oeconomy, a Rhapsody* (1742-3) in *The Works . . . of Shenstone* (London, 1773), I, 283-4:

Know too by nature's undiminish'd law,
 Throughout her realms obey'd, the various parts

He now borrows from Addison directly and shows how the associational powers of recollection augment the pleasures of the fancy and so affect the taste for nature:

Such is the secret union, when we feel
 A song, a flower, a name, at once restore
 Those long-connected scenes where first they mov'd
 The attention: backward through her mazy walks
 Guiding the wanton fancy to her scope,
 To temples, courts, or fields; with all the band
 Of painted forms, of passions, and designs
 Attendant: whence, if pleasing in itself,
 The prospect from that sweet accession gains
 Redoubled influence o'er the listening mind. (III, 338 ff.)

Having completed the description of the associational pleasures of the receptive imagination, or taste, Akenside proceeds to the associational pleasures of the inventive imagination.

"These mysterious ties," he continues, hold together the trains of ideas in the memory, so that they may be worked over by the imitative fancy, "mimic art." Indeed, this popular description of association, except for the fact that no laws or principles are mentioned, is hardly different from Hobbes's conception of the associations in the memory aiding the imagination, as presented in the *Answer to Davenant* (1650). Akenside writes:

By these mysterious ties, the busy power
 Of memory her ideal train preserves

Of deep creation, atoms, systems, all!
 Attract and are attracted.

Shenstone then describes the attraction of ideas in the soul:

Nor prevails the law
 Alone in matter; soul alike with soul
 Aspires to join; nor yet in souls alone,
 In each idea it [the soul] imbibes, is found
 The kind propensity. And when they meet,
 And grow familiar, various tho' their tribe,
 Their tempers various, vow perpetual faith:
 That shou'd the world's disjointed frame once more
 To chaos yield the sway, amid the wreck
 Their union shou'd survive; with Roman warmth
 By sacred hospitable laws endear'd,
 Should each idea recollect his friend.

Hume's comparison, made in the *Treatise*, may well be the source of this image. See *Works*, ed. Green and Grose, I, 321.

Entire; or when they [images, ideas] would elude
 her [memory's] watch,
 [Memory] Reclaims their fleeting footsteps from the waste
 Of dark oblivion; thus collecting all
 The various forms of being to present,
 Before the curious aim of mimic art,
 Their largest choice: like Spring's unfolded blooms
 Exhaling sweetness, that the skilful bee
 May taste at will, from their selected spoils
 To work her dulcet food. (III, 348 ff.)

In a note to III, 348 ff. he observes, "The act of remembering seems almost wholly to depend on the association of ideas." "The child of fancy" can thus employ his "plastic powers" upon these materials associatively retained in the memory. And fancy, as in Addison's papers on the imagination, compounds, combines, and invents, and even "ranges in fantastic bands." However, in this compounding it is not, as Hume affirms, governed directly by the regular laws of successive association:

Now compares
 Their different forms; now blends them, now divides,
 Enlarges and extenuates by turns;
 Opposes, ranges in *fantastic bands*,
 And infinitely varies. (III, 391 ff.)

After the completion of the imitative work of art, Akenside describes how the poet judiciously compares his imitation, "line by line," with nature.

In Akenside's *Pleasures of Imagination* the theory of association is for the first time given genuinely popular literary expression in dignified poetry. Like Addison, Akenside has taken this eighteenth-century psychology out of the realm of abstract philosophy and has carried it into mildly intellectual art and literary theory. He has used it to explain the esthetic feelings as well as the processes of artistic invention. In both these applications of the associationist psychology, Akenside keeps well within the bounds of the tradition determined by Hobbes and Locke and affirmed by Addison and Hutcheson. He makes no original contribution; and his contradictory eclecticism is to be blamed for his failure to note how associations may affect the "internal powers" of taste (III, 515 ff.).⁴

⁴ But Akenside does believe that the Hutchesonian moral sense is "determined by the peculiar temper of the imagination and the earliest associations of ideas." See p. 191, note to I, 548 ff.

In his revised version of the poem (1757-70), Akenside also plans to show how the association of ideas affects taste. In the "General Argument," he observes rather obscurely that among the causes of imaginative pleasures is "the association of ideas," despite the fact that it is "more limited in [...its] operation" than those causes found in nature and art. "To illustrate these [causes], and from the whole to determine the character of a perfect taste, is the argument of the fourth book."⁵ Unfortunately, this book was never completed; consequently, we can only surmise that perhaps under the impact of the new associationist ideas of Hume, in the *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40) or the *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (1748), and Hartley, in the *Observations on Man* (1749), more might have been said about the artistic effects of the association of ideas. But even in the fragment of Book IV (1770), a slight shift from the associationist position in the first published version can be perceived.

In this fragment, it is not strange to find that Akenside again uses association to explain the way the mind functions when in the heat of artistic imitation. But a difference from the first approach can be detected: and perhaps the source of this difference is in Hume and Hartley. He describes, for example, how habits are unconsciously and spontaneously formed and how these habits affect the taste for beauty:

For thus far
On general habits, and on arts which grow
Spontaneous in the minds of all mankind,
Hath dwelt our argument; and how self-taught,
Though seldom conscious of their own employ,
In Nature's or in Fortune's changeful scene
Men learn to judge of Beauty, and acquire
Those forms set up, as idols in the soul
For love and zealous praise. (IV, 58 ff.)

Conventionally enough, this in the Lockean tradition; but what follows is not. It is precisely at this point that Akenside, under the influence of the new ideas about association, leaves the old channels of thought. The "vulgar" and unknowing populace, he states, are blindly controlled by unconscious casual associations of ideas stored in the mind. This is, indeed, reminiscent of Hartlean necessity:

⁵ P. 201.

Yet indistinctly
 In vulgar bosoms, and unnotic'd, lie
 These pleasing stores, unless the casual force
 Of things external prompt the heedless mind
 To recognize her wealth. (iv, 66 ff.)

On the other hand, the will of the poet is more powerful than the casual force of associations controlled by contiguity and can consciously employ "the secret laws Which bind them to each other" in order to frame a work of art. Here the imagination, as Hume believed, directly uses the laws of association without benefit of memory:

But some there are
 Conscious of Nature and the rule which man
 O'er Nature holds: some who, within themselves
 Retiring from the trivial scenes of chance
 And momentary passion, can at will
 Call up these fair exemplars of the mind;
 Review their features, scan the secret laws
 Which bind them to each other; and display
 By forms or sounds or colours, to the sense
 Of all the world their latent charms display.
 Even as in Nature's frame. . . . (iv, 70 ff.)

It is impossible to appreciate Akenside's poetic analysis of the pleasures of imagination, receptive and creative, without understanding one of the chief influences upon his concept of the imagination, the association of ideas. With the aid of the prose commentary Akenside himself has provided, the associationism embedded in his difficult poetic diction can easily be detected. In the 1744 version of the *Pleasures of Imagination* three closely related associationist concepts are significantly applied to esthetic effects and products. Akenside uses the results of Locke's and Hutcheson's analyses of the customary, chance and casual associations of ideas in order to show how imagination through habitual connections of natural objects comes to be affected by the beautiful and sublime. Following Addison closely, Akenside also relates how the powers of recollection augment the pleasures of the passive imagination. And, lastly, he clearly falls within the Hobbesian tradition when he describes how the associational memory helps the plastic powers of imagination "imitate" and remain close to nature. In the 1770 version Akenside employs an additional associationist concept. From Hume he borrows the conception of laws

of association and describes how the artist uses "secret laws" (no longer "mysterious ties") when producing an imitation that approximates nature's standards.

As in the works of Hobbes and Hume, there is in the *Pleasures of Imagination* a marked tendency to think of the associations of ideas as something "natural," as the means by which the neo-classical artist can abide by generally accepted standards in nature when producing a work of art. The poetic applications of Akenside are evidence of the increasingly important presence of the associationist psychology in the intellectual atmosphere surrounding writers of the mid-century period. Evidently, the abstruse psychology now became popular enough for adaptation by poets.

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TWO CHAUCER NOTES

1. CHAUCER ON MURDER: *De Petro Rege de Cipro*

The "worthy Petro, kyng of Cipre" (l. B²3581)¹ was not a fictitious nor a legendary character like most of the personages in the *Monk's Tale*; instead, he was a celebrated contemporary historical figure who had visited England on at least two notable occasions and whose father, Hughes IV, Chaucer himself may have seen in 1358 at the banquet given by King Edward III.² At all events, the historically authentic facts as to the circumstances of his death were matters of common knowledge in Chaucer's day—(1) Pierre (Petro) of Cyprus was assassinated by a group of his subjects whom he had ill-treated; (2) he was attacked when "upright and outside his bed" ("*débout et hors de son lit*") "in the adjoining apartment" ("*en pièce voisine*"); and (3) he died at midnight of January 17-18, 1369.³ These are substantially,

¹ F. N. Robinson (ed.), *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933), p. 231.

² See my paper, "The Two Petros in the 'Monkes Tale,'" *PMLA* (1935), I, 77-80.

³ L. de Mas-Latrie, "Guillaume de Machaut et *La Prise d'Alexandrie*," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (1876), xxxvii, 445-63.

then, the salient, correct, and known details of the tragical end of Pierre of Cyprus.⁴

Now, as to the foregoing well-documented facts, precisely nothing is said in the *Monk's Tale*; for in his account of this King, Chaucer, as elsewhere noted, follows the inaccurate statements in *La Prise d'Alexandrie* by Guillaume de Machaut, his favorite French poet. Both Chaucer and Machaut report (1) that Pierre was treacherously killed by his own disloyal subjects, (2) that "They in thy bedde han slayn thee" (l. B²3586), and (3) that he was killed early in the morning.⁵ Accordingly, the tragedy of Pierre of Cyprus is unique among all the tragedies in the *Monk's Tale* in being an unhistorical account, based as it is on the fiction of Machaut.

Inasmuch as the historically accurate details of Pierre's death were well known, why did Chaucer elect to transcribe an inaccurate report? Not simply, one believes, to pay respect to Machaut or to practice translating French into English! In seeking to explain Chaucer's procedure in the *Monk's Tale*, it is important to recall that in the three other contemporary tragedies, or Modern Instances (*De Petro Rege Ispannie*; *De Barnabo de Lumbardia*; and *De Hugelino, Comite de Pize*), each person was brutally slain; so that in describing Pierre it would have been introducing a discordant element to report the truth—namely, that the King of Cyprus, who had been sleeping, not with his wife, but with his mistress,⁶ was killed by his own outraged subjects while he was in a position to defend himself, being then upright and outside his bed in an adjoining apartment. Thus, instead of reporting the true story, Chaucer chose to disregard history by saying that the king was slain in his bed early in the morning.

In making this statement, it is significant to observe, Chaucer patently states that Pierre, like the other personages in the Modern Instances, was nothing less than treacherously murdered. For the circumstances as explained by Chaucer are in medieval law tantamount to murder. According to the thirteenth-century legal compilation entitled *Les Etablissements de Saint Louis*, "Murder is when [*sic*] a man or woman is killed in their [*sic*] bed, or in any manner for which they are [*sic*] not *en mellee*."⁷ The only other

⁴ See my paper, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ L. de Mas-Latrie, *loc. cit.*

⁷ J. W. Jeudwine, *Tort, Crime, and Police in Medieval Britain* (London, 1917), p. 33.

occurrence of bed-slaying in Chaucer makes it clear that he meant murder, for in the *Knight's Tale* he refers to "The tresoun of mordrynge in the bedde" (l. 2001).⁸ Chaucer, who was familiar with the legal code through wide experience at court and who indeed may once have been a student at the Inner Temple,⁹ thus would appear to have consciously depicted Pierre as the victim of murder when stating "They in thy bedde han slayn thee" (l. B³586).

It is thus perfectly clear that in *De Petro Rege de Cypre* Chaucer chose to ignore the well-established data of popular contemporary history; also that when he selected Machaut's version for his source, he was altogether cognizant of the fact that he was as erroneously picturing King Pierre as the victim of what today might be termed first-degree murder. Did Chaucer merely mean to show that in his own day crimes were becoming increasingly violent, or did he intend reference to some high personage precariously situated at the English court by thus revising true history in order to emphasize murder as the horrendous motive of the so-called Modern Instances?

2. CHAUCER'S "BREOTHEREN TWO" AND "THILKE WIKKE ENSAMPLE OF CANACEE."

In the *Squire's Tale* Chaucer names five members of a family group: Cambyuskan and his queen Elpheta, their sons Algarsif and Cambalo, and their daughter Canacee. All these personages are clearly identified except Cambalo, who is first named Cambalo (l. 31), then Cambalus (l. 656), and then again Cambalo (l. 667). Although the name is spelled in these two different ways, there seems no reason to doubt that reference is to one person. Chaucer last mentions him as follows: "And after wol I speke of Cambalo/ That faught in lystes with the bretheren two/ For Canacee er that he myghte hire wyne" (ll. 667-69).¹⁰ Now, it has sometimes been suggested that Cambalo was here inserted erroneously by a scribe, since it would appear unconventional for the brother Cambalo

⁸ Compare the *Nun's Priest's Tale* (ll. 3004 ff.); see Robinson (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 240.

⁹ J. M. Manly, *Some New Light on Chaucer* (New York, 1926), pp. 8, 10-12, 30.

¹⁰ F. N. Robinson (ed.), *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933), p. 162.

to win his sister Canacee, especially if *win* is employed here, as it is five lines beforehand, in the sense of spouse.¹¹ On the other hand, the explanation that the "bretheren two" are Algarsif and Cambalo—and that the Cambalo who is to win Canacee is a different personage with the same name—appears distinctly improbable. First, as for the two spellings of the name, the other brother is once designated as Algarsyf (l. 31) and then later as Algarsif (l. 663); so that the variant spelling "Cambalus" for Cambalo has no special significance (compare Arcita for Arcite, Pandarus for Pandare). Moreover, as earlier noted by Professor Lowes,¹² the occurrence of the "two brothers motive" is not uncommon. What remains, then, as most probable is that Canacee's own brother Cambalo fought two other brothers, although no similar situation ever has been cited.

In this connection, it seems significant to observe that in the contemporary *Anonimale Chronicle*¹³ there appears an arresting episode involving two brothers opposed to one man—

Mesme celle an mille CCLXXVII deux freres iermayns et twynlynges de Inde queux furount Ethiops viendrent al roy Despaigne encontre la ley et foy de seint esglise dissauntz qe Dieu ne prist my chare ne saunk en la virgine Marie et ceo vodroient prover par bataille; et le custome de lour pais fuist et est qe deux twynlynges deveroient combatre en lieu de une homme, ovesqe une homme. . . . En celle temps furount enprisonne del roy Despaigne vi chivalers et xvi esquiers Dengleterre, queux furount pris ovesqe le count de Penbrok . . . et au darrein une chivaler Dengleterre, monsire Johan de Harppenden nomme . . . prist la bataille . . . le dit chivaler occist le ayne frere et puis le pusne. . . .¹⁴

¹¹ Algarsif "wan Theodora to his wif" (l. 664).

¹² J. L. Lowes, "The *Squire's Tale* and the Land of Prester John," *Washington University Studies* (St. Louis, 1913), I, ii, 17.

¹³ V. H. Galbraith (ed.), *The Anonimale Chronicle* (London, 1927), pp. 115-16.

¹⁴ *Loo cit.*—Mr. Richard Strawn, formerly one of my graduate students, translates from French into English:

In that same year 1377 two brothers-german, twinlings from India, who were Ethiops, came to the King of Spain, opposing the law and faith of the holy church, saying that God took no flesh nor blood from the Virgin Mary, which they would prove in battle; and the custom of their country was and is that the twins should fight in place of one man, against one man. . . . At this time there were imprisoned by the King of Spain six knights and sixteen squires of England, who were captured with the Count of Pembroke . . . and finally a knight from England, Sir John of Harpedon by name . . . accepted the challenge . . . the aforesaid knight killed the elder brother and then the younger.

The reference to "deux freres iermayns et twynlynges de Inde" is of high importance since it affords the first close parallel of Chaucer's allusion to the "bretheren two." Moreover, the strange knight visiting Cambyuskan's court, it will be recalled, was a representative of "The Kyng of Arabe and of Inde" (l. 110). It is not at all unlikely, therefore, that Cambalo fought against two brothers who followed this King of India. The Western custom in tournaments traditionally pitted one knight against another; and thus the Eastern practice of two knights against only one adversary Chaucer may have consciously added from some such source as this to deepen the Oriental atmosphere of the *Squire's Tale*.

As for Chaucer's knowledge of the incident, perhaps he was acquainted with a manuscript version of the contemporary *Anonimale Chronicle*. Or, since his two friends Guichard d'Angle and Oton de Graunson (referred to in *The Complaint of Venus*, l. 82) were among the English captives imprisoned in Spain,¹⁵ it is altogether possible that he heard the story from them on their return to England in 1374. The story as told in the *Anonimale Chronicle*, whether historically authentic or otherwise,¹⁶ would accordingly be easily accessible to Chaucer.

There is yet another datum bearing on the "bretheren two." Chaucer's Canacee-Falcon episode has for its closest analogue the Arabian tale of Tāj al-Mulūk and Princess Dunyā. In point of fact, this famous story from the *Arabian Nights*, elsewhere discussed more fully,¹⁷ concerns a family group strikingly similar to the one in the *Squire's Tale*; that is, Omar bin al-Nu'umān (Cambyuskan), his two sons Zau al-Makān (Algarsif) and Sharrkan (Cambalo), and his daughter Nuzhat al-Zamān (Canacee). What is still more important, the long narrative of the adventures of this Oriental family involves an incident which seems to parallel the situation in the *Squire's Tale*: namely, the fact that after a long separation which has rendered them unknown to each other Sharrkan unwittingly weds his sister Nuzhat al-Zamān.¹⁸

¹⁵ See my paper, "The Two Petros in the 'Monkes Tale,'" *PMLA* (1935), L, 77.

¹⁶ On Chaucer's use of contemporary historical material, spurious or authentic, see my paper, "Cambyuskan's Flying Horse and Charles VI's 'Cerf Volant,'" *MLR* (1938), xxxiii, 41 ff.

¹⁷ See my paper, "The Genre of Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*," *JEGP* (1942), xli, 287 ff.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

In thus entertaining the hypothesis that under similar circumstances Cambalo weds Canacee, one is obliged to consider Chaucer's remarks in the *Pardoner's Tale*: "Lo, how that dronken Looth unkyndely / Lay by his doghtres two, unwityngly; / So dronke he was he nyste what he wroghte" (ll. 485-87). Further, although the reference (unless it has more than one application) is to Gower's incestuous story of Canacee in *Confessio Amantis*, the Man of Law is speaking of Chaucer when he says:

But certainly no word ne writeth he
Of thilke wikke ensample of Canacee,
That loved her owene brother synfully;
(Of swiche cursed stories I sey fy) [ll. 77-80].

Both these statements might be construed to show that Chaucer would have avoided the selection of incest as a motive in the *Canterbury Tales* were it not for the arresting occurrence of a pertinent passage on the marriage of cousins in the account of Hypermnestra in *The Legend of Good Women*:

To Danao and Egistes also—
Although so be that they were brethren two,
For thilke tyme was spared no lynage—
It lykede hem to make a maryage
Bytwixen Ypermystre and hym Lyno (ll. 2600-04).

Concerning this important statement that no degree of consanguinity was a bar to marriage, Professor Robinson remarks: "Chaucer seems to have had no authority for saying that the union was within the prohibited degrees."¹⁹

But as for the interpretation that Cambalo was to wed Canacee, Chaucer of course had for precedent the authority of the "storie" (l. 655) similar to the Arabian analogue. The story of incest in the *Arabian Nights* is both long and involved; and it is possible that Chaucer began his narrative before completing the account he was reading and accordingly determined to leave the *Squire's Tale* incomplete when he encountered the incest motive in the material he was studying. Whatever the circumstances, he appears to have retained as a reference to Oriental practice the significant detail about two brothers fighting as one man against one man. The least which can be said, therefore, is that the *Anonimale Chronicle*, al-

¹⁹ Robinson (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 969.

though it does not afford an instance of "thilke wikke ensample of Canacee," strengthens the hypothesis of Chaucer's use of the incest motive found in the Arabian analogue. In mentioning two brothers from India, this contemporary chronicle also unequivocally suggests that Canacee's own brother Cambalo was obliged to combat two brothers from India.

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"SYR BERTRAM THE BANER" IN THE MIDDLE-
ENGLISH ROMANCE *OTUEL AND ROLAND*

In the Middle-English romance *Otuel and Roland* there appears a strange knight fighting by the side of Roland and Oliver at the battle of Roncevaux. "Syr Bertram, the baner" the romance calls him, first in v. 2167 and once again in v. 2176.¹ There is no Bertram in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* from which the romancer took the names of the other Frenchmen who fought in that battle, and the only Bertram in the *Chanson de Roland* tradition is he of the Paris MS., to whom, however, nothing corresponding to the epithet "the baner" is applied.²

Who, then, is "Syr Bertram, the baner," and whence was he brought into *Otuel and Roland*? Miss O'Sullivan, the editor of the romance, describes him in her index of names merely after the indications of the text: "Roland's banner-bearer at Roncesvalles." One is led by a very natural association of ideas to interpret "baner" as "standard-bearer"; but does the word really have that meaning? The usual Middle-English word for "standard-bearer" is "bannerer." The word "baner," French "bannière," means "banner," and though originally it seems to have designated the place where the banner was raised, I know of no case in Old French or Middle-English where "bannière," "baner" connote

¹ *Firumbras and Otuel and Roland*, edited by Mary Isabelle O'Sullivan, EETS, Or. Series, No. 198 (London, 1935).

² See Ronald N. Walpole, *Charlemagne and Roland. A Study of the Source of Two Middle-English Metrical Romances*, "Roland and Vernagu" and "Otuel and Roland." Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Mod. Phil., vol. 21, No. 6, pp. 385-452.

the bearer of the banner and not the banner itself. In v. 1801 of *Otuel and Roland* the word "banere" has been altered in the manuscript to "banerer" by the addition in a later hand of "r."³ Evidently the "correction" is due to a misunderstanding, but it is interesting to note that the "corrector," wishing to read "standard-bearer" and not "standard," changed "banere" to "banerer." In the *Siege of Jerusalem*, v. 440, we read "baners beden hem forþ," and "baners" is glossed by Dr. Day as meaning "banner-bearers," and is derived from Old French "baneor."⁴ But by every indication of the context, this is the Old French word "banier" of which the Anglo-Norman form is "baner," and whose constant meaning in Old French is "crier of the ban," "public announcer," "herald."

Do we, then, have to interpret "Syr Bertram, the baner" as "Sir Bertram the herald?" The only epic figure that comes anywhere near the mark is Bertran, son of Naimes, often styled "li messagiers." He plays his outstanding rôle as messenger in the *Chevalerie Ogier*, where he acts as Charlemagne's ambassador to King Désier of Lombardy.⁵ In this poem the epithet "li messagiers" ("le messagier") is attached to his name no less than thirteen times. His message, the dangers of its undertaking and the uncompromising manner of its delivery, patterned after the famous exploit of his father Naimes in *Aspremont*,⁶ was a most popular episode, and Bertran, renewing his father's adventures, became at once a renowned figure among the late-comers on the epic scene. He is "Bertrans li messagiers" in *Gui de Bourgogne*,⁷ where, as one of the most esteemed among the forces of the "enfes Gui," he plays his part with a wisdom far beyond his years. He appears too in *Gaydon*⁸; and in what survives of the lost poem

³ Editor's footnote, p. 115.

⁴ *The Siege of Jerusalem*, edited by E. Kölbing and Mabel Day, EETS, Or. Series, No. 188 (London, 1932).

⁵ *Ogier le Danois. La chevalerie Ogier de Danemarque, par Raimbert de Paris. Poème du XII^e siècle. Romans des douze pairs de France, VIII.* 2 vols. (Paris, 1842.)

⁶ *La chanson d'Aspremont . . .*, edited by Louis Brandin, Classiques fr. du m.â., 2 vols. (Paris, 1919, 1920). See vol. I, vv. 1898 ff.

⁷ Ed. by F. Guessard, *Les anciens poètes de la France*, I (Paris, 1859).

⁸ Ed. by F. Guessard, *Les anciens poètes de la France*, VII (Paris, 1862).

*Doon de Nanteuil*⁹ he marries Pépin's daughter Olive, sister of Charlemagne. Bertran, son of Naimés, was therefore a famous hero, and there can be no doubt that along with Naimés, his more famous father and with Ogier, his still more famous foe, he was well known to readers or hearers of the English Carolingian romances. In *Duke Huon of Burdeux*, Naimés tries to comfort Charlemagne grieving over his son Charlot's death by reminding the Emperor of the fortitude with which he himself had borne the loss of Bertrand, his own son, "who bare your message of defyaunce to the kyng of Pauey."¹⁰

Yet shall we say on this evidence that "Syr Bertram, the baner" of *Otuel and Roland* is "Bertrans li messagiers" of the *Chevalerie Ogier* and *Gui de Bourgogne*? There is not the slightest textual authority for stretching the meaning of *baner* from "herald" to "messenger." Nor is Bertrans ever called *le banier*, *le baner* in French or Anglo-Norman poems. Other epithets attached to his name are "duc," "comte," "marchis," which titles fit such messengers as were Naimés and his son, but which do not seem to be at all in keeping with the functions proper to a "banier." Furthermore, "li messagiers" itself is not to be considered a generic epithet; in the *Chevalerie Ogier* and in *Gui*, Bertrans is styled "li messagiers" only in reference to the specific mission upon which he was momentarily engaged. No; to interpret "the baner" as "the messenger" and to see in the messenger Bertran son of Naimés, is to involve oneself in a double distortion that can permit no convincing identification.

For those who might still harbor a lingering association between "baner" and "standard-bearer," I should add that in the *Chevalerie Ogier*, v. 4843, Bertran bears the oriflamme; in *Gaydon*, v. 5503, he is "confanonnier," and in *Gui de Bourgogne*, vv. 3403 ff., he plants an "enseigne vermeille" high on the conquered towers of Augorie. But the French tradition never speaks of him as "li gonfanoniers," nor does it give us any further inducement to

⁹ Paul Meyer, "La chanson de Doon de Nanteuil. Fragments inédits," in *Romania* XIII (1884), pp. 1-26. See p. 15, v. 26; p. 16, v. 46; p. 22, v. 172.

¹⁰ *The Boke of Duke Huon of Burdeux*, Part I. Edited by S. L. Lee. EETS, Extra Series, No. 40 (London, 1882). *The English Charlemagne Romances*. Part VII. See p. 33.

read into "baner" the meaning "gonfanonier." It was not as a famous messenger nor as a well-known standard-bearer that the English author set him side by side with Roland and Oliver in the final moments of their greatest fight.

This same Bertran, though in French epic poetry he may be described now as "li messagiers," now as "li senés," and now again as duke, count, or marquis, is always "le fils Naimon," son of duke Naimes, and duke Naimes, quite early though not originally, was known to the French epic tradition as "Naimes, duc de Baviere," "Naimes li baviere," "Naimon le bavier." Why, then, should "Syr Bertran, the baner" not be rather "Syr Bertran, the *bauer*," that is "Bertran le bavier," "Bertran the Bavarian"? Of "Naimes, duc de Baviere," it is scarcely necessary to speak. From the time of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* on, that is, ever since the middle of the twelfth century, he was almost unfailingly associated with Bavaria.¹¹ Bertran, his son, created in the *Ogier* poems as if to prolong the memory of his father, so beloved by the jongleurs, was carefully introduced to audiences as "le fils de Namles" (*Chevalerie Ogier*, v. 3586). So Philippe Mouskés¹² says of him

L'estore Doon premiers [je] nomme
Quant il fist Bertran mesagier
Pour aler Nantuel asségier
Et cil Bertrans fu fuis Namlon
De Baiwiere, le preu baron

(*Chronique rimée*, vv. 8426-8430)

and in *Gui de Bourgogne*, *passim*, he is thus spoken of. And yet, to clinch the identification of Syr Bertram with him, I can cite no case in a French poem of the precise counterpart to "Bertram the bauer," "Bertram le bavier." The nearest approach to it occurs in the *Chevalerie Ogier*, when Ponchonnet, Bertran's squire, is led captive before duke Robert at Dijon. Ponchonnet describes himself to the duke as being, like Bertran, "de Baiver" (vv. 3959-3961). But everywhere else the association of Bertran with Bavaria is through Naimes the duke, his father. So again in the *Chevalerie Ogier*:

¹¹ M. G. Moldenhauer, *Herzog Naimes in altfranzösischen Epos*. Romanistische Arbeiten, 9 (Halle, 1922).

¹² *Chronique rimée*, edited by Reiffenberg. Vol. I (Bruxelles, 1936).

Car c'est (viz. Bertran) li hom qu'il (viz. Ogier) plus
doute et erient
Lui e son pere duc Namon de Baivier. (vv. 4074-5)

Is this lack of a clear, textual reference to be a deterrent in this otherwise very plausible identification? Let us turn to the English romance and see what the poet was doing. Both mentions of Sir Bertran occur in the following single stanza (vv. 2167-2178):

tho syr bertram, the baner,
bothe Rouland, and eke Olyuer
and syr Gaumfres, the kyng,
Gonne tho to fy3t ful fast,
And al to ground tey caste,
Wel many a gret lordyng.
ffor-soth, Olyuer, and roulond tho,
Cleuen men and hors a-towo,
So þay fau3t in þat þryng.
Syre bertram, þe baner,
Bothe roulond and Olyuer
Ne spared elde ne 3ong.

Throughout these verses, the romancer is embroidering the bare narrative of his source *Turpin*, adding these details of individual prowess. There is nothing surprising in the presence or exploits of Roland and Oliver here. But there is not a name or a deed in the corresponding passage of the source *Turpin* to explain why Syr Gaumfres, the kyng, should be here, still less anything to explain the presence of Syr Bertram, of whom the Pseudo-Turpin had never heard. Now Sir Gaumfres, the kyng, is unmistakably the Pseudo-Turpin's Gaiflers, rois de Bordeaux.¹⁸ Earlier in his chronicle, the Pseudo-Turpin has told us how King Gaiflers came with 3,000 men to join Charlemagne's army, and in a later chapter he is to tell us how, after Roncevaux, Gaiflers was buried in Bordeaux. But we are told no word of how Gaiflers fought in Roncevaux. Why should he be singled out by the English romancer for his present distinction? Obviously because he supplied a tail-rhyme to go with "lordyng" and with "þryng." "Syr Bertram, the bauer" does nothing else: he rhymes—and so much better than "the baner"—with "Olyuer," and our laboring romancer is so hard put to it, that he has to use him twice in one stanza for this

¹⁸ Walpole, *op. cit.*, p. 412 and esp. note 65.

same purpose. If one is asked, therefore, where Sir Bertram came from, one might fairly answer, "out of the hat"; "bauer" came first and "Bertram" came with it, bound to it first by tradition and then by alliteration. Sir Gaumfres lay near to hand, elsewhere in the romancer's immediate source, and "Sir Gaumfres the kyng" surely echoed in the rhymers' mind at the call of "lordyng" and "pryng." But Sir Bertram was a far cry. One is tempted to think that the hireling poet, laboring with fellow hacks at a common desk,¹⁴ enjoyed the facility of a common means of reference, no rhyming-dictionary, perhaps, but the opportunity to ask a prompting from the well stocked memories of his fellows, to any of whom he would, at need, have been ready to repay the service.

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LINE-NOTES ON THE EARLY ENGLISH LYRIC

Carleton Brown's *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* may profitably be taken up after a round of study in Emerson, Hall, or Sisam. So varied are the selections, however, that while the beginner may find some that are easy, few teachers will claim to have mastered them all. No. 89, for instance, "The Man in the Moon," was first printed in 1792, yet half a dozen obstacles must still be cleared from the reader's path. To make the going smoother I would mend the texts in several places and change a few lexical signposts.¹ These repairs are numbered by lyric and line, and "gl." points to entries in Brown's Glossary.

3. 48 *tegen*, gl. "(OE *tion*, *téon*) ; declare, make known." For a rhyme to suit *arechen* (<OE *árécæn*), l. 47, Morris and Zupitza read, no doubt correctly, 'teach' (<OE *técan*).

¹⁴ For the working conditions under which *Otuel and Roland* was most probably composed see my note "The Source MS. of *Charlemagne and Roland* and the Auchinleck Bookshop" in *MLN* for Jan., 1945, vol. LX, pp. 22-26.

¹ Cf. the reviews in *TLS*, Jan. 12, 1933, p. 20, *Medium Aevum*, II (1933), 88-92, and *RES*, x (1934), 212-15; see further the "Notes on Middle English Lyrics" by Kemp Malone, *ELH*, II (1935), 58-65, and by R. J. Menner, *MLN*, LV (1940), 243-49.

10. A. 13 (*brith*) *an-siene*, as if for OE *ansien* 'countenance,' but not gl. under *onsene*. With MSS CJ read *brith an siene*, comparing other instances of the formula, e.g. 18.53, 55.21. That MS L errs in *brigt ne sene*, 10. B. 13, might prepare us for an error *ansiene*; perhaps the scribe was misled by *an* for *and* in his original, cf. 10. A. 4.

18. 37 *mere*, gl. 'mother,' and so the *NED*, s. v. *mere*, sb.⁴; the thought is commonplace, cp. *moder milde and maidan eo*, 17. A. 17, but note also 76.9: *þis mai mere* 'this illustrious maid,' and *mayden mere*, *Rel. Lyr. of the XVth Century*, 15.91. Mätzner (*Sprachproben*, I, 51) aptly cites OE *Marian*, *mægða weolman*, *mærre meowlan*, *Christ* 445.

18.58 *leuedi, tuet þov me mi bene. tuet* is gl. "(OE *tyhtan*); *urge, present urgently*," to which Malone countered with a simple emendation *cuet* = *queþ* (OE *oweðan*). The underlying verb is more likely OE *tīðian*, *tīðian*, 'grant, bestow,' cf. *leafdi . . . tuðe me mine bone*, *Lofsong of ure Lefdi* (OE *H* I, 207), quoted, along with two other occurrences of the phrase, in the *NED*, s. v. *tithe*, v.¹

24.54 *wor-stong*, gl. 'pierce, transfix,' under *wor-stingen* "(= *for-stingen*)," an otherwise unrecorded compound. Read *þorstong* instead, comparing *þurew istungen*, 45.18, *þur-stungen*, 49. B. 23 (OE *ðurhstingan*).

29. A. 27 *þi bout*. Unlikely because of the rhyme is Brown's suggestion (*Glossary*, s. v. *bout*, and *Notes*, p. 190) that the original was *þipout* 'without.' Although I would read, with Malone, either *þi [h]out* or *þi[n] out* 'thy belongings' (OE *cæht + áwíht*), that the dead man's possessions should be burnt is unbelievable. Two notions, distinct in the Worcester Fragments, are here confused, viz. the burning of the 'bedstraw' (Frag. D.14, as noted by Brown) and the division of the estate by the heirs, cf. *heo [we]ren grædie to gripen þine cæhte; / nu heo hi dæleþ heom imong*, Frag. B.13-4.

29. A. 45 *ponewes* 'pennies' (so also MS D): B.85 *þeines*. The latter is glossed among the W's as *þeines* "(? error for *þkines*)"—possibly a misprint. Malone held for an original *pewes* or *þeines*, and I consider *þeines*, as Morris read MS J, more probable; cp. *p* for *þ* at 29. B. 8, 82, 128, and Worcester Frag. B.13: *hwar beoþ [sibbe] þe seten sori ofer þe!* In the present context the personal note is carried forward from *frend*, A. 41, *loue* paralleling *faire*; the 'thanes' seize the *riche weden* of line A. 46.

29. A. 51 *wonde*: B.56 *ponde* (so also MSS DJ), gl. 'the evil one, the Devil,' with derivation from ON *váendr*, adj., 'evil' (so Morris, Strattmann-Bradley, and the *NED*). No other English examples occur, however, and the strain upon syntax and metaphor is scarcely removed by Danish *den onde* 'the devil.' As in 13.6, 71.19, *putte* here means 'grave' rather than 'hell,' and the devil does not take charge until after doomsday, cf. A. 75 (= B.107). Interpret *wonde*, therefore, as 'mole,' in spite of difficulties raised in the *NED*, s. v. *want*, sb.¹ Then to *wonien wid þe wonde* is a metaphor for "to dwell underground."

47.49 *Welle wat*. The Note promised in the Glossary, s. v. *pel*, is not forthcoming, and it is hard to understand Jacoby's punctuation *Welle, wat*. Read *Well'e wat* 'well I know,' but cf. also *Wel he wot*, 17. B.37.

49. B. 37 *mitarst*, gl. "?(mid aerest); now for the first time," cp. ME *on earst*, at *arst*. Another solution could be *mi[d] t[elar]e[s] t[pu] mith leren*, "in tears thou mayest learn;" for the theme, cf. 4. 13, 47. 37.

51. 163 *I-tint is al mi fiȝt / þis day me þencheþ niȝt*. As the context shows, *fiȝt* is surely an error for *sȝt* (= *syht*, MS Harley 2253); the scribe has anticipated l. 220. *Astunt is nou mi fiȝt*.

61. 8 *þe me zarked bale to bréōþe. me* is a blunder for *Eue*; cf. *þat Eue bitterliche us bréūȝ*, 60. 30.

65. 17 None of the words is glossed, and I do not understand the line. "Nor hinder me not from knowing [Him] whom thou didst bear"? Or is *ler* = OE *hléor* 'cheek'? Then paraphrase: "Turn not thy face from me;" cp. *þi face to se, / þu grant hit me*, ll. 31-2.

71 *Proprietates Mortis*. For the native English tradition, cf. in addition to Brown's references, p. 221: *Wulfstan*, ed. Napier, Homily xxx, p. 147; *Vercelli Homilies*, ed. Forster (*Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach* [Halle, 1913]), Homily ix, p. 107; and the passing remark in *Aelfric's Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, I, 614.

74. 2 *fforte cocke wiþ knyf nast þou none nede*, i. e. God is not limited to physical devices. Cf. *Ae. Legendes, N. F.*, ed. Horstmann (Heilbronn, 1881), p. 367, l. 30. *I sclēuze my-selue with-outene knyffe*, to wit, with sin (see further Horstmann's note, p. 529), *Ipomedon*, ed. Kolbing (Breslau, 1899), p. 442.

75. 26 *berne best*. I stated wrongly, *MLN*, LVIII (1943), 111, that this alliterative combination does not occur in OE; cf. *Wulfstan*, ed. Napier, p. 14, l. 15: *of heora cynne syððan geboren wearð ealra bearna betst, þe æfre geboren wurde, þæt wæs ure drihten Crist*. In ME, however, the term is extended, e. g. to John the Baptist, *þat was alre bern best wiþoute ihū crist, Geburt Jesu* 315-16 (similarly, *Early South-English Legendary* [ed. Horstmann, EETS 87], p. 29, l. 1, p. 365, l. 17), and even to secular heroes, cf. Mätzner, *Sprachproben*, I, 279, l. 42, and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, l. 72: *þe best burne ay abof*.

83. 68 (*in*) *lyhte*, gl. "(ON hlita [sic]); expectation." Read as one word, *inlyhte* 'illumined,' comparing ll. 22-3; for the loss of -d in rhyme, cp. *fleme*, 75. 64, 81. 36.

89 *The Man in the Moon*. Missing from the editors' notes is a reference to *Piers Plowman*, C-Text, xiv, 43 ff., where, as a penalty for trespassing,

Other hus hatt other hus hode · othere elles hus gloues

The marchaunt mot for-go · othere moneye of hus porse.

Clarifying the oblique jibe at *wedes* in line 8, this passage reveals a basic condition of the poem: many days ago the man in the moon was caught hewing briars, for which offense he lost *hus hode* to the hayward, and now *muche chele he byd*. So he gathers stakes in hope of closing tight his doors against the frost; but too slow to get away with a full load, he loses his day's work every night. "Bring the pack home," cries the poet, "my dame and I will get the hayward drunk and redeem your clothes at the bailiff's." But the churl won't come down till the day dawns and the hayward is beyond the reach of "full good booze."

89.3 *nadoun*, gl. "(= ne adoun)," which would be bad syntax; read instead *na down*, translating "that he never slides down"

89.13 *wher*, as in line 18, is best rendered 'though,' as if equivalent to *poð-wheþer*.

89.35 *zeje*, gl. "(ON *gá*); *gape, stare*." Much better is Boddeker's "(*altn. geyja*) *schreien*;" but see Hall, *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (3rd ed., Cambridge, 1931), s.v. *gēgan* 'to cry out.' The phrase *vpon heh* means 'aloud,' cf. *zejed . . . on hūz, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, l. 67. *nulle* = *null'e* 'he won't' (Boddeker. "als Subjekt ist 'he' zu ergänzen"); full stop after *hye*.

89.37 *hosedē pye*. Boddeker: "Weinpastete (?), zu *osey* (?), Benennung einer Weinsorte;" Brown: "hoarse magpie," taken literally. But it seems to me that 'hosed pie' (*pica caligata*) is a sarcastic kenning applied to Hubert, the man in the moon—now we know *what wedes he wereþ*—because he picks up sticks like a magpie in nesting-time.

89.38 *Ichot þart a-marscled in-to þe mawe*. Brown recovered the correct MS reading *amarscled*, which he explained as 'marshalled.' In this word, however, we probably have a metathesis of ME *malscred* 'bewildered;' cf. OE *malscrung* and the *NED*, s.v. *maskering*. Read: "I see you are crazy to the core"—in short, a lunatic.

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A DRUIDIC LITURGY IN *OGAM BRICREND*?

A scribe of the Book of Ballymote, at the bottom of p. 311, has penned a six-line composition in the cryptic alphabet of Bricriu. Less poisonous than cumbersome, the cipher seems unworthy of the hero whose epithet was Nemthenga, for the number of strokes or points per letter depends merely on its position in the *beith-luis-nin*: one for B, that is, and twenty for I.¹

The straggling rows of pinked text drew but idle curiosity until Macalister inspected them closely while at work on *The Secret Languages of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1937). He reports on that examination, and transliterates the signs into roman caps.:

I have counted through these tedious letters on three separate occasions, and, admitting slight doubt as to the number of scores or dots in one or two worn places, I can make of them no more than the following unintelligible sequence:

¹ See the facsimile edition, *loc. cit.*, and George Calder, *Auraicept na nEces* (Edinburgh, 1917), p. 300.

U E S G $\frac{I}{E}$ S L E B I N I M S A S A C O O
 F B H E G O η E R E η I N
 Q I η N U S A D E O C D S
 $\frac{G L}{St}$ I M $\frac{D}{FS}$ U I N N T E S G
 S S B $\frac{L}{V}$ U S T T B E S L U S A G C
 $Q \frac{N}{B S}$ G O L U S A I R²

Having decided that this "produces nothing but gibberish," Macalister was moved to take the message as a double cryptogram, with letter substitutions; but his statistical method indicated that the frequency of letters accorded well with data from the ogham inscriptions. Hence, he suggested, "in this queer scribble we have a note of some magical abracadabra, a mumbo-jumbo liturgical formula, which had somehow fluttered out of the dark recesses of paganism."

From this premise Macalister went on to construct an original text. Noticing that some of the material is pronounceable, rhythmic, and in rhyme, he devised another explanation for the rest:

These rows of [unpronounceable] letters may conceivably be the *initials* of liturgical formulae, chanted by the subordinate officials, in response to the versified 'words of power' uttered by the arch-druid. The unknown words would make the whole ceremony extremely impressive, though unfortunately we cannot write the ritual out in full.

V 1 UESGISLEBIN IMSASA!
 R 1 *c.o.o.f.b.h.e.*
 V 2 GO η ERE η IN QI η NUSA!
 R 2 *d.e.o.c.d.s.*
 V 3 GLIMDUINN \bar{U} NTES--
 R 3 *g.s.s.b.l.u.s.t.t.*
 V 4 --BESLUSA!
 R 4 *g.c.q.n.*
 V 5 GOLUSA!
 R 5 *i.r.*

If this explanation be right, it is something to have recovered even so much of a druidic liturgy. If it be wrong, and some one else hits on a better one, I shall be the first to congratulate him and to accept it.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 56. In deference to the printer I omit the apparently meaningless dots superimposed over some of the letters. Macalister notes that the final DS in line 3 is doubtful, and that the final SG in line 4 is worn.

In reply to an offer so forthright, we could wish only that Professor Macalister had been blessed with a luck to match his diligence. He would surely accept an interpretation for which, since he has made it possible by printing the text, congratulation is unnecessary. By accident I was rereading this passage in his book soon after copying out some of the glosses in the *Duīl Droma Ceta*, which Stokes edited from MS. H. 3. 18.³ A glance at § 173 in that collection, and at *O'Davoren's Glossary*, §§ 329, 1165, reveals the true nature of our cryptogram: it is an unsavory quatrain ascribed to Flann mac Lónain († 918). Here is the version in *O'Mulconry's Glossary*, § 180, followed by Meyer's translation:⁴

Uisce slébi nīmsāsa
coibche co ngeire āg[n]ūssa
deog daim duind techtus blūsair
bes lūsair ceinib lūssa.

Mountain-water does not satisfy me, a boon that makes one pull a wry face—the drink of a fallow deer that bellows, maybe it is enjoyed, though I enjoy it not.

Compared with these verses, Macalister's rendering shows discrepancy mainly at the ends of the lines. The enjambement between lines one and two, for instance, O (17 points) plus F (3 points), should be I (20 points), without a break in mid-letter. To the reader will be left the mild sport of calculating these details in *Ogam Bricrend*, but he may feel assured that the solution works out rather more easily than many a three-mover chess problem.

With a warning that the Ballymote scribe has in one instance been guilty of dittography, an error here ignored so that the decipherment may still be worthy of attempt, I convert the dots and dashes of the manuscript into a character less tiring on the eyes:

Uisge slébi nīm·sāsa,
coib[c]he gon·gére n-gnūsa;
deoc daim duinn techt[a]s blusar
bes lūsar gen go lūsa.⁵

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³ Whitley Stokes, "Irish Glosses [etc.]," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1859, pp. 168-215.

⁴ Cf. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, x (1915), 349.

⁵ The cipher, like O'Mulconry, reads *lūsair*, but I follow Stokes and Meyer in the emendation.

BERNARD THE MONK: POSTSCRIPT

Two quotations from Francis Thynne supply a postscript to Professor Roland M. Smith's recent article in this journal, "The Limited Vision of St. Bernard."¹ In the Middle English "Lamentation of Mary to St. Bernard" Mr. Smith finds interesting evidence for the traditional view, questioned of late, that St. Bernard is the seer referred to by Chaucer in *LGW* 16, "Bernard the monk ne saugh nat all, pardee!" Thynne's use of the saying points to the same conclusion; it likewise supports the opinion expressed by Skeat and by Robinson that Chaucer was merely repeating a proverb, a view opposed by Mr. Smith,² notwithstanding the Latin gloss found in some of the manuscripts of *LGW*, *Bernardus monachus non uidit omnia*.

Thynne in the Dedicatory Epistle of his *Perfect Ambassador* (1578-9) makes this apology for oversights in his work:

In which (my good Lord) if anything shall be found, that for want of more diligent search may seem faulty, consider that '*Bernardus non videt omnia*.' Wee are no Gods, wee can say no more than reasonable conjecture or former Authority may lead us unto.³

Again Thynne uses the proverb, as he calls it, when at the beginning of his *Animadversions* (1598) he prepares to list errors in Speght's edition of Chaucer:

Yet since there is nothinge so fullye perfected, by anye one, whereine somme imperfectione maye not bee founde, (for as the proverbe is, '*Barnardus*,' or as others have, '*Alanus, non videt omnia*,') you must be contented to gyve me leave to enter into the examination of this newe edition.⁴

Here the mention of Alanus—surely no other than Alanus de Insulis, "Alain the Great," the Universal Doctor—as a customary alternative for Bernard in the adage suggests Bernard of Clairvaux; for Alain, like St. Bernard, was associated with the Abbey of Citeaux, and both monks were credited with profound erudition and

¹ Roland M. Smith, "The Limited Vision of St. Bernard," *MLN* 60 (Jan., 1946), 38-44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 44, n. 29.

³ *Thynne's Animadversions*, Publications of the Chaucer Society, 2nd series, 13. lxi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

insight. So renowned was Alain for uncanny intellectual powers that, according to legend, a scholar worsted in a disputation cried out that his opponent must be "either Alain or the devil."⁵ And St. Bernard, reputed to have seen God essentially (*per essentiam*) while still in the flesh,⁶ was fitly chosen by Dante as the symbol of that contemplation by which men attain to a vision of the Deity. Thus St. Bernard may well have been proverbial as the mediaeval seer extraordinary. This reputation would have added point to the "Lamentation," which indicates some of the limits of his vision.

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THE TRIPLE TUN

Herrick's generous lines to Ben Jonson commemorating the lyric feasts

Made at the Sun,
The Dog, the Triple Tun

are a noteworthy reflection of the attitude of the younger poet toward his older and more distinguished contemporary. Commentators on the lines quoted inevitably point out that the reference is to taverns haunted by some of the younger literati and especially the Tribe of Ben. Actually, however, there was no such tavern as the Triple Tun. Hebel and Hudson are entirely correct in noting that "the actual name of the third was the Three Tuns."¹ Why then did the poet prefer *Triple Tun*? One might naturally have expected him to use the actual name, especially since he does so when mentioning the other taverns. A brief examination of the two pairs, however, makes clear the reasons for the choice: the poet was able to rime *Tun* with *Sun* and, at the same time, the dissyllabic *Triple*, with its weak syllable, was obviously to be preferred to the monosyllabic *Three*. The requirements of rime and scansion, in other words, explain the poet's liberty.

What kind of establishment was the famous *Three Tuns*? The

⁵ *Catholic Encyclopaedia* under "Alain de Lille."

⁶ See Wicksteed's note on *Paradiso* 31. 109-11, Temple edition, p. 385.

¹ *English Poetry of the Renaissance, 1509-1660*, New York, 1932, p. 1012.

note by Hebel and Hudson already cited is not quite so precise as it might seem to be, for in Elizabethan London there were several taverns known as the Three Tuns (or Tonnes). Exactly which of these was one of the favorite gathering places for Jonson and his friends cannot be determined but there is a strong probability that the famous tavern was the Three Tuns, Bankside. The evidence for this is in the form of an agreement wherein one Thomas Hippye leases his Bankside tavern to Thomas Gybons. Dated July 20, 1570, it reads in part as follows:

An Indenture between Thos. Gybons of Ditchley, Oxford, & Thos. Hippye, citizen & vynter of London . . . doth lett . . . all that messuage or Tene-ment with a garden . . . nowe commonlye called or knowne by the name & signe of the Three Tonnes wherin he the said Thos. Hippye nowe dwelleth upon the Banckside . . . And all and singula Shoppes cellers sellers Lofts chambers garretts Roomes Yards gardens Lights watercourses wharff & other casements. . . .²

Since it is obvious enough that Bankside would be a part of London frequented by the literary folk of that period, the probability is great that Herrick's Triple Tun is the one being described.

This passage is of further interest to the twentieth-century reader of Herrick's famous ode for what it reveals about the property. Quite obviously the Three Tonnes was not just a cozy little drinking place but, rather, a relatively extensive establishment, as is suggested by the mention of shops, cellars, lofts, chambers, garrets, rooms, yards, gardens, watercourses, wharf, and "other casements."

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MILTON'S COMMONPLACE BOOK, FOLIO 20

De Morte

Mortem esse finem ærumnarum. Theophrastus.

Quietem infelicium Caesar. et neuter eorum

immortalitatem animæ agnovit. Bodin: c. 5. l. 2.

Folio 20 of Milton's Commonplace Book consists of the heading and single entry from Bodin printed above; and on Milton's

² Cf. catalogue no. 343 of Myers & Co. (London), p. 29, item 237, from which the passage is quoted exactly as reproduced therein.

connection with this page, editors have not agreed. A. J. Horwood¹ presented the folio as entirely the work of Lord Preston. The editors of the Columbia edition²—who omitted the Lord Preston entries—reprinted the heading and entry with the following note: "The heading is in Milton's hand, the rest in that of Lord Preston or an amanuensis of Milton. The text is included with reservation." Careful study, however, of the handwriting and of certain other of Lord Preston's entries will show clearly that Milton wrote only the initial word "De," and that the rest of the folio is the work of Lord Preston, who apparently never served as Milton's amanuensis.³

That Milton inscribed the "De" in the heading of folio 20 is evident from the similarity that the word shows to other instances of the same preposition as it appears in Milton's handwriting.⁴ The bold, Italian "e," which characterizes Milton's writing after his visit to Italy, stands in marked contrast to the Greek epsilon "e" which appears consistently in the remainder of folio 20 and in recognized specimens of Lord Preston's handwriting.⁵

That "Morte" of the heading is not the writing of Milton is likewise obvious if one compares the initial letter of this word with Milton's characteristic *M* as it appears in the heading of folio 114 ("De Matrimonio"). The *M* of "Morte" resembles rather that found in Lord Preston's heading to folio 199 ("Monarchia"). The evidence of the *e*'s, the *M*'s, and the general character of the handwriting therefore indicates that "Morte," the entire entry, and the reference to folio 20 in the index were all written by Lord Preston.

Corroboration of this conclusion appears in the some seventy-four other Bodin entries found on folios 187, 189, 195, 199, 200,

¹ *A Common-place Book of John Milton* (Camden Society, n.s. xvi), Westminster, 1877, p. 5.

² xviii, 506.

³ Horwood, *op. cit.*, pp. xix-xx; *PMLA.*, xxxvi (1921), 254.

⁴ A. J. Horwood, *A Common-place Book of John Milton*, reproduced from the original manuscript. London, 1876. See particularly the headings of folios 19, 114, and the index entries "De fortitudine. 18." and "De Duellis. 19." on the page following folio 249.

⁵ *Ibid.*, folio 199 and the index entries "De Rhetorica 59" and "De Voluntate 78." Lord Preston's handwriting is easily identified by comparison with the large collection of his papers preserved in the Public Record Office.

202, 248. All of these appear in Lord Preston's handwriting, and all represent that nobleman's reading of Book II, chapters 2-5, of a 1606 translation of the *De Republica*,⁶ that portion of the book found between pages 197 and 229. The entry on folio 20 comes from page 226; and elsewhere in the Commonplace Book (folios 187, 248) are five other Lord Preston notes from the same page.⁷ This 1606 translation of Bodin, finally, was listed among the books of Lord Preston sold in London in 1696.⁸

Both Horwood and the Columbia editors err, consequently, in their presentation of folio 20 of Milton's Commonplace Book. The history of this page seems to have been as follows. At some time after his return from Italy, Milton started to use the folio; but after writing "De" of the contemplated heading, he changed his mind; and so the page remained until after his death. Then, while making his numerous notes on Bodin, Lord Preston found folio 20 all but empty; and thriftily deciding to utilize it, he added "Morte" to the heading that Milton had begun, made the entry that now appears below it, and added the reference in the index. The next editor of the Commonplace Book may therefore safely omit folio 20 from his edition and explain his omission in a note. If he aims, however, at a rigorous exactness, he can print—as the Miltonic part of that folio—only the preposition "De."

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JAMES THOMSON RECOLLECTS HAGLEY PARK

During the summer of 1743, James Thomson was invited by his friend and patron, Lord Lyttelton, to make an extended visit to the nobleman's country seat in Worcestershire. Being engaged on revisions for a new edition of *The Seasons* at the time, he postponed

⁶ *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale. Written by I. Bodin . . . done into English, by Richard Knolles*, London, 1606. Lord Preston refers sporadically to the work as "edit: Ang: Lond: 1606." Milton also refers to Bodin (folio 112), but to Book I, and possibly to a Latin edition.

⁷ On folios 189, 200, Lord Preston also cites p. 226, but the references are actually to p. 228, which is misnumbered 226 in this edition.

⁸ Horwood, *op. cit.*, 1877, p. xix.

the trip until the end of August, only to find the estate, Hagley Park, all the more beautiful upon his arrival. It is apparent from the letter written to Lord Lyttelton in anticipation of the visit that Thomson had never actually seen Hagley Park before: "Hagley is the place in England I most desire to see; I imagine it to be greatly delightful in itself, and I know it to be so to the highest degree by the company it is animated with."¹ But, as he wrote Miss Young,² the somewhat cool recipient of past letters from the admiring poet, on 29 August, the place met all his expectations:

After a disagreeable stage-coach journey, disagreeable in itself, and infinitely so as it carried me from you, I am come to the most agreeable place and company in the world. The park, where we pass a great part of our time, is thoroughly delightful, quite enchanting. It consists of several little hills, finely tufted with wood, and rising softly one above another; from which are seen a great variety of at once beautiful and grand extensive prospects: but I am most charmed with its sweet embowered retirements, and particularly with a winding dale that runs through the middle of it. This dale is overhung with deep woods, and enlivened by a stream, that, now gushing from mossy rocks, now falling in cascades, and now spreading into a calm length of water, forms the most natural and pleasing scene imaginable. At the source of this water, composed of some pretty rills, that purl from beneath the roots of oaks, there is as fine a retired seat as lover's heart could wish. There I often sit, and with a dear exquisite mixture of pleasure and pain of all that love can boast of excellent and tender, think of you.³ . . .

In any event, it is interesting that when the revised version of *Spring* was issued the following year (in the 1744 edition of *The Seasons*, which Thomson had been at work on before—and possibly during—his visit to Hagley), it contained a glowing description of Hagley Park:

These are the Sacred Feelings of thy Heart,
Thy Heart inform'd by Reason's purest Ray,
O Lyttelton, the Friend! thy Passions thus
And Meditations vary, as at large,

¹ Sir Harris Nicholas, "Memoir of Thomson," *The Poetical Works of James Thomson*, Boston, 1854, p. xcic.

² Sir Harris Nicholas writes that Thomson was "warmly attached" to the young lady, and had already unsuccessfully proposed to her. "Her beauty and merits," says Nicholas, "he repeatedly celebrated under the name of Amada." *Memoir*, p. xciv.

³ *Memoir*, Nicholas, pp. c-ci.

Courting the Muse, thro' Hagley-Park you stray,
 Thy British Tempe! There along the Dale,
 With Woods o'er-hung, and shag'd with mossy Rocks,
 Whence on each hand the gushing Waters play
 And down the rough Cascade white-dashing fall,
 Or gleam in lengthen'd Vista thro' the Trees,
 You silent steal; or sit beneath the Shade
 Of solemn Oaks, that tuft the swelling Mounts
 Thrown graceful round by Nature's careless Hand,
 And pensive listen to the various Voice
 Of rural Peace: the Herds, the Flocks, the Birds,
 The hollow-whispering Breeze, the Complaint of Rills,
 That, purling down amid the twisted Roots
 Which creep around, their dewy Murmurs shake
 On the sooth'd Ear . . .
 Perhaps thy lov'd Lucinda shares thy walk,
 With Soul to thine attun'd. Then Nature all
 Wears to the Lover's Eye a Look of Love;
 And all the Tumult of a guilty World,
 Tost by ungenerous Passions, sinks away . . .⁴

Miss Young should easily have recognized the scene, for it is almost identical to the one Thomson described for her in his letter of the previous year.

One wonders at his keen memory for that vividly worded picture. Or did he have an actual copy of his letter before him? In either case, the poetry certainly corresponds with the phraseology of the letter (shown, as follows, in brackets): "There along the Dale," states his verse ["winding dale"], "with Woods o'er-hung" ["overhung with deep woods"], "Waters" that "down the rough Cascade white-dashing fall, / Or gleam in lengthen'd Vista" ["stream, that . . . now falling in cascades, and now spreading into a calm length of water"]; and sitting "beneath the Shade / Of solemn Oaks, that tuft the swelling Mounts / Thrown graceful round by Nature's careless Hand" ["several little hills, finely tufted with wood, and rising softly one above another"], hear "the Complaint of Rills, / That, purling down amid the twisted Roots / Which creep around" . . . ["At the source of this water, composed of some pretty rills, that purl from beneath the roots of oaks, there is as fine a retired seat" . . .]. Finally, substituting

⁴ Otto Zippel, *Thomson's Seasons. Critical Edition*, Palaestra, LXVI, Berlin, 1908. "Spring," Text C, ll. 901-37.

for Miss Young whom, in his letter, he had wished beside him ["There I often sit, and with a . . . mixture . . . of all that love can boast of excellent and tender, think of you."], he pictures Lyttelton's wife Lucinda as accompanying her lord about this enchanted ground: "Perhaps thy lov'd Lucinda shares thy Walk, / With Soul to thine attun'd. Then Nature all / Wears to the Lover's Eye a Look of Love" . . . And even this last association, while necessarily of different persons, follows the pattern of sentiment adumbrated in the letter.

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LORD CHESTERFIELD AND "DECORUM"

In one of his famous essays written several months before the publication of Johnson's *Dictionary*, Lord Chesterfield speaks of the necessity for "good order and authority" in order to rescue the language from a state of anarchy and proceeds:

We must have recourse to the old Roman expedient in times of confusion, and chuse a dictator. Upon this principle I give my vote for Mr. Johnson to fill that great and arduous post. And I hereby declare that I make a total surrender of all my rights and privileges in the English language, as a free-born British subject, to the said Mr. Johnson, during the term of his dictatorship.¹

Yet in another paper written for the same periodical in the year following the publication of Johnson's work, Chesterfield shows himself unwilling to follow this dictator.²

Chesterfield was making a thoroughly serious attempt to find an English equivalent for the French *les mœurs*. "Manners are too little, morals too much. I should define it thus; *a general exterior decency, fitness, and propriety of conduct in the common intercourse of life.*" And he picks *decorum* for his equivalent, citing Cicero, who "makes use of the word . . . in this sense," as his authority. He then recommends "a strict observance of this *decorum*" to "the most sensible and informed part of mankind, I mean people of fashion" because it "does not extend to religious or moral duties, does not prohibit the solid enjoyments of vice, but only throws a veil of decency between it and the vulgar, con-

¹ *World* 100, Nov. 28, 1754.

² *World* 189, Aug. 12, 1756.

ceals part of its native deformity, and prevents scandal, and bad example." Because "a certain exterior purity and dignity of character, commands respect, procures credit, and invites confidence," such behavior would prove advantageous to courtiers, patriots, masters of households, and both married and unmarried ladies. What he says is of no concern to the middle class who "have not yet shaken off the prejudices of their education" and whom "the rational system of materialism has not yet reached."

There is no historical justification for the meaning which he seeks to impose upon *decorum*. Cicero uses the word in a discussion of virtue and says it is indistinguishable from *honestum*.³ In English it occurs first in the sixteenth century with reference to what was seemly, fitting, or proper in dramatic or literary characters,⁴ but was soon carried over to refer to the actions and behavior of real persons. The early dictionaries were not explicit as to the meaning, Edward Phillips, for example, in *The New World of Words* contenting himself with listing several general synonyms: good grace, order, decency. But as early as 1707 the *Glossographia Anglicana Nova* gave the word an entirely different connotation from that of Chesterfield when it defined decorum as "that Comliness, Order, Decency, which it becomes every Man to observe in all his Actions."⁵ Johnson likewise is directly opposed to Chesterfield's idea of external seemliness; decorum is "decency; behaviour contrary to licentiousness; contrary to levity; seemliness." Here, as often, mankind has rejected the innovation and clung to the historical interpretation which bore the sanction of the dictator.

MELVIN R. WATSON

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MIT ABEGEWENDETEM BLICK

In Goethe's *Pandora*, that great sister work to the *Helena* Act, one of the lyrics begins:

³ *De Officiis*, I, 27, §§ 93-94.

⁴ The *NED* lists no examples earlier than Roger Ascham's use of the term in his *Scholemaster* (1st ed. 1570).

⁵ Nathan Bailey seems to have combined these two to arrive at his definition: "that decency, good order, good grace, which it becomes every man to observe in all his actions" (*Dictionarium Britannicum*, 1730 ed.).

Wer von der Schönen zu scheiden verdammt ist,
Fliehe mit abegewendetem Blick!

The unusual *abegewendet*, which even recurs at the end once more, might, for some readers, mar the poem, because they could see in it a precious or unnecessary substitute for *abgewendet*, as, indeed, all the comments suggest. Too obviously, it could seem, a form has been renewed that already was dead.

Fr. Strehlke, the chief commentator of *Pandora*, explains the passage with: "‘Abe’ ist mhd. Form, die Goethe noch einmal in der Form ‘abestürzen’ anwendet."¹

The passage in question occurs in *Faust II*:

Wasserstrom der abestürzt.

Here, the comment is less laconic:

Die alte Luthersche Form "abe" ("Wenn ich dran klopfe an der Bibel—fällt ein Apfel erabe") war bis ins vorige Jahrhundert üblich. Vergl. Nibelungen (V. 152). "abe lichten schildesspangen;" Logau: "muss dem Leben abesagen;" Hans von Schweinichen: "kaufte ich mich abe," sie "liessen nicht abe" u. A. m.²

Another comment can be found in the Kürschner edition:

Die Form *abe* für *ab* bemerken wir auch im *Faust II*, 7281. Scherers Annahme, dass Goethe sie aus dem Nibelungenliede habe, ist unhaltbar. Sie kommt auch vor bei Luther, wie im ersten Faustbuch.³

Strehlke's comments do not differentiate between the two meanings of MHG *abe*: 1. off, away or 2. down, downward. The examples given use *abe* with both meanings indiscriminately. Grimm (I, 8) clearly states that *ab*, OHG *apa*, MHG *abe*, is used both as *deorsum* and *seorsum*. Among his examples for recent usage of the old *abe* he lists only the *Faust* passage.

Both Strehlke and Schröer fail to make clear that, although *abegewendet* might stand for *abgewendet*, *abestürzt* cannot be substituted by *abstürzt*, which would be meaningless and wrong in the *Faust* passage.

Now, *abe* in the sense of "away," as in *abgewendet*, is, and was at Goethe's time, obsolete; in the sense of *downward*, however, it was, and still is, a very common part of living language, i. e. in sections

¹ *Goethes Werke*, ed. Dr. Fr. Strehlke (Leipzig: Hempel, n. d.), x, 370.

² *Ibid.*, XIII, 236.

³ *Goethes Werke*, ed. K. J. Schröer (Berlin: Spemann, n. d.), x, 132.

of Suabia and Bavaria, in Austria and in Switzerland, where *herunter*, *hernieder* are expressed by the prefix *abe* or *abi*. The Swiss *Idiotikon* (II, 1319) gives "ab-hin (-her) 1. räumlich, hin-, herab," and lists the subsequent forms of "*äbe* bzw. *äbe*" for many parts of the country: "Es häd *abe* (bis ins Tal herunter) g'schneit." Similarly, H. Fischer's *Schwabisches Wörterbuch* (I, 10) says, under the entry *abe*: "abhin," hinab, abwärts. Von (hi)na(b) dadurch verschieden, dass bei diesem mehr das Ziel, bei *abe* mehr die Bewegung ins Auge gefasst wird. . . . *Den Berg abe*, den Berg hinab udgl.

Could it be possible that Goethe had this meaning of the prefix in his working vocabulary? His travels in Switzerland, his acquaintance with Johannes von Müller and, above all, with Meyer, who spoke with a heavy Swiss accent, have certainly made him familiar with at least the Swiss usage of the prefix. The *Faust* passage, moreover, clearly must be read as *downward*, *niederstürzt*, which makes it more likely that Goethe used the prefix in *Pandora* in the same sense.

Another consideration is that "fliehe mit abegewendetem Blick" would be either redundant or a contradiction in terms, if one read it as *abgewendet*, whereas, in the sense of *niedergewendet*, it is perfectly clear.

We may, therefore, conclude, that the passage in question is, probably, not some antiquated and rather farfetched form to satisfy the demands of the dactylic metre, but, as *niedergewendet*, a form with which Goethe had a living contact, and which he also used in *Faust*.

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REVIEWS

Chateaubriand. Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem. Edition critique en deux volumes par EMILE MALAKIS. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946. Pp. xxxviii + 408 et 492. \$12.50.

Une série d'études inspirée naguère par M. Chinard avait apporté sur Chateaubriand les précisions les plus utiles qu'ait suscitées en Amérique aucun écrivain français moderne. De la même université

Johns Hopkins parviennent aujourd'hui deux volumes qui constituent un admirable modèle d'édition critique, patiente, savante, modeste, et imprimée et présentée avec art et même avec luxe.

On sait quelle singulière fortune ont connue les écrits de Chateaubriand : alors que son *René*, son *Atala*, même son *Dernier Abencérage*, et certainement son *Génie* et ses *Martyrs* ne seront plus bientôt lus que dans des anthologies et peut-être avec maint baillement, ses chances de survie vont sans doute reposer sur les *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, quelques écrits non apprêtés comme le *Voyage en Amérique* et la *Vie de Rancé*, et l'*Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, récit d'un voyage effectué en 1806-1807, rédigé en 1810. Le dernier est à beaucoup d'égards le livre le plus vivant de ce pèlerin de l'éternité que fut, avant Byron, l'homme de Combourg ; il s'y livre au naturel, souvent avec naïveté ; il y place quelques-unes de ses pages de prose les plus inspirées ; et cet homme qui prétendit bailler sa vie se révèle, en voyage, animé d'une charmante joie de vivre, infatigable dans sa fringale de paysages nouveaux, d'images raajeunies, et de cette gloire qui devait, pensait-il, le faire davantage aimer.

L'*Itinéraire* n'est pas un livre simple. Vécu et senti, il l'a été dans ses plus belles parties, celles surtout qui décrivent La Grèce. Mais Chateaubriand, qui confessait un jour à sa femme son horreur pour ces "nids de rats qu'on appelle bibliothèques," a déployé à tout propos et hors de propos une érudition de fraîche date et de seconde main, qui ne réussit pourtant point à alourdir l'ouvrage. De qui s'inspire-t-il ? A qui emprunte-t-il, fort hâtivement parfois, sa science archéologique et historique ? Qu'a-t-il vu et qu'a-t-il cru avoir vu ? Qu'avait-on écrit avant lui, qu'a-t-on écrit depuis sur les sites et les monuments observés par Chateaubriand ? Quels rapprochements avec Choiseul-Gouffier ou l'abbé Barthélemy, Renan, Barrès ou Louis Bertrand, bien d'autres encore, éclairent le texte de l'*Itinéraire* ? Autant de questions auxquelles répond, après avoir impeccablement établi le texte, le commentaire précis et discret fourni au bas des pages par M. Malakis. Le commentateur n'ignore rien de l'histoire du voyage en Grèce, du pré-philhellenisme si l'on peut dire, de l'état de l'archéologie grecque vers 1810, du milieu intellectuel dans lequel baigna le chantre des ruines et le maître de l'exotisme sentimental et pittoresque. Il a refait sur les traces de Chateaubriand le voyage de l'*Itinéraire*. Sa vaste érudition ne l'a point rendu pédant. Avec finesse, il indique dans ses notes ce qui est source probable et ce qui n'est que rapprochement, et comment ce Celte qui mentait parfois comme un Grec utilisait ses sources avec désinvolture pour faire plus beau, c'est-à-dire, pour lui, plus vrai. Cette admirable édition de M. Malakis permet de comprendre beaucoup mieux le texte d'une belle œuvre sans cesser jamais d'en jouir.

Le commentateur est resté cependant trop modeste. Il promet un

troisième volume d'introduction historique et littéraire à *l'Itinéraire*, et ne s'est contenté ici que de quatre à cinq pages d'avant-propos. Il est vraiment regrettable qu'il n'ait pu, quitte à écourter quelques-uns des appendices ou des notes, incorporer à cette édition l'essentiel de ses conclusions littéraires. Après les longues années de patient labeur accordées à cette tâche, M. Malakis était certainement à même de donner à son édition critique son indispensable couronnement: un commentaire psychologique et littéraire. Comment voit et sent Chateaubriand dans ce livre? Quel usage fait-il de ses sources? Comment compose-t-il? En quoi consiste l'originalité de sa vision de la Grèce, de la lumière du ciel et du soleil, de la couleur des monuments, de leur heureuse adaptation aux sites, des habitants, plus orientaux que les Grecs de Périclès ou de Sophocle, et cependant fort proches d'Aristophane et même d'Homère? Que valent, en Syrie et en Palestine, pour le pittoresque et l'émotion religieuse, les pages de ce pèlerin que suivront bientôt Nerval, Lamartine, Renan, Loti en ces mêmes lieux? Quelle est, à l'égard de ses successeurs qui furent tous un peu ses fils, l'originalité de Chateaubriand voyageur et observateur? Enfin en quoi la magie du style, dans les pages où il sait oublier quelque fatras d'érudition empruntée, diffère-t-elle, dans *l'Itinéraire*, des passages plus somptueusement drapés de la "Nuit dans les forêts du Nouveau Monde" ou de la lettre à Fontanes sur la campagne romaine? Quelles sont ces images, et aussi ces cadences, qu'a rapportées Chateaubriand de son périple méditerranéen? On aurait aimé que M. Malakis ne nous fit pas autant attendre les réponses qu'il est si bien placé pour donner à ces questions que se pose, à tout moment, le lecteur reconnaissant, mais à demi comblé seulement, de sa très consciencieuse et très précieuse édition critique.

HENRI PEYRE

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- . *Le Journal de Gibbon à Lausanne*. Edited by GEORGES BONNARD. Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, 1945. Pp. xxx + 326. (Publications de la Faculté de Lettres, VIII.)

L'importance du deuxième séjour de Gibbon à Lausanne dans la formation de l'historien. By GEORGES BONNARD. Tirage à part from *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature offerts à Monsieur Charles Gilliard*. Lausanne: 1944. Pp. 400-420.

Strange to say, the diaries that Gibbon kept between 1761 and 1764 have never been published in their entirety. The author himself used them in his Autobiography, and his literary executor, Lord Sheffield, drew upon them for his annotations to the Mis-

cellaneous Works, but chose to modify or suppress a great deal. Two recent biographers of Gibbon, D. M. Low and G. M. Young, also consulted them, but it was only in 1929 that the former published the complete text of the *Journal* in English from August 24, 1761, to the author's arrival in Paris on January 28, 1763. Now we can welcome an excellent publication by Professor Bonnard of the University of Lausanne of the portion written in French at Lausanne between August 17, 1763 and April 19, 1764, when the author departed for Italy. Gibbon's résumé of his intervening sojourn in Paris still remains to be printed.

Professor Bonnard appears to have given us a faithful and carefully edited text, and has with conscientious accuracy marked the passages where the author's pen has slipped (he was a rapid writer) and slight changes are necessary to make his meaning clear. The numerous annotations not only provide the references and quotations necessary to explain the literary and historical allusions in the *Journal*, but add to these the contribution that could best be made by a resident of Lausanne in a publication of the University: descriptions of the persons, places, and institutions important in the pleasant and refined society of that period in Lausanne.

The full publication of the *Journal* and these notes together present a more complete and balanced picture than has hitherto been possible of one of the most important periods in Gibbon's life, his months of reading and study in preparation for his trip to Italy. The vision of his great work had not yet come to him and the editor, in his article in the *Mélanges Gilliard*, amusingly shows from the several preliminary drafts of the *Autobiography* that he was not quite consistent in his statement of the place where it came; but his own record of his reading and reflection during this period reveals both the development within him of the attitudes and interests of the future historian, and an important part of his preparation, perhaps still unconscious, for that work. The *Journal* also reveals his associations, his observation of people, and the sharp, shrewd wit of a man who would never suffer fools gladly. His qualities of mind surpassed those of heart and character, as Professor Bonnard asserts, and a more just appreciation of both is now possible than Lord Sheffield intended; even so, Professor Bonnard is perhaps too severe on him in the matter of his youthful romance with Suzanne Curchod (see D. M. Low, *Journal*, lxxv-lxxvi, for another view).

Finally, the *Journal* was written in French, the language in which Gibbon composed his first published work, and in which he states that he was more at home than in his mother tongue. In 1767 he was still considering his choice of a linguistic vehicle when a letter from David Hume containing an almost prophetic description of the future diffusion of the English tongue came to influence his decision. Professor Bonnard's analysis of Gibbon's French

(pp. xv-xix) makes clear that the English classic would in French have been a great work but something less than a classic. Professor Bonnard has made a significant addition to the bibliography on Edward Gibbon.

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

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L'Humour de Shakespeare. By LOUIS CAZAMIAN. Paris: Aubier, 1945. Pp. 233.

This book will list its distinguished author along with Stendhal, Hugo, Mézières, Taine, Montégut, Stapfer and Jusserand in the history of traditional French criticism of Shakespeare. It is absolutely opposed to the scepticism of Voltaire, Madame de Staël, and the modern Pellissier (when M. Cazamian refers to the "jeunesse dorée"—p. 49—he never mentions Rümelin).

The topic is Shakespeare's humour, and in the course of developing an excellent brief history of the background of Elizabethan humour, the author splits the term into two more or less distinct categories (which, however, often overlap in both the same play and the same character). One is native-English, realistic, farcical, popular, and explicit—all for the pit; the other is Norman-French imported, humanistic to some extent, subtle, paradoxical, and implicit. But as the book moves along, the author adds a multitude of other characteristics to the higher type of humour, all of them produced by Shakespeare in one character or another: i. e., as he grows so does his humour. At its height Shakespeare's humour has detachment (pp. 8, 34, 150, 203) or self-mastery (pp. 9, 88, 174, 177), self-effacement of the artist (pp. 30, 33, etc.), a background of thought (pp. 10, 11, 34, 38, 48, 64, 67n, 80, 118), masked expression (pp. 9, 11, 24 . . . 197), association of contrasts (pp. 10, 49, 169, 176, 181, 184, 210), dramatic irony (46, 179n-180n, 192—really what we mean simply by foreknowledge), irony in general (29, 44, 76, 104, 109, 119, 153, 160, 178, 183), truth (71, 76), a sense of the relative (107, 116, 136, 188) and of reversal of values (116, 131, 182, 218), freedom of thought (98, 104, 121, 165, 216), and even a philosophic note (pp. 111, 133, 150, 211, 213, 227), which implies the ability to think on two planes at once. The characters must of course always *live* in order to get the humour across, and it is obvious that Shakespeare's humour goes beyond the mere comic. In fact, one of the most interesting of its characteristics is what M. Cazamian calls its English sensibility (p. 71), even sentiment (p. 85). It is stimulating to see this modern Frenchman complain that the English in general couldn't 'let go,' so to speak, in humour (p. 203) because of moral repression and "the sacred rules" (p. 204), till Swift and Sterne came

along in the 18th century (p. 203). However, Shakespeare's epoch had some of the same freedom, and Shakespeare's own scope of humour was far broader than theirs.

The characters who best exhibit Shakespeare's humour are Falstaff (this chapter, ix, is the most brilliant in the book), Touchstone, Feste (chap. x) and Prospero (who unites philosophy and humour). Somewhat close to these are women like Rosalind, Beatrice, Portia and even Imogen; and men like Biron, Richard III, Puck, Mercutio and probably Autolycus. Their opposites would be the clowns, popular types in lower ranks such as Jack Cade and Sly, Juliet's Nurse, Mistress Quickly, and even popular types in higher ranks such as Prince Hal, Hotspur, and Falconbridge. So culture and the natural combine to make up Shakespeare's humour (p. 90). The last chapter of the book subtly develops the philosophic implications of the poet's humour.

Obviously, also, quite apart from the mere fulfillment of the purpose of the book the author has provided engrossing discussion of many aspects of Shakespeare's art. There are fine characterizations throughout the book—especially Fluellen, Shallow (and of men who really fall outside the author's picture, such as Slender and Malvolio), Cleopatra and Paulina. Humour characters in the Jonsonian sense he relegates to a totally subordinate position (pp. 15, 62, 222-3), and his other historical touches include: an exposition of euphuism and conceits (pp. 22-4), and of topical satire of Marlowe (p. 64), Jonson (pp. 64, 66), the Puritans (pp. 72, 77, 168); comment on the Elizabethan attitude toward the insane (p. 78) and on Elizabethan type-characters—Falstaff is a coward and butt (p. 113), Cloten moves from butt to humourist (p. 198), Jaques is a malcontent (p. 86); remarks on Shakespeare and world order (pp. 53-4—though Tillyard is not mentioned); and the source of Sly (p. 58); etc. He is not interested in textual problems—he has made his own translations throughout—though he does mention the disintegrators (p. 19), the possible authors of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* (p. 71), the collaborator (Chapman) in *Troilus and Cressida* (p. 166), and the problematical texts of *2 Henry VI* (p. 53), *Taming of the Shrew* (p. 57), *All's Well* (p. 167), and *Pericles* (p. 196). Of modern sceptical criticism there is but little: Hotspur is illogical (p. 106) and so is Falstaff (pp. 113-4); and see p. 125 on Shakespeare's lack of interest in psychological coherence. All in all, then, the author has covered so many varied aspects of the plays that his book might well become a class text, though this idea will probably horrify him.

On the possible negative side the present reviewer doubts whether Sly can stir anything delicate in us (pp. 58-9). M. Cazamian is too kind to *Cressida* (p. 166) and too cruel to *Isabella* (p. 169)—an echo of Quiller-Couch? He may also echo Dover Wilson on Falstaff's winking (p. 115), and Richard III lacks a machiavel

discussion such as Iago got on p. 177. Rapt idolatry of Shakespeare runs like a major refrain throughout the book (pp. 7, 26, 28, 34, 52, 59, 61, 70, 104, 113-4 . . . 227)—reminiscent of Hugo. The author overdoes the comparison with Swift (pp. 151, 153, 173-4, 178, 203, 219, 224); even Timon is compared closely with Swift (pp. 173-4) and yet Swift at least tried to reject Timon specifically in a famous letter to Pope (Sept. 29, 1725). There is perhaps too much on symbolism—pp. 38, 42 (Launce's dog!), 48, 51, 161 (Yorick's skull), 208 (Ariel) and 210 (Caliban).

The Index is merely a list of names—mostly of Shakespeare's characters.

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Four Essays on "Gulliver's Travels." By ARTHUR E. CASE.
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945. Pp. viii + 133.
\$2.00.

These essays, by a scholar whose untimely death means a distinct loss to scholarship, consider the text of Swift's narrative, its geography and chronology, its satire, and its broader significance. The purpose of the first is to determine the relative merits of the Motte and Faulkner texts of the *Travels*. After a careful survey of the history of its publication in London and Dublin, as revealed in the correspondence of Swift and others, the author classifies and scrutinizes the different readings of the two texts. Though the reader may object to the value placed upon particular readings, he is not likely to disagree with Professor Case's conclusion; namely, that Motte's text of 1726, as corrected by Ford's collation with the original manuscript, is a far better basis for a text than Faulkner's version of 1735. The second essay, evidently written in answer to Professor John R. Moore's article "The Geography of *Gulliver's Travels*" (*Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, XL (1941), 214-28), questions Moore's thesis that this element in the narrative is so confused as to suggest a definite satire on travel literature. The author shows how, by making two changes in the text (northeast for northwest in the location of Lilliput, and 20° N. 145° E. for 46° N. 177° W., the point at which Gulliver is seized by the pirates), the geography of the book falls into a definitely intelligible pattern. It is assumed that these inaccuracies were due to persons other than the satirist, with the conclusion that Swift was careful in the use of maps. While it is possible that Swift paid more attention to geographical accuracy than Moore allows, the impossible dimensions of Brobdingnag, as pointed out by the latter, indicate that the narrator was willing to sacrifice geography to satisfy the demands and maintain the scale of his allegory. To the reviewer

it seems possible that Swift was using geographical details characteristic of travel literature, not to satirize this literature, but to give circumstantial verisimilitude to his narrative. In so doing he must have consulted maps; otherwise his geography would have been much more chaotic than it is.

The third essay analyzes the satiric purpose of the story. The second and fourth books are described as ideal commonwealths like the *Utopia* and *New Atlantis*, the first is represented as an attack on the vices of the English government, and the third, as an attack on the follies of that government. Gulliver's experiences in Lilliput portray the political fortunes of Oxford and Bolingbroke during the latter half of Queen Anne's reign, with the purpose of defending them and attacking the Whigs. Professor Case would minimize the importance of the attack on science in the episodes of Laputa and Balnibari, which he views more as a satire of "learned folly" than of science. He distinguishes between scientusts and projectors, a distinction with which the reviewer can hardly agree. One has only to study the history of science in the third quarter of the seventeenth century to see how closely associated projects of all sorts were with experimental science¹; and Miss Marjorie Nicolson has shown the close relationship of this third book to the science of the seventeenth century. The author seems to overestimate the part which "pure science" played in the activities of the Royal Society. In the history of the Society the utilitarian motive is everywhere apparent in the desire of the virtuosi to relate scientific knowledge to all kinds of schemes for increasing wealth and assisting artisans. Ever since the days of Hartlib the importance of experimental science for agriculture and the manual arts had been stressed.² It is true that Swift is attacking "learned folly" in this book, but he considered science the most important species of this type of foolishness. Whether Swift satirizes George I for transferring patronage from literary men to scientists, it is difficult to determine, but science rather than the King seems to be the main object of his satire.

The fourth essay looks at the *Travels* in a broader way in order to determine its main design. After a consideration of contemporary evidence regarding the composition and purpose of the work, in the course of which the activities of the Scriblerus Club are shown to have had nothing to do with its origin, it is presented as

¹ Cf. R. F. Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, 1936, chap. vii.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 212, 276. In connection with the project of extracting sunshine from cucumbers, it is interesting to note that Hartlib tells Boyle in all seriousness of a remarkable machine for catching and condensing sunbeams, a large account of which a Mr. Morian had promised him. (*Ibid.*, p. 163.) All the projects of the Grand Academy of Lagado, with the exception of the political, look directly at science, and scientists are represented as taking part even in the political projects, in which there is also a large scientific element.

a politico-sociological treatise rather than a satire, in which pictures of good governments are given in the second and fourth books, and of bad governments in the first and third. Such pictures are undoubtedly to be found, but does not man in general, in his private as well as public capacity, figure? One possible interpretation sees in the allegory of the first, second, and fourth books, an exposé of human nature based upon the philosophical dictum that man is the measure of all things, and achieved by means of a change in standards. In the first book man represented by the Lilliputians is judged by a standard twelve times larger than his own, and is revealed as weak, puny, and insignificant. In the second represented by the brobdingnagians he is measured by a standard twelve times smaller, and appears gross and repulsive. In the fourth, a shift is made from the physical to the ethical, and the wickedness and depravity of man, man as he is, are shown against an ideal ethical and rational standard, man as he should be. According to this view, in the first two books Gulliver is neither Bolingbroke, Oxford, nor himself, but only the changed standard, and in the last he is man himself stricken by the discovery of his likeness to the Yahoos.

RICHARD F. JONES

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Elizabethan and Jacobean. By F. P. WILSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945. Pp. viii + 144. 7s. 6d.

This small but important volume is based upon the six Alexander Lectures in English which Professor Wilson delivered at the University of Toronto in 1943. Addressed to a topic that has called forth many a hasty generalization, these lectures reveal, with a scholarly thoroughness and brilliance hitherto unequalled, the manifold complexity of likenesses and differences which distinguishes Elizabethan from Jacobean literature. It is a complexity that becomes instantly discernible if one follows the method of placing the entire body of thought and literature of one period in juxtaposition with that of the other. On the other hand, observations based upon the study of selected authors or types of literature have rarely escaped the peril of proving no more than partly true—of assuming accidental differences to be essential ones.

Professor Wilson brings to his task a fine sense of proportion and a breadth of reading that encompasses sermons and scientific treatises as well as poetry and drama. In fact, the exceptional quality of his achievement in this book can be fully appreciated only by another student of the period—one who can recognize the masterly way in which he now levies upon all the specialized knowledge that the scholarly studies of the past twenty-five years have

contributed to our understanding of the age, now calls upon his own catholic reading of the Elizabethans and Jacobeans, and finally synthesizes what he has gathered in a wise critical judgment. Each chapter, as a result, is packed with succinct comments which, fired by keen insight and abundant learning, illuminate every topic discussed. If familiar but faulty generalizations are either withered or remolded in the process, so much the better.

The first chapter, as a caution to those who look for a sharp contrast between the two periods, deals with the common inheritance of Elizabethans and Jacobeans. Here the author emphasizes that neither in the tradition of learning nor in the tradition of Christian belief is there a break; in that "church-going and sermon-reading age" Elizabethan and Jacobean alike assumed a Christian universe under divine ordinance; the "beliefs and moral values of the Christian religion are not challenged." Yet, "tidy and settled as their universe may seem to us, there was room enough for wide-reaching speculation upon the nature and destiny of man. As with us, so with them, much if not most of this speculation was inherited from past ages." (p. 15)

The second chapter, "Elizabethan and Jacobean," turns from insistence on the many links that bound both periods to their past to examine the differences between the two generations as revealed in their literatures. Professor Wilson at once rejects, as "so simple that it cannot be true," the familiar contrast between the "optimism" of the Elizabethans and the "pessimism" of the Jacobeans, suggesting that the theory of the "pessimism" characterizing the reign of James is due to "a too exclusive attention to Jacobean tragedy and the poetry of Donne." After mentioning the importance of the printing press in bombarding England with an ever increasing barrage of ideas—ancient, medieval, and modern—he states:

Readers whose knowledge of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature is confined to anthologies of poetry—the sonnet, the erotic poem, the pastoral, the secular lyric—may be surprised at the statement that the main preoccupations of Elizabethans and Jacobeans alike were with religion, theological controversy, and what may be called compendiously if loosely moral philosophy, yet it was so. What distinguishes the Jacobean age from the Elizabethan is its more exact, more searching, more detailed inquiry into moral and political questions and its interest in the analysis of the mysteries and perturbations of the human mind. (p. 20)

As a corollary to this distinction, he adds:

To the new age, so often sceptical, tentative, and self-conscious in its exploration of hidden motives, a new style was necessary, a style that could express the mind as it was in movement, could record the thought at the moment it arose in the mind. (p. 26)

Thus the elaborate figures of amplification of Elizabethan rhetoric, Ciceronian "copiousness" and the roundness of the Ciceronian period made way for a new ideal of compression and of periods

seeming to evolve spontaneously rather than according to a formulated plan.

Employing these two touchstones as his principal guides, but always remembering how tenaciously the old persists along with the new, Professor Wilson, in the four remaining chapters, ranges over the literature of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, considering, in turn, prose, poetry, the drama, and Shakespeare. Again and again he sums up, in a few words striking straight to the heart of the subject, matters upon which much critical ink has flowed. Here two illustrations must suffice. For the first we may take his warning that generalizations concerning the "copiousness" of Elizabethan prose writers overlook the important fact that the rhetorical doctrine of decorum "imposed the duty of suiting the style to the theme and the audience, and led to discrepancies in one and the same writer which we do not find in modern prose, even in letters." (p. 48) The second is his comment upon the reasons for Donne's sharp break, in the 1590's, with the prevailing tradition of Elizabethan poetry:

Trying to account for the break is no doubt as complicated an affair as trying to account for life. Many have mentioned the anti-Ciceronian movement of which I have spoken and the scepticism which sometimes accompanied it; or an early dialectical training among men of a 'suppressed and afflicted religion'; or that whetstone of wit, the society of young lawyers and men about town at the third university of the realm, the Inns of Court; incidentally, we must not forget to mention Donne himself and the reaction to be expected from a man of his temperament to a rhetoric too formalized, a lyric attitude too Petrarchan. (p. 56)

Students in the future will turn to this little book for the most perceptive and judicious summing up of the varied characteristics of the literature written in England during the decades immediately before and after 1600. No critic has based his conclusions on a more diversified reading in Elizabethan and Jacobean writings, and none has so successfully avoided the temptation to oversimplify the complexity of his subject by pronouncing those neat generalizations which most critics find so seductive but which, on further analysis, usually prove to be deceptive half-truths.

FRANCIS R. JOHNSON

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Jonathan Swift. A List of Critical Studies Published from 1895 to 1945. By LOUIS A. LANDA and JAMES EDWARD TOBIN. *To which is added Remarks on Some Swift Manuscripts in the United States.* By HERBERT DAVIS. New York: Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service, 1945. Pp. 62. \$1.25.

Readers of Swift will welcome this list of 573 books and articles on Swift and his times. It is divided into twelve sections, each

with alphabetical arrangement, on Bibliography, Biography (much the longest), General Criticism, Foreign Reputation and Influence, and the various works of Swift. Book reviews are included, and while there are no critical comments, asterisks are prefixed to nearly a hundred items "which effectively present the chief materials, problems, and interpretations of Swift scholarship in the last five decades" (p. 3). Bracketed information is occasionally given to clarify items with general or ambiguous titles, and abundant cross-references are supplied. An index of names and subjects affords further aid in locating information. The pamphlet is prefaced by a shortened version of the admirable address on Swift manuscripts in the United States delivered by President Herbert Davis before the Grolier Club on November 15, 1945.

The words in the title are not to be taken literally. The compilers have wisely gone back before 1895 to include such items as Forster's still valuable *Life*, Volume I, of 1875 and the two important biographies published by Churton Collins and G. P. Moriarty in 1893. The items listed, moreover, deal not only with Swift but with his contemporaries (such as Arbuthnot and Pope) and with the political, social, economic, and religious background; hence it contains material of interest to anyone working in the early eighteenth century. Nor is this, strictly speaking, a list of *critical* studies, but rather a broad ingathering of all sorts of material in various languages (including Spanish, Norwegian, and Hungarian): on a single page the reader will find such varied fare as Alice Meynell's five-page essay on Mrs. Dingley, a novel based on Swift's life (*The Basilisk of St. James*), Myrtle Reed's *Love Affairs of Literary Men*, an article from the *American Journal of Insanity* of 1912 on "Manifestations of manic-depressive insanity in literary genius," and an article on Swift and Stella from the *Kölnische Zeitung* of 1939.

The purpose of this little pamphlet seems indeed not so much to render serious service to the student of Swift (who presumably has the *CBEL* and the annual volumes of the *MHRÄ* at hand) as to display the variety of material which has appeared on Swift during the past half-century. (The making of bibliographies has been singled out recently by Professor Henri Peyre as the first of the seven deadly sins of the modern scholar.) The compilers believe that "the aura of theatricalism which long invested Swift" has now been removed (p. 3), but a perusal of the material offered in this bibliography may well cause doubts. There has, on the other hand, been much sound scholarship on Swift, particularly during the past fifteen years, which is indispensable to the student. The bibliography by Harold Williams in the *CBEL* carries the record to 1938; a supplement to 1945, with the same chronological arrangement, would be valuable. There is a certain antiquarian interest in seeing everything that has been written on a subject over a period of years; a critical bibliography, on the other hand,

will lighten the task of students by presenting the indispensable works of scholarship—the editions, biographies, and critical studies which supersede earlier works. Swift's works and especially his biography have attracted all sorts of curiosity seekers, even in the twentieth century; those who are learned in Swift and his times will do well to separate, for the uninitiated, the essential from the unimportant.

Errors are comparatively few. In No. 278 there is a serious misspelling of Rabener's name; Faguet's articles (No. 280) appeared in the *RCC*, VIII², (1900), 454-62, 385-94; the article (No. 334) by F. G[rant] should be dated 1896, not 1898; No. 494: "Palaestra" is not a journal but a series of scholarly studies. Ernst Rühl's *Grobrianus in England* appeared as No. 38 in this series (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1904).

Since the present pamphlet appears to aim at completeness, the following items should be included:

- Aitken, George A. "Swift's Church Pamphlets," *Athenaeum*, December 17, 1898, p. 867.
 Evans, Frederick H. "Gulliver's Travels," *Athenaeum*, February 26, 1898, p. 279.
 Ilwof, Franz. "Volkstumliches aus Jonathan Swift," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XI (1901), 463-64.
 Lavers-Smith, H. "Swift's Political Tracts," *Athenaeum*, November 8, 1902, pp. 619-20.
 Horn, Wilhelm. "Der Kirchenschlaf bei Swift und Hogarth," *Archiv*, CXXXVII (1918), 68-70.
 Swift. *Selections*, edited with an introduction by Hardin Craig. New York: Scribner, 1924.
 Raleigh, Walter. "The Battle of the Books," in *Some Authors: a Collection of Literary Essays (1896-1916)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.
 Swift. *Selections*, edited by W. T. Williams and G. H. Vallin. London: Methuen, 1928.
 Barbeau, A. *Swift*. ("Les Cent Chefs-d'oeuvre étrangers.") Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1928.
 Swift. *Selections*, edited by Wilfrid J. Halliday. London: Macmillan, 1929.
 Pons, Émile. "Les Langues imaginaires dans le voyage utopique," *RLC*, x (1930), 589-607; xi (1931), 185-218.
 Jolliffe, Harold R. "Bentley versus Horace," *PQ*, xvi (1937), 278-86.
 Staerk, Willy. "Stoffgeschichtliches," *Anglia*, LXII (1938), 356-61 ("Zur Geschichte des Gulliver-Motivs").
 Zickgraf, G. *Jonathan Swifts Stilforderungen und Stil*. Diss. Marburg, 1940.

DONALD F. BOND

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Major American Writers, Revised and Enlarged Edition. Edited by HOWARD MUMFORD JONES and ERNEST E. LEISY. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1945. Pp. xxii + 1828. \$4.50.

This new edition of *Major American Writers* has been designed to stay strictly within the limits indicated by the title. As Professors

Jones and Leisy well point out, introductory American literature courses have recently tended too much towards omnium gatherum surveys and have as a result often merely confused students. Hence the editors have omitted seventeenth-century writers entirely and anthologized only distinctly major figures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and "typical" figures of the twentieth.

For the most part the plan is admirable. However, one would like to see some "typical" representatives of the seventeenth century; for beginning a survey of American literature without some account of the seventeenth century is truly beginning in the midst of things. One cannot take exception to the selection of major figures in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But one objects to the editors' practice (made explicit in the introduction) of selecting and arranging recent materials primarily to point up the thesis of Mr. MacLeish's "Irresponsibles" essay; this is working the standard of typicality a little too hard. Still, most anthologies of this sort seem to break down with the twentieth century.

Specific editorial treatment of the figures whose work is included is much better than ordinary. There is a twenty-six page general introduction, emphasizing cultural and intellectual backgrounds. Novelists are represented, whenever possible, by short pieces. Selections from each writer are preceded by a chronology and brief general headnote, with separate headnotes for each piece; explanatory footnotes are plentiful. Bibliographies of individual figures are brief; unfortunately purely critical materials are somewhat neglected. Most unfortunately, the publishers, in the rush to reissue the volume in time to reach the current bull market, have been obliged to print it with skimpy margins and on a slick, semi-opaque paper that will not take ink; hence notation becomes a nasty problem. Even so, current trends being what they are, it is very pleasant to see an anthology and not a picture-book

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The Art of Newman's Apologia. By WALTER E. HOUGHTON. New Haven: Yale University Press (Published for Wellesley College), 1945. Pp. ix + 116. \$2.50.

Here is one of the finest analyses of Newman's methods as a writer in all Newman literature, which is voluminous. The author avoids the bias of the Catholic and the anti-Catholic, and seeks merely to reveal the psychological and rhetorical devices by means of which Newman produced an autobiography which is at once a masterpiece of self-revelation and a feat of reticence. In Part I

we read of Newman's "equipment": his theories of psychology ("the whole man moves," and should therefore be judged as a whole); his theories of biography (only "the real, hidden but human life, the *interior*" interested him); his powers of memory and introspection and analysis (Newman was always "vividly self-conscious," gifted in the art of introspective analysis, and conscious of anxieties and deliverances, which are, as the author points out, the real subject of the *Apologia*). The very occasion of the book was part of Newman's "equipment"—"there already lay in Newman's mind a series of long-standing, though dormant and unrelated, thoughts and attitudes which were capable potentially of combining for action, let the right stimulus occur" (p. 7). Part II is devoted to "Method and Style"—to Newman's analytical method in action; to a close and highly illuminating study of his style, including syntax, metaphor, imagery, diction, rhythm, dramatic structure; and "the motive of apology and its influence on [his] style." Here the great danger for the author was a dry and sterile summing up of verb-usages, repetitions of imagery, and other age-old academic tricks of analysis. But I know of no more absorbing discussion of the mechanics and dynamics of literary style in action than Mr. Houghton's pages on Newman's syntax (pp. 50-53), or his discussion of Newman's metaphors and imagery (pp. 53-57). The author applies to Newman's prose the kind of minute but highly imaginative exploration which Mr. Cleanth Brooks so effectively applies to poems. The result is a glimpse into Newman's mind which is, to say the least, memorable. The book ends with Part III, "Evaluation," which deals with the difficulties and limitations involved in any study of the *Apologia*, and which asks and answers two questions: Did Newman tell the truth? and How good is Newman's self-analysis? To the first question, the answer is: Yes, but the truth is "shaded a little," for Newman was "not quite so modest or fair-minded as he painted himself" (p. 97). "Although Newman exposed all of his emotional drives, he laid major emphasis upon logical arguments and thus gave an impression of himself which is not strictly true. . . . Yet the emotional factors are clearly portrayed, and the picture we do get from the *Apologia* is not, I think, very much out of focus" (pp. 97, 106). To the second question, the answer is that as an "analysis of motive, the *Apologia* is not very successful" (p. 111). Newman displays the numerous influences which explain what happened within him, but while everything seems ready for synthesis, the synthesis is never really made. "The *Apologia* simply does not disclose a 'hidden life in its acting and its processes'" (p. 108). Yet even though the motivation remains obscure, somehow in the *Apologia* "the man himself is vividly and sharply revealed . . . Why he did this or that may be doubtful, and often is, but we never doubt that *this* man would have acted in precisely *that* way" (pp. 110, 112).

merit is uniformly high—surprisingly high when compared, for example, with the patriotic ballads and broadsides of the Duke of Marlborough's time. Several of them are signed by writers of distinction, including among others Richard Brinsley Sheridan, William Wilberforce, W. T. Fitzgerald (Byron's "hoarse Fitzgerald"), Hannah More, and George Colman the Younger. Three consist wholly or in large part of patriotic quotations from Shakespeare, Massinger, and Nicholas Rowe. The book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the English attitude toward Napoleon in the crucial year 1803. Since it is a book that many scholars will want to consult rather than read straight through, it is regrettable that it lacks an index.

CYRUS L. DAY

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About the Round Table. By MARGARET R. SCHERER. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1945. 80 pp. \$2.00. From the days of Nennius down through those of Tennyson, Masfield, and Robinson to the present, men have had their own very individual conceptions of Arthur and his various knights. *About the Round Table* surveys the artistic treatment of these figures from the earlier Middle Ages to the twentieth century and presents the material precisely as it should be offered to the average intelligent reader: by a wealth of illustration accompanied by running commentary. There are eighty-one reproductions altogether, of which thirteen are full-page. Since a number of these are from manuscripts, it is regrettable that at least a few could not have been reproduced in color; aside from viewing the originals, it is only in this way that any adequate notion of medieval illumination can be conveyed.

Something of the subject matter of this octavo brochure is suggested by the following (p. 6): "Medieval pictures of Arthur and his Knights are found most frequently in illuminated manuscripts, but they also appear in wall paintings, sculpture, tapestries, carved ivory caskets and mirror cases, enameled vessels, and stained glass." After a six-page introduction on the growth of the Arthurian legends and their treatment through the centuries, this material is considered with admirable succinctness under the following headings: Castles Painted with Arthurian Scenes, King Arthur and his Court, Tristan and Iseult, Lancelot and Guenevere, and The Holy Grail. A briefly annotated bibliography of forty-nine items completes this delightful cicerone, whose reasonable price makes it possible for every "povre scoler" to have it "at his beddes heed."

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LES REPRÉSENTATIONS BILINGUES À L'HÔTEL DE BOURGOGNE EN 1612¹

Au début de l'année 1612, une troupe de comédiens italiens sous la direction de Jehan Paul Alfieri, chevalier de l'Empereur, vint à Paris. Cette compagnie, dont Compardon et Baschet² ignoraient l'existence a été signalée pour la première fois par M. Fransen³ qui a découvert un bail de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne où figure ce chef italien; toutefois de plus amples détails lui ont fait défaut. Comme cette troupe forma le dessein de donner des représentations dans la salle de la rue Mauconseil, dès son arrivée à Paris, elle n'eut donc rien de mieux à faire que de s'adresser directement aux Confrères de la Passion. Malheureusement ceux-ci ne purent guère satisfaire à leur désir, la grande salle de théâtre étant louée jusqu'au jour de carême-prenant à Valleran le Conte et sa troupe.⁴ L'unique solution pour les Italiens serait de jouer dans une autre salle à Paris après avoir obtenu l'autorisation des Maîtres et Gouverneurs de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne.

L'apparition de ces acteurs italiens dans la capitale jette la consternation dans la compagnie de Valleran le Conte: la situation de cette dernière était déjà désespérée. Au cours des six ans qui venaient de s'écouler, ils avaient essayé de gagner la sympathie du public pour les pièces du "théâtre nouveau" de leur poète à gages,

¹ Les documents ayant servi de base à cette étude ont été trouvés par nous aux Archives Nationales de Paris et seront reproduits intégralement dans notre *Vie d'Alexandre Hardy, poète du roi*, qui sera éditée par l'American Philosophical Society.

² *Les comédiens du roi de la troupe italienne*, Paris 1880; *Les comédiens italiens à la cour de France*, Paris 1882.

³ "Documents inédits," *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, 1927, p. 325.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 352.

Alexandre Hardy: tragédies, tragi-comédies, comédies ⁵ et pastorales qui avaient eu tant de succès en province. Mais tous ces efforts demeurèrent infructueux. Nos comédiens continuent à jouer devant des salles désertes. Valleran le Conte lutte avec ténacité contre tant d'infortune; par des associations sans cesse renouvelées il a réuni les meilleurs comédiens de son temps,⁶ il n'a pas ménagé les dépenses consacrées aux costumes et aux décors; et son poète dont la fécondité créatrice ne ralentissait jamais a fourni à la troupe un répertoire d'une diversité inégalée. Tant d'énergie ne servit de rien; la plupart des Parisiens témoignèrent leur indifférence en délaissant la salle de théâtre. Evidemment les suites de ce déplorable état de choses ne manquèrent pas de se faire ressentir. Valleran le Conte est criblé de dettes; les acteurs de la troupe gênés par les maigres recettes ne savent comment joindre les deux bouts; les créanciers poursuivent la compagnie et son chef, la ruine est proche. En outre, les voilà menacés par la concurrence des comédiens italiens; les scenarios de la "Commedia all'improviso" détourneront sans doute de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne les rares Parisiens qui le fréquentent.

Ces circonstances particulièrement pénibles amenèrent Valleran le Conte à se mettre en rapport avec Alfieri, le chef de la troupe italienne. Le directeur des Comédiens du Roi a l'intention d'éviter à tout prix l'installation de ses rivaux étrangers dans une autre salle.

Ce n'était pas la première fois que Valleran le Conte faisait appel aux Italiens. Un événement à peu près semblable s'était déjà produit douze ans plus tôt, en 1600, lorsqu'avaient échoué les premières tentatives faites, dans la capitale, afin d'obtenir l'approbation du public pour les poèmes d'Alexandre Hardy. A ce moment-là une troupe de comédiens italiens, inconnue jusqu'alors, arriva inopinément à Paris. Elle était sous la direction de Ricci et Saullo Donati. Ceux-ci d'une part, et Valleran le Conte et son compagnon Savinien Bony d'autre part, signèrent l'acte d'association du 25 février 1600.⁷ Dans la représentation des pièces italiennes ces deux acteurs français tinrent des rôles. Ils touchèrent deux parts et demie des bénéfices, tandis que les Italiens obtinrent six

⁵ Voir notre *Vie d'Alexandre Hardy*.

⁶ Nous avons eu la chance d'exhumer six actes d'association de Valleran le Conte.

⁷ Archives Nationales, Fonds xv, 9.

parts. M. Agne Beijer, en étudiant les gravures du *Recueil de Fossard*, avait déjà supposé, en 1928, que les Italiens s'étaient associés à des farceurs français.⁸ Cette thèse manquait de preuves. Nous savons que c'est un fait avéré maintenant. Cette première collaboration de Valleran le Conte avec les Italiens a probablement facilité les pourparlers avec Alfieri.

Cette fois-ci Valleran ne propose pas au chef étranger de jouer ensemble dans les mêmes pièces; il désire combiner les représentations des deux troupes à l'Hôtel de Bourgogne. La troupe française et la compagnie italienne donneront chacune leur propre pièce à la même représentation; les Italiens n'auront pas à contribuer au paiement du loyer de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne; celui-ci reste entièrement à la charge de Valleran le Conte et ses comédiens conformément au bail passé avec les Confrères; les sommes recueillies à l'entrée seront glissées dans une caissette soigneusement fermée et le partage de la recette entre les deux troupes se fera, par portions égales, après chaque représentation. Alfieri accepte ce projet alléchant. C'est ainsi que Paris eut l'avantage de jouir de représentations bilingues, se composant d'une tragédie, d'une tragi-comédie ou d'une pastorale d'Alexandre Hardy suivie immédiatement d'une comédie italienne.

Cette nouveauté fut, dès le premier instant, au goût du public et la recette parut assez importante au début. Ce dernier fait peut se déduire aisément de la façon d'agir des Confrères de la Passion. Valleran le Conte, comme nous le savons, avait pris à sa charge le paiement du loyer de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne, mais il avait omis, le 31 janvier 1612, de s'acquitter des dernières cent cinquante livres tournois. Les Confrères, qui étaient passés maîtres dans l'art de forcer les comédiens au paiement, désiraient ardemment s'emparer de la fameuse "boîte" contenant les deniers provenant d'une représentation bilingue. Une forte somme devait certainement s'y trouver. Les Maîtres et Gouverneurs de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne obtinrent que M^e Pierre Jacquet, commissaire et examinateur au Châtelet, procède à la saisie de la boîte "dedans laquelle y a quelques deniers provenus des jeulx qui furent representez aud. Hostel de Bourgogne le jour de dimanche dernier par lesd. Alfieri, le Conte, Husson et autres."⁹ Il ressort du texte de cette minute que les Italiens et les Français ont joué ce même dimanche. Cependant

⁸ P. 20.

⁹ Archives Nationales, Fonds xv, 22.

les Confrères n'osent pas ouvrir la caissette sans autorisation préalable. C'est que son contenu n'appartient pas uniquement à Valleran le Conte, leur débiteur, mais aussi aux Italiens qui ne leur sont redevables de rien. Par l'acte de consentement du 14 février 1612¹⁰ Jehan Paul Alfieri "en son nom que pour ceulx de sa compaignée, comédiens italiens, et Valleran le Conte et Claude Husson, tant en leurs noms que pour leurs compagnons aussi comédiens," donnent le droit aux Confrères d'ouvrir la caissette. "Les deniers qui se trouveront dedans lad. bouette soient baillez et dellivrez ausd. Maîtres et gouverneurs de l'Hostel de Bourgogne sur et tant moins de ce qui leur est deub par lesd. le Conte et consorts à cause du lieu de la salle dud. Hostel de Bourgogne."

Alfieri et ses comédiens ont acquiescé, il est vrai, à l'ouverture de la caissette, mais lésés dans leurs intérêts par les Confrères qui les privent de la sorte de revenus ce dimanche-là ils cherchent à se mettre à l'abri de mécomptes semblables. Ils exigent des Confrères de leur assurer qu'ils ne toucheront plus à leur part de la recette. Aussi la clause suivante est-elle insérée dans cet acte de consentement: les Maîtres et Gouverneurs de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne "ont promis doresnavant ne faire saisir ny accepter les deniers qui appartiendront aud. Alfieri et sa compaignée provenant desd. jeulz en quelque sorte que ce soit."

D'autres faits établissent le succès qu'eurent au commencement les représentations bilingues dans l'unique grande salle de théâtre de Paris. Le 14 février 1612, le même jour donc où les Italiens autorisent les Confrères à s'emparer des deniers contenus dans la caissette, les comédiens de la Commedia all' Improviso et leurs camarades français signent un acte d'association.¹¹ Alfieri agit au nom de sa compagnie; les comédiens français par contre sont tous présents lors de cet événement mémorable; nous comptons parmi eux Valleran le Conte, Claude Husson, sieur de Longueval, Nicolas Gasteau, damoiselle Rachel Trépeau, Guillaume Desforges, Savinien Bony et Jacques Mabilie. Les deux troupes s'associent "pour jouer et représenter ensemblement ou separement toutes sortes de comedies, tragcomedies, pastorales et autres jeulx qu'ilz adviseront bon estre aud. Hostel de Bourgogne à la charge que les deniers qui proviendront de la représentation desd. jeulz apres les fraiz au

¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹ Archives Nationales, Fonds xv, 22.

préalable desduictz et rabattuz seront prins et partagez par eulx assavoir par led. Alfieri tant pour luy que ceulx de sa compaignée la moytié et par le Conte et ses consortz l'autre moytié." Les comédiens italiens, ayant appris que plusieurs créanciers pourchassaient Valleran le Conte, se préservent d'éventuels dommages en faisant stipuler dans l'acte d'association que "sy apres aucun des creantiers desd. le Conte et ses consors faisoient saisir et arrester les deniers provenant desd. jeulz en ce cas cellui sur lequel led. saisie et arrest aura esté faict sera tenu paier les fraiz d'icellui et autres consequence et en acquitter et garantir les autres de lad. compaignée."

La date d'expiration du bail de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne, contracté par Valleran le Conte, se situe au jour de carême-prenant 1612. Les deux troupes tenant à continuer leurs représentations, Valleran le Conte et Jehan Paul Alfieri passent un nouveau bail le 9 mars, qui leur donne le droit de jouer dans la salle de la rue Mauconseil No. 16, du 8 mars au samedi, veille du dimanche de la Passion 1612.¹²

Toutes ces représentations bilingues finirent sans doute par être trop nombreuses pour le public parisien. La curiosité des spectateurs d'abord éveillée par la nouveauté du double spectacle finit par s'affaiblir. Même les comédies italiennes n'avaient pu à la longue attirer les Parisiens de l'époque aux représentations des poèmes dramatiques de Hardy. Les spectateurs préférèrent de beaucoup voir le ventre prodigieux de Gros-Guillaume sur la scène de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne. On assistait de moins en moins au genre de spectacle de Valleran le Conte, et finalement les deux troupes jouaient devant une salle vide.

Alfieri et sa compagnie disparaissent sans doute encore avant la fin de la durée du bail de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne. Il nous a été impossible de retrouver leur trace. Pour la troupe des Comédiens du Roi de Valleran le Conte qui avait fourni avec tant d'enthousiasme tous ses efforts pour faire réussir les représentations bilingues, dernier moyen de salut imaginé par leur chef, la déception fut trop grande. La ruine dont elle était menacée depuis si longtemps devint inévitable. Les membres de la compagnie française, après avoir partagé toutes les infortunes de leur directeur Valleran le Conte, se détournèrent de lui. Ils avaient assez de leur directeur

¹² Documents inédits, p. 352.

obéré de dettes, des pièces du "théâtre nouveau" et de son poète-acteur Alexandre Hardy.

La troupe se dissocie; un seul membre, Jacques Mabilie, reste fidèle à Valleran le Conte. Peu de temps après les autres se sont regroupés sous la conduite de Robert Guérin. Ce que les tragédies, les tragi-comédies, les comédies et les pastorales de Hardy, et même les représentations bilingues n'ont pu réaliser, les rudes farces facétieuses de Gros-Guillaume, de Gaultier Garguille et de Turlupin l'effectuèrent. La salle de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne fut bondée de spectateurs pouffant de rire.

Valleran le Conte et Alexandre Hardy n'en furent pas témoins, ils avaient quitté Paris, ainsi que les comédiens italiens.

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Viroflay, S.-et-O.

SOME NEGLECTED SOURCES OF *ADMIRATIO*

The commonly accepted explanation of how the arousing of *admiratio* came to be one of the important offices of the poet is that Minturno, in 1559, first added *admiratio* to "teaching, moving, and delighting,"¹ and that Scaliger,² in 1561, confirmed this addition.

Spingarn³ and Gregory Smith⁴ have led us to believe that Minturno applied *admiratio* to poetry in general and that the particular application of admiration to the function of tragedy came with the French critics of the seventeenth century, such as Corneille, Boileau, and Saint-Évremond. Professor Gillet, in fact, has stated that Corneille was the first to add *admiratio* to the tragic catharsis.⁵

Although I formerly accepted this explanation, I have long sus-

¹ Minturno, *De Poeta* (Venice, 1559), p. 106: Illud autem ne te prae-tereat uelim, sic poetis esse dicendum, ut siue doceant, siue oblectent, siue moueant, haec singula statim admiratio legentis, audientisue consequatur.

² *Poetices* 3. 97: "The play is not acted solely to strike the spectator with admiration or consternation . . . but should also teach, move, and please." (Padelford's translation)

³ *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (New York, 1912), pp. 52-53.

⁴ *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Oxford, 1904), I, 392-393.

⁵ J. E. Gillet, "A Note on the Tragic 'Admiratio,'" in *MLR*, XIII (1918), 236.

pected that there was more to the problem than Minturno and followers. Upon better acquaintance with Minturno's *De Poeta* I came to doubt that the author ever introduced an original conception in literary criticism. It is doubtless true that Minturno was influential. It is true that Minturno did maintain that all good poetry, even lyric poetry,⁶ should arouse admiration in the reader and listener. Moreover, although this fact has seldom been recognized, Minturno connected admiration, not only with teaching, delighting, and moving, but specifically with pity and fear as well. The tragic poet, according to Minturno, arouses admiration as he moves either terror or pity.⁷ But Minturno, if he was following his normal practice, was probably echoing other critics both ancient and contemporary. If one looked long enough, he doubtless would find earlier, and better, sources for the *admiratio* of the Renaissance.

The most important classical basis for the sixteenth-century *admiratio* was Aristotle's term τὸ θαυμαστόν, the "marvelous," usually translated into Latin as *admirabile* or *admiratio*. Bywater's version of *Poetics* 25. 1460^a11-18 runs as follows:

The marvelous is certainly required in Tragedy. The Epic, however, affords more opening for the improbable, the chief factor in the marvelous, because in it the agents are not visibly before one. The scene of the pursuit of Hector would be ridiculous on the stage—the Greeks halting instead of pursuing him, and Achilles shaking his head to stop them; but in the poem the absurdity is overlooked. The marvelous, however, is a cause of pleasure, as is shown by the fact that we all tell a story with additions, in the belief that we are doing our hearers a pleasure.

Aristotle also suggested a connection between *admiratio* and the pity and fear of tragedy:

Tragedy, however, is an imitation not only of a complete action, but also of incidents arousing pity and fear. Such incidents have the very greatest effect on the mind when they occur unexpectedly and at the same time in consequence of one another; there is more of the marvelous in them than if they happened of themselves or by mere chance.

(*Poetics* 9. 1452^a1-6)

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 382.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 179: et permouet uehementer, cum excitat admirationem, siue in terrorem, siue in commiserationem, siue in utrumque adducit. *Cf.* p. 180: Verum enim eiusmodi hoc rerum genus esse plane intelliget, qui huius poetae munus esse animaduertet, in admirationem adducere auditorem. Admiranda uero esse, quae uel afferunt miserationem, uel terrorem incutiunt.

Minturno's "teach, delight, and move," which he coupled with admiration, suggests a rhetorical influence; the phrase points to Cicero as well as to Horace. Since rhetoric was still dominant in literary criticism during the sixteenth century, it would be surprising had rhetorical theory not contributed something to the establishment of *admiratio* as a proper function of poetry and as a proper accompaniment to pity and fear.

If we turn to Robortelli, whose great commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* appeared in 1548, eleven years before Minturno's *De Poeta*, and who was a much sounder and more original thinker than Minturno, we find important evidence that the Renaissance conception of *admiratio* was rhetorical as well as poetic. In his discussion of the marvelous in poetry Robortelli referred to a passage in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*:

Learning and admiring are as a rule pleasant; for admiring implies the desire to learn, so that what causes admiration (*Θαυμαστόν*) is to be desired.⁸

Madius (1550),⁹ who doubtless followed Robortelli here, quoted the same passage in his commentary on the *Poetics*, and Piccolomini (1575),¹⁰ who followed Madius, also referred to the *Rhetoric*. Madius added a parallel from Plato's *Theaetetus* (155 D): "Men are moved to the study of wisdom by wonder." In another section of his commentary (p. 164) Robortelli sought confirmation from the Greek rhetorician Hermogenes, whose name at least was familiar to every schoolmaster in the Renaissance.¹¹ Robortelli quoted a passage on admiration from Hermogenes' essay, "On the Means of Forcefulness" (*Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* 36):

In Tragedy there is a blend of pity and admiration (*θαῦμα*), which may be perceived in tragedies themselves, but above all in Homer, who, Plato has said, is indeed the father and leader of Tragedy. We find, therefore, in exordiums the Homeric mingling of pity and admiration.

⁸ l. 11. 21. Freese's translation. See Robortelli, *In Librum Aristotelis de Arte Poetica, Explicationes* (Florence, 1548), p. 283.

⁹ Madius and Lombardus, *In Aristotelis Librum de Poetica Communes Explanationes* (Venice, 1550), pp. 263-264.

¹⁰ *Annotationi . . . nel Libro della Poetica d'Aristotele* (Venice, 1575), p. 387.

¹¹ Every teacher of rhetoric was at least familiar with Priscian's translation of Hermogenes' *Progymnasmata*.

The Latin version in Sturm's popular edition (1571) of Hermogenes runs as follows:

In Tragoedia coniunctio est doloris, et admirationis, quod est videre in ipsis Tragoedijs sed in primis in versibus Homeri, hunc enim, Plato dixit, patrem esse Tragoediae, et ducem. Inuenimus igitur in exordijs, Homericearum orationum mixtum dolorem cum admiratione.¹²

Eleven years, then, before Minturno published, Robortelli had anticipated both the union of admiration with the delight of poetry (and oratory) and the union of admiration with the pity and fear of tragedy. "All things pitiful and terrible, then," Robortelli remarked, "are admirable, nor does pity or terror ever lack admiration."¹³ Again: "All pity, terror, and admiration originates from a speech that expresses character."¹⁴ And again: "Tragic actions are constructed from the pitiful, the fearful, and the marvelous (or admirable)."¹⁵

Although Aristotle and Hermogenes were important rhetorical authorities in the sixteenth century, there was another classical rhetorician who was quite as important and much better known, namely, Cicero. We might reasonably expect scholars and critics in the middle of the century to bring Cicero into the discussion of *admiratio*. And so they did. Thomas Cooper, for example, in his *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (London, 1565), drew most of his illustrations of *admiratio* from Cicero. Victorius, whose commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* was first published in 1560, referred to the statements on *admiratio* in the first book of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and then quoted a passage from Cicero's *Partitiones Oratoriae* (6. 22) as confirmation of Aristotle's θαυμαστόν:

An oration becomes agreeable when you say anything unexpected or unheard of or novel; for whatever is wonderful (*admirabile*) brings delight.¹⁶

¹² *Hermogenus . . . de Ratione Tractandae Grauitatis Occultae Liber* (Strassburg, 1571), p. 75.

¹³ Omnia igitur comiserabilia, et terribilia sunt etiam admirabilia, neque vnquam commiseratio, aut terror caret admiratione (*op. cit.*, p. 99).

¹⁴ Omnis autem commiseratio, terror et admiratio, ex oratione morata proficiscitur (*ibid.*, p. 165).

¹⁵ τὰ φοβερά, τὰ ἐλεεινὰ, τὰ θαυμαστά, ex quibus actiones tragicae constitantur (*ibid.*, p. 164). Cf. *ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 9, 32; *De Oratore* 1. 33. 152; *Brutus* 53. 198; *Orator* 57. 192. See *Petri Victorii Commentarii in Primum Librum Aristotelis de Arte Poetarum, Secunda Editio* (Florence, 1573), p. 257. Victorius acknowledges a debt here to Robortelli.

Plato, Aristotle, Hermogenes, Cicero; of the leading classical authorities on rhetoric and poetic in the Renaissance only Horace and Quintilian are missing. Obviously, I think, Minturno's conception of *admiratio* was merely the conventional one of his generation, a conception based upon Aristotle, with aid from Cicero, Plato, Hermogenes, and sixteenth-century interpreters of classical rhetoric and poetic. Certainly Robortelli, for one, anticipated virtually every interpretation of *admiratio* that Minturno and his followers advanced.

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THE RECEPTION OF ÉMILE VERHAEREN IN GERMANY, SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF STEFAN ZWEIG

The efforts of Stefan Zweig to make the works of Émile Verhaeren known in Germany and Austria are interestingly revealed in a collection of fifty-eight letters and postcards from Zweig to Julius Bab, the German dramatic critic and author, in the Houghton Library at Harvard University. The collection contains material from the years 1909 to 1924.

Zweig became interested in the works of the Belgian poet at the early age of 17,¹ and was just finishing his critical study, *Émile Verhaeren* (Leipzig 1910), at the time of the first letter in the collection, 9 August 1909. This first letter announces the themes which recur constantly: Zweig's great admiration for Verhaeren, his efforts and those of his friends in Verhaeren's behalf, and the indifference of the critics in general:

Sehr verehrter lieber Herr Bab, ich kann Ihnen gar nicht sagen, wie sehr ich Ihnen für Ihren guten Brief dankbar bin. Denn er kam in einer rechten Stunde.

Seit Jahren ist mir das Werk Verhaerens höchster Besitz—höchste Pflicht. Da ich fühle, dass Alles was ich selbst schaffe, lange noch nicht auf jener Höhe steht, wo neben der künstlerischen Schönheit auch irgend eine höhere Wirkung, eine moralische sich ergibt, habe ich erkannt, dass ich am besten

¹ Cp. *Erinnerungen an Émile Verhaeren*, Leipzig 1927, pp. 13 ff., a reprint of the privately printed edition referred to later in the letters; also *Die Welt von Gestern* (English translation: *The World of Yesterday*, New York 1943), *passim*, for Zweig's account of his relations with Verhaeren.

wirksam sein kann, wenn ich meine Kräfte an dieses Werk helfend wende. Ich habe das unvergleichliche Glück, zu sehen, wie Verhaeren in den Jahren, seit ich ihm zur Seite treten durfte, ungeahnt über seine Möglichkeiten emporgewachsen ist, habe das Reifen jenes Buches "La multiple Splendeur" nahe erlebt, das mir das schönste Buch unserer Zeit, das bedeutendste lyrische Werk seit Whitmans "Leaves of Grass" erscheint. Die Freundschaft Verhaerens ist mir der höchste Dank für meine Bemühung geworden, sein Werk hängt mit meinem Wirken heute inniger zusammen als Sie es denken können. Und ich sage ruhig, dass ich Alles, was an mir menschlich gut ist, seiner Nähe, seinem auch persönlich unvergleichbarem Beispiel danke.

In dem Moment da Sie mir schrieben legte ich letzte Hand an ein grosses Buch über Verhaeren, das im Frühling Französisch und Deutsch erscheinen soll. Ich will auch vom Verleger meine Übertragung zurückkaufen, um sie gleichzeitig mit dieser Studie seiner Entwicklung und seiner neuen heroischen Weltanschauung vielfach verbessert und vergrössert in gleichem Verlage erscheinen zu lassen. Dieses Buch soll meine Propaganda, die bisher meist persönlich war, eröffnen. Sie wissen nicht, wie sehr ich mutlos war, dass in Deutschland gerade die Besten der Kritik schwiegen, schwiegen, schwiegen! Kerr, Sie, Polgar, Wiegler, alle die doch die französische Literatur kannten, nannten nie seinen Namen. Hätte nicht Ellen Key durch fortwährende Mahnung das Buch zu schreiben, Rilke durch gutigen Zuspruch, Dehmel durch seine Begeisterung mich verwegener gemacht, ich hätte es nie geschrieben. Denn ein Trompetenstoss in eine Stille klingt zu grell.

So mutlos war ich, dass ich das Angebot eines Theater-vertriebes in diesen Tagen zurückwies. Erstlich glaube ich nicht an die Aufführbarkeit wegen der lesbischen Szenen.² Und dann die Dramen Verhaerens sind von secundärer Bedeutung in seinem Werk. Und ich will ihn nicht zuerst von seiner angreifbaren Seite zeigen. Es wäre mir leicht gewesen seinen *Philippe II* in einer Übertragung aufführen zu lassen: aber die Kritik hätte ihn durch den Vergleich mit Don Carlos erschlagen.³ Ich warte lieber. Sein Ruhm ist unausbleiblich, eine der grossen Gewissheiten meines Lebens. Dann wird es noch immer Zeit sein. Er selbst ist nie danach gierig gewesen und freut sich über nichts so sehr als über die Stimmen die aus Deutschland kommen. Ich will ihm Ihren Namen sogleich nennen, damit Sie von nun ab alle seine neuen Bücher erhalten, möglichst von ihm selbst. Wenn Sie "La multiple Splendeur" noch nicht besitzen, will ich es auch versorgen.

Ein anderes Drama Verhaerens "Le Cloître" das bedeutsamste hat Oppeln-Brownikowski soeben übersetzt. Es ist selbstverständlich aufführbar,

² In *Hélène de Sparte*, of which the German translation by Zweig (*Helenas Heimkehr*) appeared in 1909.

³ In reviewing what is called the "deutsche Uraufführung" of *Philippe II* in Munich on 26 November 1912, one critic actually compared the play very favorably with Schiller's tragedy. Cp. *Die schöne Literatur*, 13 Jg., 1912, p. 452.

sogar ungemein wirksam und doch—er findet kein Theater. Reinhardt hat ihn im Stich gelassen und der Name Verhaeren gilt noch zu wenigen. Aber das wird sich ändern.

Vielen Dank nochmals. Sie wissen nun, warum ich mich Ihnen sosehr verpflichtet fühle. Ihre Zustimmung bedeutet mir so viel—weil sie mir fehlte. Wenn nun Sie, der wie Keiner Lyrik zu werten wissen, zu denen sich zählen, die Verhaeren als den Grössten nennen, fühle ich mich doppelt sicher. Wie schön von Ihnen, über das Literarische hinaus, sich direkt an mich zu wenden. Ich will es Ihnen nie vergessen. . . .

(P. S., on the envelope)

Seit zwei Jahren mühe ich mich eine Vortragstournée V[erhaeren]s zustande zu bringen. Wien hätte ich, Prag auch, München wahrscheinlich, Hamburg will Dehmel vorbereiten, aber Berlin? Und das durfte doch nicht fehlen! ⁴

As this letter shows, Zweig was not without support in his sponsorship of Verhaeren. Dehmel, Rilke, Stefan George, Hofmannsthal, Johannes Schlaf—one of the first in Germany to write about Verhaeren ⁵—are perhaps the best known among the appreciative German audience. Rilke early admired Verhaeren, knew him in Paris, and refers to him in his correspondence. ⁶ Ellen Key, who established the reputation of the young Rilke in Scandinavian countries, wrote an appreciative essay on Verhaeren. ⁷

Thus, with such support, it is not strange to find later critics and scholars regarding the reception of Verhaeren in Germany as almost a universal, spontaneous movement. Frets, for example, in discussing the spread of Verhaeren's works throughout Europe, points to Germany as the most receptive country, and cites many letters. ⁸ Bithell, in remarking on Verhaeren's popularity in Germany, says that he "everywhere received one-thousand marks a lecture." ⁹ The present letters, however, reveal a somewhat truer picture of the facts and reflect great credit on the persistence of Zweig.

⁴ Only the portions of the letters referring to Verhaeren have been reproduced. Minor, obvious corrections have been made.

⁵ *Émile Verhaeren*, Berlin 1905.

⁶ Cp. Br. 24 Nov. 1905; 19 May 1906; 12 Dec. 1921 (wherein Rilke comments on his being engrossed in *Les villes tentaculaires* during his early days in Paris), et al.

⁷ Cp. *Seelen und Werke, Essays von Ellen Key*, Berlin 1911, 63 ff.

⁸ Huberta Frets, *L'Élément germanique dans l'œuvre d'Émile Verhaeren*, Paris, 1935, pp. 6 ff.

⁹ Jethro Bithell, *Contemporary Belgian Literature*, London, 1915, p. 109.

Lieber Herr Bab, ich freue mich sehr, dass Verhaeren meinen Wunsch erfüllt und Ihnen "La Multiple Splendeur" gesandt hat. Ich wusste Ihnen nicht besser zu danken, als Ihnen ein Buch, das beste Buch unserer Zeit vom Autor gegeben zu wissen—und Sie haben es verdient. An wie viele habe ich mich vergebens gewandt, sie möchten sich einem so grossen Werk befreunden—und Sie taten es so schon, so jubelnd ganz ohne Bitte. Ich will Ihnen einmal erzählen, wie wichtig mir gerade in jenem Augenblick Ihre Zustimmung war. . . .¹⁰

Another letter (undated) from November or December 1910:

Lieber Herr Bab, ich muss Ihnen wirklich innig und aufrichtig dankbar sein. Nicht nur, dass Sie in Bonn eingesprungen sind und V[erhaeren] einen Erfolg gewonnen haben, scheinen Sie noch durch Ihren schonen Eifer den Ärger der klugen Leute auf sich zu laden. Denn mir scheint der Artikel Eloessers im Litt. Echo,¹¹ ein wenig Ihre Verhaeren-glossen¹² zu visieren: doch was tuts? Eloesser ist einer von denen, die in dem Irrtum leben Lyrik sei identisch mit dem Lied; und dass er gerade eine matte Stelle aus Verhaerens Versen herauskrabbelt ist ja seine Schuld. Ich glaube, die Opposition der gescheiterten Leute gehört zu jedem Erfolg wie die Donner zum Blitz (sonst war's eben nur Wetterleuchten) und es gibt eben kein neues Weltgefühl, das den Weisen nicht bedenklich wäre. Als ob es möglich wäre Überzeugungen zu sauseln und Religion zu lispeln. Überzeugung braucht Pathos, selbst Rhetorik. Aber Ihnen muss ich's ja nicht erklären, Sie *fühlen* es ja besser wie jeder.

Ich danke Ihnen auch innig für die guten Worte über mein Buch. Ich mag es selbst nicht mehr lesen und freue mich sehr darüber von anderen zu hören: ich ruhre jetzt keinen Finger, um zu prüfen ob der Schwung, den ich gegeben habe, stark genug war, um das Interesse ins Rollen zu bringen. Es scheint gelungen zu sein.

Max Montor hat in Hamburg zwei Stücke unter grosser Begeisterung vorgelesen, das Deutsche Volkstheater in Wien plant *das Kloster* obenso Knapil (ein prächtiger Mensch!) im Czechischen Nationaltheater, Prof. R. M. Meyer kündigt mir einen Essay in Velhagen & Klasing an.¹³ Am meisten freue ich mich natürlich auf Ihren Essay: nicht minder Verhaeren, der Ihnen sehr dankbar ist und mir viele Grusse an Sie aufgetragen hat. Bahr wird nächstens Gedichte öffentlich vorlesen. . . .

As late as 3 January 1912 there is the following:

¹⁰ 29 September 1909.

¹¹ *Das literarische Echo*, 13. Jg, III, 208, 1 Nov. 1910. Arthur Eloesser, in reviewing unfavorably the performance of *das Kloster* in Berlin, 23 Sept. 1910, was critical of Verhaeren's poetry in general.

¹² *Die Schaubühne*, Nr. 40, 1910.

¹³ *Velhagen und Klasing Monatshefte*, XXVI, 10.

. . . Verhaeren wird bestimmt nach Berlin kommen, leider aber nicht als Vorleser, denn es hat sich bisher—hören und staunen Sie!—kein Verein gefunden, der ihm 400 Mark für einen Abend gewidmet hätte. Ich fragte bei Cassirer an, der allerdings anbot, ihm den Saal und Reklame gratis zur Verfügung zu stellen, von einem Honorar aber nichts wissen und Verhaeren das Risiko überlassen wollte. Ich kann nicht umhin, das sehr seltsam zu finden und glaube, Sie sind da meiner Meinung. . . .

And following this, on 21 February 1912:

. . . Ich muss meine Abreise vorbereiten, die mich nach Hamburg zu Verhaerens Vorlesung führt. In Berlin ist es bis zur Stunde noch nicht gelungen, einen Vortrag durchzusetzen und so wird Verhaeren wahrscheinlich nur als Privatmann nach Berlin kommen. Er hat mir zwar die Absicht ausgedrückt, mit möglichst wenig Menschen zusammenzukommen, aber Sie lieber Bab gehören ja nicht zu den Menschen sondern zu den Freunden und ich werde alles tun, um Sie rechtzeitig zu verständigen.

Zweig's enthusiasm seems merely to have been strengthened by the critics' adverse criticism and indifference, and, as he worked diligently on his book and translations, he welcomed the support of such men as Bab. And the letters chronicle the gradual success of their cause:

. . . Wie froh bin ich, dass Sie schon aus den Andeutungen—denn mehr ist meine Nachdichtung in ihrer beschränkten Form nicht—schon die Grösse dieses Dichters spüren; was wird Ihnen erst das Buch "La multiple Splendeur" sagen, dies schönste Versbuch seit undenklicher Zeit !! Die Dramen Philipp II werden wohl erscheinen, auch die "Morgenröten" die Brandes ein wenig überschätzt¹⁴—vorerst aber die Lyrik in ihrer Gesamtheit. Darüber werde ich Ihnen hoffentlich bald ein Definitives sagen können. . . .¹⁵

27. Aug. 1909

Sehr verehrter lieber Herr Bab, ich habe Ihnen nicht nur meinen Dank zu sagen, sondern auch meine Bewunderung. Denn es ist erstaunlich, wie Sie, der Sie doch das Werk Verhaerens nur im Umriss kennen, das Wesentliche sicher und scharf erfasst haben. Und dann das Tempo, der Ton—jenes Nichtangsthaben vor der Übertreibung, das ich so sehr liebe, weil es das einzig Fruchtbare ist. Wirklich nur

"quand nous nous admirons vraiment les uns les autres
du fond même de notre ardeur et notre foi"¹⁶

¹⁴ Georg Brandes, "Émile Verhaeren als Dramatiker," *Die Schaubühne*, 5 April 1906.

¹⁵ This letter is undated; probably August 1909.

¹⁶ "La Ferveur" (*La multiple Splendeur*). [sic]

nur dann, wenn wir uns Bewunderungen hingeben, konnten wir zu Ausblicken gelangen. Ich schätze seit langem die Art wie Sie—in Gegensatz zu den "Feineren"—Dehmel lieben und bewundern (wiewohl Sie sicher so wie auch ich seiner Mangel bewusst sind) und habe Ihnen oft im Stillen dafür gedankt. Nun sind wir uns wieder begegnet und werden hoffentlich getreu Schulter an Schulter bleiben.

Ich hatte inzwischen die Freude zu hören, dass mein Verhaeren-Buch so ziemlich sicher zuerst in Frankreich erscheint.¹⁷ Die deutsche Grenze zu überbrücken war immer mein Ehrgeiz: einmal aber nicht passiv zu wirken, als Empfangender, sondern als Gebender ist mir wirklich Freude.

...

27. Februar 1910

Lieber Herr Bab, ist Ihr Bernard Shaw schon erschienen?¹⁸ Ich freue mich so sehr darauf! Auch meine Arbeit nähert sich dem Ende: der Band über Verhaeren und die Gedichte sind schon im Druck. von neuen Gedichten finden Sie eine Probe im Blaubuch von diesmal, dem nächsten "Zeitgeist" und "Sozialistischen Monatsheften". Jetzt wächst auch über die Arbeit das Gefühl der Freude empor: ich war selten so innerlich beruhigt, so rein gestimmt gegenüber einem Werk. Und nun geht es bald an eigene Versuche zurück.

Für Ihr Shaw Buch möchte ich Ihnen eine Adresse in England geben, Mr. Jethro Bithell, der eine ausgezeichnete Anthologie deutscher Lyrik gemacht hat und Ihr Shaw Buch sicher unterstützen wird.¹⁹

P.S. Bei Reinhardt will jetzt Graf Kessler für Verhaeren intervenieren.

...

(postcard. 4 March 1910)

Lieber Herr Bab, ich freue mich sehr auf Ihren Shaw. Mein Verhaeren ist leider sehr im Druck verzögert. Aber ich möchte Sie bitten in einer Angelegenheit vielleicht jetzt schon tätig sein: Graf Kessler und Hofmannsthal suchen Reinhardt zu bestimmen, die "Helena" anlässlich des Gastspiels der Weltausstellung in Brüssel als Urpremière zu spielen. Das bedeutet für Reinhardt einen triumphalen Empfang, denn Verhaeren ist in Belgien was Ibsen und Björnson für Norwegen war. Vielleicht können Sie im Reinhardtkreis dafür [?] Propaganda machen, ich selbst rühre keine Hand, weil ich ein Refus V[erhaeren]s nicht dulde.

¹⁷ In a letter of 20 December 1909, Zweig mentions that his book will probably sell five times as well in the French translation as in the German.

¹⁸ Julius Bab, *Bernard Shaw*, Berlin, 1910.

¹⁹ Bithell later translated Zweig's *Émile Verhaeren* into English (London 1914) and also *Hélène de Sparte* in *The Plays of Émile Verhaeren*, London, 1916.

(25 March 1910)

Lieber Herr Bab, seien Sie nicht böse, dass ich Ihnen heute noch keine Zeile über Ihren Shaw schreibe. Ich endige die Verhaerenausgabe und arbeite fieberhaft. Heute nur zwei Dinge.

Reinhardt will in Brussel zuerst die "Helena" spielen mit der Sorma !!!²⁰ Es ist noch nicht ganz sicher, aber Graf Kessler und Hofmannsthal haben es beinahe durchgesetzt. Können Sie irgendwie nachschieben dann tun Sie es bitte. Es wäre in Brussel ein gigantischer Erfolg.

Und dann: ich habe hier mit einem Verein gesprochen, dem Akademischen Verein für Musik und Litteratur wegen eines Vortrags von Ihnen. Er ist bereit (für nächste Saison) aber er kann nicht viel zahlen, da er keine Entrée nimmt. Würden Sie es mit 100 Mark tun? So viel hoffe ich herauszuschlagen. Aber es wäre doch wichtig für eine Verbindung mit Wien.

...

The performance of Verhaeren's *Le Cloître* (*Das Kloster*) in Berlin on 23 September 1910 is mentioned briefly in several post-cards from Zweig to Bab in September and October without much enlightening comment. This was the performance which Eloesser reviewed unfavorably (cp. supra), and there is also an unfavorable review in *Die schöne Literatur*, 11 Jg., Nr. 22. The critic of *Bühne und Welt* (xiv Jg., p. 82) was more favorably disposed toward the play. *Hélène de Sparte* (*Helenas Heimkehr*) had its German première in Stuttgart on 13 December 1910 and was coolly received by the critics.²¹

In February 1912, Verhaeren came to Hamburg for a public reading:

... Es ist nun ausgemacht, dass Verhaeren am 1. März in Hamburg liest, von anderen Städten können Prag und Wien und Munchen als gesichert gelten, Leipzig und Berlin als wahrscheinlich. ...²²

Verhaeren wrote to his wife of his pleasure at the reception in Hamburg.²³

Zweig's letters from this period reflect a general satisfaction with the progress of his efforts, and both he and Bab continued their lectures and articles on Verhaeren:

²⁰ The famous German actress, Agnes Sorma. No record of this performance appears in the lists of Reinhardt's productions.

²¹ Cp. *Bühne und Welt*, xiv Jg., p. 354; *Das literarische Echo*, 13 Jg., vol. 8, 602.

²² Letter of 24 August 1911.

²³ *A. Marthe Verhaeren*, Paris, 1937; letter of 28 February 1912. Cp. also letter of 21 February 1912, supra.

Lieber Herr Bab! Ich habe mich schon gefreut, wie ich blos die Korrektur des Verhaerenaufsatzes in die Hand bekam und um wieviel mehr, als ich jetzt den ersten Blick in die schöne Arbeit tun durfte. Ich will Ihnen noch ausführlicher dafür danken, als ich es jetzt in aller Eile kann—ich lebe am Land und komme nur immer auf ein paar Stunden in der Woche herein—und grüsse Sie nur heute viele Male und herzlichst. Die Sache Verhaerens hat übrigens gerade heute noch die letzte und schon von mir lange herbeigesehnte Krönung erhalten die unausbleibliche Beschimpfung von Max Nordau, dem es gelungen ist, in Verhaeren einen Erotoman zu entdecken.²⁴ Eine Entdeckung übrigens, die ich in Frankreich publizieren will, wo sie nicht wenig Heiterkeit erregen wird. . . .²⁵

But Zweig held a more positive feeling of their success than this unfavorable attitude of a critic, and wrote to Bab shortly thereafter, on 22 June 1912:

Ich muss Ihnen noch, Lieber Herr Bab, nochmals für Ihren Verhaerenartikel danken,²⁶ der mir bei dem zweiten ruhigeren Lesen noch doppelt gut gefallen hat, eben weil er durch seine kluge Einschränkung und Begrenzung zeigt, dass unsere Bewegung nicht ein eiliger, blinder Rummel ist, sondern eine trotz aller ästhetischen Wachsamkeit frohe und sichere Erkenntnis. Ich weiss selbst, dass mein Buch vielfach die inneren Einwände unterschlagen hat, die ich selber hatte und habe, aber ich glaube, es ist notwendig, in einem anderen Ton von jemandem zu sprechen, solange er noch ganz unbekannt ist und den Widerstand des Misstrauens gegen sich hat, wie heute, da für Verhaeren so viel Bewunderung in Deutschland lebendig ist, dass eine Kritik ihm eher förderlich als hinderlich sein kann. Vergessen Sie nicht ein Exemplar des Essays sobald er erscheint nach Caillou qui Bique (Belgien) zu schicken. Sie senden Verhaeren damit sicher eine grosse Freude ins Haus. . . .

The war put a sudden end to Zweig's visit to Belgium in 1914,²⁷ and thereafter he heard from Verhaeren only through intermediaries until Verhaeren's sudden death in November 1916. Of this Zweig wrote Bab on 2 January 1917:

. . . Sie mögen denken wie schwer mir dieser Verlust gewesen ist; noch vor kurzem erhielt ich zum ersten Mal im Kriege von Verhaeren durch einen Schweizer Uebermittler schriftlichen Gruss und Bekennung seiner ungebrochenen Freundschaft.²⁸ Ich selbst habe, wie Sie bemerkt haben

²⁴ Nordau's review of *Hélène de Sparte*, *Neue Freie Presse*, Wien, 11 June 1912.

²⁵ Letter of 11 June 1912.

²⁶ The article appears in *Neue Rundschau*, 23 Jg., 1912, II, 10-20.

²⁷ Cp. *Erinnerungen an Émile Verhaeren*, 84 ff.

²⁸ Charles Baudoin, *Psychoanalysis and Aesthetics*, New York 1924,

werden, auch bei seinem Tode geschwiegen, wie bei allen anderen Anlässen: ich spreche nicht, solange ich nicht frei sprechen kann. . . .

Later, however, from Zürich on 20 February 1918, Zweig wrote:

. . . Ein kleines Buch von mir "Erinnerungen an Verhaeren" habe ich in 100 Exemplaren für meine Freunde in Wien drucken lassen. Es ist nicht für den Handel bestimmt nur für die nächsten Menschen und selbstverständlich Ihnen ein Exemplar zugedacht.

The collection of letters ends with a rather sad final comment on 17 May 1924:

. . . In Frankreich kümmert sich niemand mehr um Verhaeren und vielleicht wird er noch einmal von Deutschland in seiner Weltstellung gezeigt werden, ganz wie damals. . . .

These are the most important records of the Zweig-Verhaeren relationship in the correspondence. But, as a conclusion, mention should be made of an excellent camera portrait of Verhaeren seated in his garden taken by Zweig and mailed as a postcard on 8 September 1910.

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THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT; SOME ALLUSIONS TO SIR ROBERT FILMER'S WRITINGS IN *TRISTRAM SHANDY*

Although Walter Shandy's "systems and opiniatry" seem peculiarly his own, they are based upon ideas hotly disputed in the 17th century and remembered well into the latter half of the 18th century. If Mr. Shandy forced every "event in nature into an hypothesis, by which means never man crucified TRUTH at the rate he did,"¹ yet he built his hypotheses and crucified truth after the examples of such theorists as Sir Robert Filmer. Mr. Shandy's ideas may appear singular, but they are no more singular than the

writes that he, in 1916, conveyed to Zweig Verhaeren's fervent admiration. He may have been the intermediary referred to here.

¹ *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. J. A. Work, New York, 1940, Bk. 9, Ch. 32.

principles of the absolute monarchists from which they are derived. An examination of Filmer's writings together with Locke's two treatises *Of Government*,² in which much of Filmer's theorizing was preserved,³ will make clearer some of the dialogue in certain episodes in *Tristram Shandy* and reveal elements in the novel hitherto insufficiently noticed.

In the first chapters of *Tristram Shandy*, indeed, Walter Shandy is described as a Filmerian. Provoked into speculation by the question of Mrs. Shandy's lying-in, he launched into a disquisition concerning civil right and the balance of power in the "monarchical system of domestick government established in the first creation of things by God."⁴

² *Two Treatises of Government*, 1690.

³ Locke's work tended to keep Filmer's ideas before the public eye. By 1700 there were found few to espouse the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. After nearly half a century of mixed monarchy under the first two Georges rationalizations of the Stuart regime were no longer tenable, and those who had accepted Filmer and the patriarchal theory of monarchy eagerly were anxious to forget both the theorist and his theory. But their opponents would not allow them completely to forget Filmer's *Patriarcha*. For Filmer's outmoded system was found to be useful as a means of ridicule and Filmer's name became a convenient label with which to deride a political opponent. Filmer's name, then, continued to live, as the political caricature of the sixties shows. See the *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Division 1 (Personal and Political Satires), Vol. 3, pt. 2, no. 3584, dated 1757; Vol. 4, nos. 4151, dated 1706; 4238, dated 1768; 4457, dated 1770. No. 4238 is in part explained by a reference to "an advertisement in 'The Gentleman's Magazine,' 1764, p. 638," from which the following is quoted: "*List of Scotch books in the Press at Edinburgh, and speedily will be published (by subscription) on a fine paper and beautiful type (price one guinea) a new Edition of Sir Richard Filmer's book on Patriarchy, or, Treatise on Government; proving the jus divinum, passive obedience, and non-resistance; with annotations and illustrations. By Sir BULLFACE DOUBLEFEE, knt.*" Why Filmer is given the name "Richard" instead of "Robert" is not explained.

⁴ Bk. I, Ch. 18. Cf. Filmer, *Directions for Obedience to Governours in Dangerous or Doubtful Times*, which was bound with the *Observations upon Aristotle's Politiques touching Forms of Government*, 1652. In this pamphlet Filmer remarks "Originally the Supreme Power was in the Fatherhood; and the first Kings were Fathers of Families" (p. 153); "... in the Infancy of the World, the Paternal Government was Monarchical . . ." (p. 154); "The Right of Fatherly Government was ordained by God . . ." (p. 156). The page nos. and the quotations are from the edition of 1680, in which this pamphlet was bound with *The Freeholders Grand Inquest*, etc.

In this point [says Tristram, Walter Shandy] was entirely of Sir Robert Filmer's opinion, That the plans and institutions of the greatest monarchies in the eastern parts of the world, were, originally, all stolen from that admirable pattern and prototype of this household and paternal power;—which, for a century, he said, or more, had gradually been degenerating away into a mix'd government;—the form of which, however desirable in great combinations of the species,—was very troublesome in small ones,—and seldom produced anything, that he saw, but sorrow and confusion.⁵

In Book 5, published December, 1761, some two years after Book 1, Walter Shandy is again depicted as a disciple of Filmer, although Filmer's name is not specifically mentioned. Walter Shandy's summary of the first thirty pages of the *Tristra-paedia* clearly suggests Filmer's theories, despite the elder Shandy's learned references to Hesiod and Politian, whom he gives by way of authorities.

These thirty pages, we are told, make up an "introductory preface" or a "prefatory introduction" upon "political or civil government." That this introduction is not "closely connected" with the subject-matter of the *Tristra-paedia* Walter Shandy saw, and maintained that he was "insensibly led into it" from his reflection that the "foundation" of "political or civil government" was laid in the "first conjunction betwixt male and female, for the procreation of the species. . . ."⁶

The original of society, continued my father, I'm satisfied is, what *Politian* tells us, i. e. merely conjugal; and nothing more than the getting together of one man and one woman;—to which (according to *Hesiod*) the philosopher adds a servant;—but supposing in the beginning there were no men servants born—he lays the foundation of it, in a man,—a woman—and a bull.—I believe 'tis an ox, quoth Yorick . . .⁷

This passage, touching as it does upon the patriarchal theory of society, suggests Filmer's writings, and could easily have recalled to the contemporary reader of *Tristram Shandy* the fact that

⁵ *Loc. cit.* Cf. Filmer's remarks concerning Aristotle's assertion "that such were the antient Eastern Monarchies," i. e., absolute monarchies, in *Observations Concerning the Original of Government*, p. 257 of the edn. of 1679, which was bound with *The Freeholders Grand Inquest*. See also note (4) above.

⁶ Bk. 5, Ch. 31.

⁷ *Loc. cit.* Cf. Filmer *Patriarcha, or the Natural Power of Kings*, 1680, pp. 35 and 37. See also the preface to his *Observations upon Aristotle's Politiques*, 1679.

Walter Shandy had been first introduced as a Filmerian.⁸ Yet there does remain the possibility that Sterne at this point was ridiculing not a specific writer, but the older political theorists in general. That it was of Filmer's theories of monarchy that Sterne was thinking, however, the sequel shows conclusively.

In this sequel Filmer's interpretation of the Fifth Commandment plays an important part. Corporal Trim, it will be remembered, looked upon the injunction "Honour thy father and thy mother" as enjoining a simple duty of gratitude. But in the patriarchal theory of monarchy the Fifth Commandment had been given a political meaning, for, according to Filmer, this commandment especially confirmed the jurisdictional power, considered by Filmer to be the "Fountain of Regal Authority, by Ordination of God himself," inherent in the parent over his child.⁹ Filmer declared in the *Patriarcha* that "we find in the *Decalogue*, That the Law which enjoyns Obedience to Kings, is delivered in the terms of *Honour thy Father*, as if all power were originally in the Father."¹⁰ Again, in "The Anarchy of a Limited or Mixed Monarchy," he said:

Whereas many confess that Government only in the *abstract* is the ordinance of God, they are not able to prove any such in the Scripture, but only in the fatherly power, and therefore we find the Commandment that enjoyns obedience to superiours, given in the terms *Honour thy Father*: so that not only the *Power and right of Government*, but the *form of the power of governing*, and the *person having that power*, are all the ordinance of God: the first Father had not only simply power, but power Monarchical, as he was a Father, immediately from God.¹¹

This commandment, however, seemingly refers to father and mother as equal in status; and Filmer had to show that the woman is inferior to the man. He did so by arguing that "God at the

⁸ See note (5) above, also note (3) above.

⁹ See Ned Ward, *The Whigs Unmasked, being the Secret History of the Calf's-Head Club*, London, 1713, p. 175, where a "Modern Whig" is satirised as follows:

"Ask him his religion, and his Answer is, it is older than the Ten Commandments; but . . . he cannot make up the Number for the Soul of him, since the fifth must needs slip him, because it enjoins Obedience to his Superiors."

¹⁰ P. 23. Cited in Locke, *op. cit.*, Bk. 1, sect. 60.

¹¹ *Observations Concerning the Original of Government*, p. 254. Also cited in Locke, *loc. cit.*, note (10) above.

Creation gave the Sovereignty to the Man over the Woman, as being the Nobler and Principal Agent in Generation."¹²

Before Trim's recital of the Fifth Commandment had put an end to Walter Shandy's digression on the "original" of government, Mr. Shandy had been led on to discuss the "natural relation between a father and his child" and to enumerate the ways in which a father secures "the right and jurisdiction" over his children, that is to say, "by marriage . . . by adoption . . . by legitimation . . . and by procreation."¹³ He was interrupted in this enumeration by Yorick, who said "I lay a slight stress upon one of them . . . the act, especially when it ends there, lays as little obligation upon the child, as it conveys power to the father." Mr. Shandy declared Yorick to be wrong "for this plain reason * * *" Now if Mr. Shandy had been following Filmer's argument that "by right of fatherhood, the Form of monarchy must be preferred above all" others,¹⁴ then the next step for him to take, since he had argued that men are born under the jurisdiction of their parents, was to show that the female is not equal in status to the male. And this step Walter Shandy took, when he added "that the offspring is not so under the power and jurisdiction of the mother." Of this qualification Yorick observed, with Locke on his side,¹⁵ that whatever is true of the father's natural jurisdiction over the child "holds equally" true of the mother's. This opinion Mr. Shandy denied, citing Filmer's assertion that the father, but not the mother, has jurisdiction over the child, because the "man is the Nobler and Principal Agent in Generation":¹⁶ "She is under authority herself . . . and . . . besides . . . she is not the principal agent." Mr. Shandy admitted that the "son ought to pay" the mother "respect," but implied that such respect is a matter of courtesy only, and cited Justinian to buttress his opinion that the mother has no real jurisdiction over the son.¹⁷

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

¹³ Bk. 5, Ch. 31.

¹⁴ Filmer, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

¹⁵ *Cf.* Locke, *op. cit.*, Bk. 1, section 55: ". . . the mother cannot be denied an equal share in begetting of the child, and so the absolute authority of the father will not arise from hence."

¹⁶ See note 12 above.

¹⁷ The *Institutes*, I. 11. 10 reads "Women cannot adopt, because even their natural children are not in their power. . . ."

At this point in the narrative one of uncle Toby's droll interruptions focussed attention upon the Fifth Commandment. When Yorick remarked that he could learn of the respect owed by a son to his mother just as well from the Catechism as from Justinian, uncle Toby, as will be remembered, volunteered the information that Trim could "repeat every word" of the Catechism by heart.¹⁸ Yorick called upon Trim to recite the Fifth Comamndment, and Trim, with the aid of uncle Toby's military prompting, "went through his manual with exactness" until he had, as Sterne expressly records, "*honoured his father and mother.*"¹⁹ The interruption was not to Walter Shandy's liking, for Trim's recitation of the Fifth Commandment threatened, when introduced in this abrupt way, to embarrass the delicate point the elder Shandy was making about the unequal jurisdiction of parents. He was not utterly disconcerted, however, for as he told Yorick he saw matter for instruction as well as for jest in Trim's performance. Trim's mechanical recitation he pointed out as the "*scaffold work* of INSTRUCTION, its true point of folly, without the BUILDING behind it." But though he thus called attention to the nature of Trim's responses, he was chiefly concerned to ridicule the catechist—and so by implication Yorick, with whom he was arguing—rather than the catechised in the remarks the incident occasioned. Let pedagogues, he told Yorick pointedly, see themselves in this recital of Trim's, where, he was prepared to wager, words had no "determinate idea annexed" to them. Rote learning, he added, is a "husk and shell" which grows up around the unskilfull instructor and prevents him from achieving wisdom. Thus he linked together Yorick's interpretation of the Fifth Commandment with Trim's mechanical recitation of it. So far in his skirmish of opinions with Yorick Mr. Shandy had come off with flying colours, so that even Yorick was forced to say that he thought him "inspired." He had made his point about the *necessity* for interpretation; we may guess how he would have answered Locke's assertion that Filmer and others like him lopped scripture to make it fit the "size of their notions,"²⁰ though just how he would have defended his own and Filmer's reading of the Fifth Commandment we are not told, for Trim, when asked what had been meant by "honouring thy father

¹⁸ Bk. 5, Ch. 32.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Sterne's italics.

²⁰ Locke, *op. cit.*, Bk. 1, secs. 60.

and mother," replied, to Yorick's satisfaction and to Mr. Shandy's confounding: "Allowing them, an' please your honour, three half-pence a day out of my pay, when they grew old." The whole episode, including the military pantomime of Toby and Trim, raises the question of authority and obedience to authority—a question warmly disputed by the absolute monarchists and dealt with at length by Locke.

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BROWNING AND SWINBURNE: AN EPISODE

"Somehow or another Swinburne slipped through the meshes of the Chapman net."¹ The following letter from Browning to Richard Monckton Milnes, published here for the first time,² throws light upon Edward Chapman's reluctance to cast his net for so electric a fish as the young Swinburne. It also reveals Browning's part in the proceedings which made it difficult for Swinburne to obtain a reputable publisher, and it emphasizes the essential distaste Browning felt for Swinburne's somewhat pagan approach to poetry.

19, Warwick Crescent
Upper Westbourne Terrace, W.
July 7, '63.

My dear Milnes,

I should like to put down in words what I said last night when considerably surprised and a little annoyed: you will see how mere talk gets turned aside from its purpose; and for reasons, I am somewhat susceptible on this point.

I know next to nothing of Swinburne, and like him much: I have received courtesy from him, and been told he feels kindly to me—I believe it, indeed. Of his works, since his first volume, I know not a line, except a poem which I looked over a long while ago at Rossetti's, and the pieces he recited the other night. I could only have an opinion, therefore, on these. I thought them moral mistakes, redeemed by much intellectual ability. They may be

¹ Arthur Waugh, *A Hundred Years of Publishing: Being the Story of Chapman and Hall, Ltd.*, London, 1930, p. 79.

² I am indebted to the present Lord Crewe, son of the first Lord Houghton (R. M. Milnes), for permission to print this letter. I have not seen the original but am using what appears to be an accurate transcription provided by Lord Crewe's secretary. The year date may be wrong.

a sample of the forthcoming book,—or just the exceptional instances—I hope so.

When I was abruptly appealed to, some days after, for my estimate of Mr. Swinburne's powers,—I don't know what I could do but say "that he had genius, and wrote verses in which to my mind there was no good at all."

If I referred,—as I probably did,—to a similarity of opinion on the part of others present, it was from the reluctance I had to stand forward and throw even this cherry-stone at a young poet.

How I came by this reluctance, and keep it increasingly in spite of age ("which loses all sense of the good and the beautiful, the this and the that")—God knows! I have for thirty years my own utter unintelligibility taught with such public and private zest that I might be excused for fancying every young man's knuckles wanted 'dusting'—but I don't fancy it. Unluckily the truth is the truth, and one must speak it now and then. It was a shame in this case for Chapman to quote my blame of two or three little pieces—given on a demand for unqualified praise which was impossible—as the reason for rejecting a whole bookful of what may be real poetry, for aught I am aware: but as I am in the habit of being as truthful as I like about the quality of certain things which he patronizes, and as I never saw their titles disappear from his advertisements in consequence—I conclude that he only uses my witnessing when he wants to cover his own conviction.

I am, my dear Milnes,
Your ever faithfully
ROBERT BROWNING.

In 1860, Swinburne had published his first volume, *The Queen Mother and Rosamund*, definitely predictive of the works seething in his mind. For these works, many of which he had begun to compose, he would need a publisher, the more respectable the better. The ways to a publisher of poetry were devious: usually by way of a friend who had an influential friend who was on intimate footing with a publisher. So it was that Lady Trevelyan is said to have commended Swinburne to the influential R. M. Milnes, who was intimate with numerous publishers. "On the 5th of May 1860, in reply to a formal summons, Swinburne called at Milnes' town house," where, says Sir Edmund Gosse, "the two were soon on terms of high facetious familiarity, and during the next two years, in particular, Milnes was infinitely serviceable to the young friend who so much amused him."³ Milnes, incidentally, was fifty years of age, Swinburne twenty-four.

The young poet had samples of his work to show. It was Milnes'

³ *Life of A. C. Swinburne*, London, 1917, p. 75.

task to provide the right audience, a wholly congenial task for the man whose home had become famous for its gatherings of every sort of distinguished person. Sir Edmund Gosse provides a circumstantial account of one such occasion, perhaps the first, during which Swinburne displayed his startling wares:

In the summer of 1862, a distinguished party assembled at Fryston; it included Venables, James Spedding, the newly appointed Archbishop of York (William Thomson), and Thackeray, the latter having brought his two daughters. . . . On Sunday evening, after dinner, he [Swinburne] was asked to read some of his poems. His choice was injudicious; he is believed to have recited 'The Leper'; it is certain that he read 'Les Noyades.' At this the Archbishop of York made so shocked a face that Thackeray smiled and whispered to Lord Houghton, while the two young ladies, who had never heard such sentiments expressed before, giggled aloud in their excitement. Their laughter offended the poet, who, however, was soothed by Lady Houghton's tactfully saying, 'Well, Mr. Swinburne, if you *will* read such extraordinary things, you must expect us to laugh.' 'Les Noyades' was then proceeding on its amazing course, and the Archbishop was looking more and more horrified, when suddenly the butler—'like an avenging angel,' as Lady Ritchie says—threw open the door and announced, 'Prayers! my Lord!'⁴

Gosse, it will be noted, does not mention Browning as one of the guests on this memorable evening, and Browning's letter to Milnes, quoted above, was apparently written approximately a year after this occasion, which is assigned to the summer of 1862. Yet Browning's letter may have been written a year earlier and the date have been transcribed wrongly.⁵ On the other hand, it is legitimate and necessary to suppose that Browning was present at Fryston on an occasion very similar to that described by Gosse. The whole circumstances of such a display on Swinburne's part would appeal to Browning as an extreme breach of good taste. Furthermore, the manner of Swinburne's poetry was doubtless as objectionable to Browning as the matter. He was later to tell Miss Blagden that Swinburne's verses "are 'florid impotence,' to my taste—the *minimum* of thought and idea in the *maximum* of words and phraseology."⁶

So much for Browning's private opinion of Swinburne. It is with the effect of this opinion on Milnes' plan of finding a publisher for Swinburne's poems that we may now be concerned. If Brown-

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

⁵ See note 2, above.

⁶ *Letters of Robert Browning*, ed. T. L. Hood, New York, 1933, p. 136.

ing was to have any influence, it would have to be with his own publisher, Edward Chapman of Chapman and Hall, Ltd. Besides the Brownings, Chapman and Hall had on their highly respectable list the names of Dickens, Thackeray, Lever, Carlyle, Clough, Allingham, and others. A young poet could well have profited by such company. As one pieces the story together, it is apparent that Chapman was interested enough in Swinburne to ask for opinions concerning his verses. Some few days after a Swinburne evening at Fryston, Chapman confronted Browning with a request for a frank opinion. "Unluckily the truth is the truth, and one must speak it now and then"; so Browning spoke his disapprobation, then added his awareness of "a similarity of opinion on the part of others present." Perhaps Browning regretted this appeal for support, but one can see that his was the altogether human means of partial escape from an embarrassing situation.

The next step seems to have been taken by Milnes, who may have approached Chapman with the direct proposal that he publish Swinburne. If such a proposal were made, Chapman doubtless replied that his firm had to depend upon professional opinion upon which to base decisions on the publishable qualities of poetry and that the best available opinion, that of Robert Browning, stood flatly against the advisability of taking such a chance.

The penultimate step occurred on the night of July 6. Browning was again at Fryston. The recent performance of Swinburne apparently became the subject of conversation. Suddenly someone, perhaps Milnes himself, said that Chapman had refused to publish Swinburne, largely because "You, Mr. Browning, disapproved his verses." Considerably surprised and a little annoyed, Browning evidently offered a heated denial of fault and a circumstantial account of his talk with Chapman. One understands perfectly the annoyance: no matter what was said in extenuation, the impression would remain that an older poet, through jealousy, intolerance, or perversity, had placed an obstacle in the way of a young poet.

The final step, therefore, is the letter of July 7, in which Browning makes clear to Milnes and to his own conscience that he had had no intention of harming Swinburne and that Chapman was influenced simply because he wanted an excuse to refuse the job of publishing Swinburne's highly dubious poetry. One detects the irony in Browning's bitter blaming of Chapman, for Chapman needed and used Browning's opinion to strengthen his own conviction just as

Browning had needed and used the opinion of others to strengthen his conviction!

As for Swinburne, he eventually secured Edward Moxon as publisher of *Poems and Ballads*, but lost him under the threat of beligerently adverse criticism. The quest for a publisher ended when the dubious but daring John Camden Hotten consented to substitute for Moxon.

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GEORGE MOORE AND EDOUARD DUJARDIN

"To none have I given so ardent an ear as I have to Edouard Dujardin. I have harvested most profitably in Dujardin's work."¹ Aside from Dujardin's role as a link between Moore and the French Symbolism together with its concomitant Wagnerism,² and the Dujardin influences on the Moore style and method in the semi-fiction, all of which have received ample notice and scrutiny, no attention has been called to the immediate formative influence of Dujardin from which stem the biblical and religious novels of Moore.³ The indebtedness is acknowledged in the voluminous autobiographic writings and is specifically illustrated in *The Lake* and *The Brook Kerith*.⁴

Moore confessed to long theological discussions with Dujardin: "I had written to Dujardin, who is always looking forward to seeing me in an apartment in Paris where we could continue our

¹ Moore, *Conversations in Ebury Street*, p. 176. All references are to the *Carra Edition* (New York, 1922-24).

² Dujardin edited for a time in Paris the *Revue Wagnérienne*. Moore's heroine, significantly, in *Evelyn Innes* is a Wagnerian soprano. See John Freeman, *A Portrait of George Moore in a Study of His Work* (New York, 1922).

³ Joseph Hone (*The Life of George Moore*, New York, 1936) makes no important mention of the Dujardin impulse discernible in the late religious novels; Helmut Bock ("George Moore: The Brook Kerith, Eine Kritische Studie," *Die Neueren Sprachen*, xxxix, 1931, 340-355.) fails to relate the Dujardin affiliation as the genesis of the novel.

⁴ The beginnings are seen in *Evelyn Innes* and *Sister Teresa* which Moore wrote under the influence of Huysmans.

theological discussions til one in the morning.”⁵ From Dujardin Moore became aware of the Old Testament prophets, of Daniel, and the Jewish sects. Dujardin was always the great teacher, always ready to instruct the interested with great cheer and patience.⁶ It is significant that Moore, reminiscing in *Conversations in Ebury Street*, recalls to mind Dujardin first as the biblical critic:

. . . my thoughts turned to Dujardin, who had gone to the south of France to write a long-meditated work, no doubt the work in which Jesus is shown to be an old Palestinian deity worshipped in secret, in caves, whence he began to emerge on the decline of Judaism, Judaism having about that time lost all spiritual significance. Dujardin, I said, will be able to tell me why my article failed on his return from the south, where I could see him in my thoughts writing feverishly, the windows wide open, the curtains filled with sweet, Mediterranean breezes, working all day long, ten, twelve, fourteen hours a day, condensing a whole year’s work into two months.⁷

And in the same reminiscence Moore testifies to the awakening power of Dujardin:

Now, whosoever writes much, repeats, and if I am guilty I apologise to all and sundry and hasten to add a new thing not hitherto told: that

⁵ *Salve*, p. 320. Moore describes one of these theological discussions in *Conversations in Ebury Street*, pp. 219-20.

⁶ Moore cherishes the memory of Dujardin the teacher.

If a disciple in search of knowledge were to come to him at three o’clock in the morning and stand by his bedside and say: Dujardin, I am in doubt why Brunnhilde, who is but an emanation of Wotan’s will, should be condemned by Wotan to sleep til a pure hero comes through the fire and releases her from it, Dujardin would rise from his bed, rub his eyes, and recalling the philosophy of Wagner by his motives, which I believe he never ceases to chant even in his dreams, would begin by telling his visitor that the point had often been under discussion in the *Revue Wagnérienne*. He would not, however, tell the intruder to read the back numbers but show much patience with him, inviting him to sit on the edge of the bed whilst he explained the metaphysics of the music. (*Conversations in Ebury Street*, p. 217.)

⁷ P. 209. Moore’s thoughts turn to Dujardin in the light of the disappointment occasioned by the reception of a Moore article which appeared in *The Sunday Times*, the avowed content of which was critical. It is not strange that Moore, recalling critical failure, should feel that Dujardin might tell him why the failure occurred. It is a testimony of Moore’s opinion of Dujardin.

during the thirty-odd years of intimacy, the sequence of the aforesaid meeting, I have learnt his mind from end to end, and my knowledge being like God's knowledge—as complete and as perfect—it has always seemed to me a disgrace that I never took him as a subject for literature, for as such he is beyond compare, an abridgement of Shakespeare; and a compendium of Balzac, more Balzac than Shakespeare; an undeveloped initiative of all the richness of the *Comedy*. I see him in nearly all the stories, the scenes of provincial life excepted, and if I have refrained it was from lack of talent to find an embracing line which would include all without loss or surplus. God knows, my thoughts have sought the fable day after day as we walk through the melancholy alleys of Fontainebleau or smoke cigars in the evening when his lady has gone to bed and he breaks forth like a bird into song. *It is then, whilst listening to his tale of old Palestinian duties, that I think of him as a rocky hill and myself as a sculptor who sees in the hull multitudinous art that he will never attain, his means being insufficient.*⁸

It was Dujardin the student of the Bible who turned to Moore's attention the artistic possibilities of biblical subjects. For Dujardin himself was never able to find ". . . a sufficiency of form for his dreams, whether they were poetic, philosophic, or religious,"⁹ as did Moore in *The Lake* and *The Brook Kerith*. *The Lake* is dedicated to Dujardin to compensate for Moore's appropriation of Dujardin's *La Source du Fleuve Chrétien* as the title of a book written by Ralph Ellis, one of the characters of the novel.

In the novel *The Lake* Moore fashioned the character of Ralph Ellis after Dujardin. In the last analysis, the book is the expression of the artist's own dissatisfaction with Catholicism and an Ireland which was proving uncongenial to his temperament and unreceptive of his efforts. *The Lake* is the story of Father Oliver Gogarth's tragic realization of his lack of vocation and of his illicit love for Rose Leicester, a love which he disguises as the profound and respectful interest of a priest in a wayward woman whom he had helped to banish from the parish. Together with the searing struggle to dissemble carnality and the futility of the passion is strengthened Gogarth's inward revolt against the unrelieved tedium of the parish life. At the very beginning Gogarth is found wishing himself ". . . away in a foreign country distracted every moment by new things, learning the language out of a volume of songs, and hearing music, any music, French or German—any

⁸ P. 210. The italics are mine.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

music but Irish music."¹⁰ We need only compare this yearning with the complaint made by Moore to Dujardin in a letter dated 24 September, 1902, to see that this sentiment was a personal one: "I should like to do something different—paint, model, write in French, anything to escape. For the moment I have had enough of the Gaelic League and of Ireland."¹¹

In London Rose has become the secretary of Ralph Ellis, the Dujardin of the novel. Like Dujardin, Ellis originally had been a poet, but had turned to biblical criticism when he realized his mediocrity as a poet.¹² But the poet in Ellis acts as an "agent in advance to the man of learning."¹³ Primarily, Ellis is concerned with poetizing certain of the minor prophets—Hosea, Amos, Daniel, Jeremiah. And this, precisely, is the concern of Dujardin in *La Source du Fleuve Chrétien*.¹⁴ In answer to one of Gogarth's pleading letters to return, Rose writes, "We are not theologians here; we are historians, and Mr. Ellis says the Bible is not only a book of revelation, it is also a history and it has a history. And it is the history of the Bible that interests us."¹⁵ This is the very point that Dujardin emphasizes in *La Source du Fleuve Chrétien*.¹⁶ Dujardin does not pretend to attack or defend religion; his avowed aim is simply to trace the Christian Religion back of its ultimate origins, without dwelling upon the truth or untruth of the Divinity.¹⁷ In the novel, Rose refers to Ellis's interest in the recent discovery of certain papyri which take the source of the Christian river farther back than Palestine—far back into central Asia. Dujardin, in his history, points out that the discovery of the papyri of Elephantine shows that the Jews of Elephantine knew

¹⁰ P. 6.

¹¹ *Letters from George Moore to Edouard Dujardin, 1886-1922*. (New York 1929), p. 44.

¹² "It will never be clear to me whether it was Kant or Nietzsche or Palestinian folk-lore that interrupted the successful administration of *Fin de Siècle* and *Jean qui Rit*, or whether the attractions that these newspapers once presented, had become stale. All things have their season, newspapers, religions, and ourselves, and Dujardin having outlived his music, his journalism, his betting, his poetry and play-writing, could not do else than turn into biblical criticism." (*Conversations in Ebury Street*, p. 215.)

¹³ *The Lake*, p. 121.

¹⁴ Pp. i-xv.

¹⁵ *The Lake*, p. 134.

¹⁶ Pp. xv-xxv.

¹⁷ See Helmut Bock, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-353.

nothing of Mosaic law in the middle of the fifth century.¹⁸ And furthermore, Ellis's enthusiastic discussions of Wagner's music and life identify him with the the editor of the *Revue Wagnérienne*. Gogarth's irresolvable dilemma, like Dujardin's indecision, must result in complete disjunction. "There is a lake in every man's heart . . . and every man must ungird his loins for the crossing."¹⁹

Dujardin furnished the raw material for *The Brook Kerith*. Not only had Dujardin turned Moore's attention to the fascination of biblical study, but also, in the pages of *La Source du Fleuve Chrétien* and in the long disputations the two had shared, he pointed the way Moore's Jesus was to take.²⁰ Moore's Jesus is understood in the light and shadow of the Jesus of *La Source du Fleuve Chrétien*. Dujardin traces the origin of Christianity back to what he calls "the humble composition of a series of fabulous and dogmatic narratives, written in the shadow of a poor temple in western Syria" ²¹ by several generations of fanatical priests for the instruction of a small nation that the disdainful Persians allowed them to govern. The Books of Moses were born of the imperious need felt by a little people of Jerusalem to create a past for itself, to give itself a legislation of divine origin, to legitimize its institutions, to consecrate its nationalistic ambitions, and to sanctify its hatred of outsiders or *goim*. In the face of the invading Hellenism which threatened to disrupt Jewish character, such prophets as Hosea, Amos, and Jeremiah arose. The powerful need was the exhortation of the contemporaries to faith in Jewish nationalism, symbolized by the name of Jahvah.

Among the new prophets who arose claiming to be precursors of the Messiah were John the Baptist and Jesus, whose authenticity Dujardin questions since "our authorities are the epistles of St. Paul,²² the gospel legends, and a few lines in pagan writers of the

¹⁸ P. xv.

¹⁹ *The Lake*, p. 309.

²⁰ Although *Le Dieu Mort et Ressuscité* appeared too late to afford immediate influence to Moore, still Dujardin must have passed most of its contents to Moore in long disputations.

²¹ *La Source du Fleuve Chrétien*, p. 89.

²² It is St. Paul who perpetuates the transgression of Jesus in *The Brook Kerith*, and it is St. Paul who, when presented with Moore's fifty-two year old Jesus among the Essenes, brands him a madman and rushes out to preach the resurrection of the son of God.

second century.”²³ But Dujardin does not wish to explain away Jesus; Jesus was very necessary. “Then through the Empire the news suddenly spread that the day of deliverance was at hand. . . . This novelty was taught by a Jew of Tarsus, in Syria, tent-maker by trade, Shaoul or Saul and afterwards Paul, by name.”²⁴

In *The Brook Kerith* Moore views Jesus, out of divine setting, historically as a man who arose to meet a need, one of Dujardin’s prophets of rare talent, but not the son of God. It was the last sentence of Dujardin’s book which moved Moore to show that the story of the death and resurrection of a divine Jesus was the fabrication of St. Paul, who anticipated Voltaire’s “même s’il n’y avait pas un Dieu, il faudrait en créer un.”

Moore assimilates Dujardin’s scepticism and his Jesus appears as an Essene and an eschatologist who does not die on the cross. Joseph of Arimathea secures permission from Pilate to remove the body of Jesus from the cross, and while arranging the body for burial, discovers that Jesus still lives. He restores Jesus to health, and Jesus, “startled at the thoughts that had been put into his mind, asking himself if any man had dared to ask himself if God were not indeed the last uncleanness of the mind,”²⁵ wearily goes back to the Essenes at the Brook Kerith. Years later Jesus, now a shepherd among the Essenes, hears the story of the Lord Jesus Christ from Paul who has, in his dissemination of the salvation attendant to all in the Lord Jesus Christ, wandered to the Essenes. Jesus is determined to expose Paul for “Paul is the enemy of Judaism and I am become the testimony.”²⁶ Jesus does encounter Paul and tries to show him that what he has preached is not true and that what he has suffered, he has suffered in vain. But Paul “did not doubt that he was speaking to a madman whose name, no doubt, was Jesus, and who had come from Nazareth and having got some inkling of the true story of the resurrection had little by little conceived himself to be he who had died that all might be saved.”²⁷

Like Dujardin, Moore takes care not to refute religion but rather to show Jesus as a product of what Taine would call “race, milieu, moment,” one whose exalted personality answered the dire need of an entire people and one who was made into a God by men who

²³ *La Source du Fleuve Chrétien*, p. 262.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

²⁵ *The Brook Kerith*, p. 276.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 473.

never knew him. Moore follows Dujardin in stripping Jesus of divinity and in presenting Him as an historical phenomenon misinterpreted "by a Jew of Tarsus, in Syria, a tentmaker by trade."²⁸ The Jesus of *The Brook Kerith*, for Moore, is an individual whose greatness lies in the fact that he has realized the error of his ways and has seen that true religion is a matter of the heart, of true virtue, rather than an affair of practice, dogma, theology, wrangling and violence.

"For many years, Paul, there were no thoughts in mind, or they were kept back, for I was without a belief; but thought returned to my desolate mind as the spring returns to these hills; and the next step in my advancement was when I began to understand that we may not think of God as a man who would punish men for doing things they have never promised not to do, or recompense them for abstinence from things they never promised to abstain from. Soon after I began to comprehend that the beliefs of our forefathers must be abandoned, and that if we would arrive at any reasonable conception of God, we must not put a stint upon him. . . . All things are God, Paul: thou art God and I am God, but if I were to say thou art man and I am God, I should be the madman that thou believest me to be . . . There is but one thing, Paul, to learn to live for ourselves, and to suffer our fellows to do likewise; all learning comes out of ourselves, and no one may communicate his thought; for his thought was given to him for himself alone. Thou art where I was once, thou hast learnt that sacrifices and observances are in vain, that God is in our heart; and it may be that in years to come thy knowledge will be extended, or it may be that thou hast reached the end of thy tether; we are all at tether, Paul."²⁹

The tragedy of the novel, like the tragedy of Vigny's *Mont des Oliviers* and Dujardin's *Le Dieu Mort et Ressuscité*, is incarnate in

²⁸ "Greetings and thanks to all the writers who have written in praise and blame of *The Brook Kerith*; also some admonitions and reproaches to them, for all have fallen into an error that I cannot but think cardinal—that at the end of *The Brook Kerith*, Jesus renounces his claim to divinity. But Jesus lays no claim to divinity in *The Brook Kerith*, neither in the beginning of his career nor at the end of it; the claim does not seem to me to be in accordance with the three synoptic gospels, and I would have my book derivative, and based on the many passages that seem to tell us that a pious Jew could not have done else but turn away horrified if any one of his disciples had asked him if he were the son of God, using the expression 'son of God' in the sense that it is used today in the churches" (*Ibid.*, p. vii). Cf. *La Source du Fleuve Chrétien*, pp. xv-xxv.

²⁹ *The Brook Kerith*, pp. 479-480.

Jesus's realization that this true religion will be vitiated by fanaticism and self-interest, and that nothing is to be done.

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IRVING AND MOORE: A NOTE ON ANGLO-AMERICAN LITERARY RELATIONS

The friendship of Washington Irving and Thomas Moore provides an interesting chapter in the history of Anglo-American literary relations in the earlier years of the nineteenth century. That the two men should ever have become intimates is especially surprising when one recalls the derisive comments on the Irish poet in *Salmagundi*:

A book's a friend—I always choose
To turn its pages and peruse;
It proved those poems known to fame
For praising every cyprian dame;
The bantlings of a dapper youth,
Renown'd for gratitude and truth;
A little pest, hight Tommy Moore,
Who hopp'd and skipp'd our country o'er;
Who sipp'd our tea and lived on sops,
Revel'd on syllabubs and slops,
And when his brain, of cobweb fine,
Was fuddled with five drops of wine,
Would all his puny loves rehearse,
And many a maid debauch—in verse.
Surprised to meet in open view,
A book of such lascivious hue,
I chid my nieces, but they say
'Tis all the passion of the day;
That many a fashionable belle
Will with enraptured accents dwell
On the sweet *morceau* she has found
In this delicious, curst compound!¹

¹ *The Works of Washington Irving*, Knickerbocker ed. (New York, 1869), xv, 120. Cf. also the poem in which "honest Bunyan's pious dreaming lore" is described as giving place to "the lascivious rhapsodies of Moore" (*Ibid.*, 159-160).

Moore himself, at about the same time, had no very high regard for things American. In 1804, for example, returning from his brief experience as registrar of an Admiralty court in Bermuda, he made a fairly lengthy and leisurely trip through what was then the really important part of America without finding anything worthy of approval apparently except the *Port Folio* group of Philadelphia. With these Anglophiles, Moore reported, he spent

the few agreeable moments which my tour through the States afforded me. Mr. Dennie has succeeded in diffusing through this elegant little circle that love for good literature and sound politics, which he feels so zealously himself, and which is so very rarely the characteristic of his countrymen. They will not, I trust, accuse me of illiberality for the picture which I have given of the ignorance and corruption that surround them. If I did not hate, as I ought, the rabble to which they are opposed, I could not value, as I do, the spirit with which they defy it; and in learning from them what Americans *can be*, I but see with the more indignation what Americans *are*.²

By the eighteen twenties, however, the *Salmagundi* sketch had been either forgotten or forgiven and Moore, in turn, had discovered in a popular New York man of letters what an American *can be*. Their friendship seems to have begun in 1819 in Paris, where Moore was residing as a temporary exile because of the defalcation of his Bermuda deputy and whither Irving had gone after his five-year sojourn in England. By the spring of 1820 the two men had become fast friends. The American, for example, wrote somewhat effusively to Henry Brevoort:

I have become very intimate with Anacreon Moore, who is living here with his family—scarce a day passes without our seeing each other and he has made me acquainted with many of his friends here. He is a charming joyous fellow—full of frank, generous, manly feeling. I am happy to say he expresses himself in the fullest and strongest manner on the subject of his writings on America; which he pronounces the great sin of his early life. . . . His acquaintance is one of the most gratifying things I have met with for some time; as he takes the warm interest of an old friend in me & my concerns.³

² H. M. Jones, *The Harp That Once—A Chronicle of the Life of Thomas Moore* (New York, 1937), p. 82; G. S. Gordon, *Anglo-American Literary Relations* (London, 1942), pp. 33-34; E. P. Oberholtzer, *The Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1906), p. 179.

³ G. S. Hellman (ed.), *The Letters of Washington Irving to Henry Brevoort* (New York, 1915), II, 144. The letter is dated March 10, 1821.

while the author was still at work on that part or, in other words, sometime between January and August of 1830, possibly during the spring or early summer.

More important, however, is the general subject matter of the first paragraph, Irving's very practical interest in furthering his friend's financial rewards in America. Moore was far from being indifferent to these activities of his admirer. In his diary for December 15, 1830, for example, he noted:

Breakfasted at home, expecting Washington Irving to call upon me, and employed in transcribing what remained unfinished of the copy I brought up. Irving came. My American business (that is, the negotiation for me with the American booksellers for their edition of the *Life of Byron*) was the subject I wished to speak to him upon. The sheets have been regularly sent, and he thinks there is no doubt of my receiving the money stipulated for.⁷

Irving did not need much coaxing. In addition to being one of his closest friends during this period, he was also excessively enthusiastic in his praise of Moore as the biographer of Byron. In 1829, for example, after having read the proof sheets, he wrote to Moore:

Your work will be a lasting monument in our literature of the great zeal & tender interest of one illustrious poet for the fame of another. . . . It is this which will give it a wonderful and enduring charm and which will send down the names of Byron & yourself to posterity in glorious companionship.⁸

Again in the same year he wrote to his brother Ebenezer a long letter accompanying the manuscript of the *Life* and urging him to handle it as if it were his own: ". . . that is to say, make the best bargain you can with some principal bookseller for the purchase of it. . . . I am extremely anxious that something very handsome should be procured for this work; therefore do not hesitate to ask a round sum."⁹

The letter here reproduced is, then, in appreciation of Irving's efforts in his behalf, even though his exertions obviously had not

⁷ *Ibid.*, vi, 158.

⁸ For the full quotation cf. S. T. Williams, *The Life of Washington Irving* (New York, 1935), II, 18.

⁹ Pierre Irving (ed.), *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving* (New York, 1865), II, 419-20.

yet succeeded in producing results of a specifically financial nature. Even several month later (January, 1831) Moore was still seeking Irving's intercession:

I don't like to bother a great diplomat such as you are about matters of the shop—particularly as you won't come and be bothered here where I could have my wicked will of you—but time flies, and the golden moment (or rather silver one) for the arrival of my dollars from America ought to be here. Do, like a good fellow, poke them up a little about it, as, if the cash doesn't come, I must—go.¹⁰

Actually, the American edition of the *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron: with Notices of his Life*, which had paralleled the printing of the first English edition (I, 1830; II, 1831), enriched the always debt-ridden Moore to the extent of approximately fifteen hundred dollars.¹¹

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SOME IRREGULAR FORMS IN OLD NORSE

I. *Þjófr: þjúfr* 'thief.' The phonetically correct form *þjúfr* occurs only sporadically. The normal OIcel. form *þjófr* (with *jó* before the labial *-f*) represents an anomaly which has never been explained. S. Bugge¹ has treated the form *-þjófr* as the second element of proper names but he has made no attempt to explain the irregular *-jó-*, instead of *-jú-*, in this form.

It seems unlikely that the *-jó-* in *þjófr* represents a dialectic survival of *jó* before the labial *f* as in OSwed. *þjöver*, *liöver*² (*liöver* = OIcel. *ljúfr*), for in that case it is inexplicable why a *-jó-* before *f* did not survive in any other established OIcel. form (cf. *ljúfr*).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 421.

¹¹ *Memoirs*, VI, 194 (May, 1831): "Forget whether I have, in any part of my journal, mentioned the course of my money transactions with Murray. At the time when he allowed me to avail myself of whatever I could get from France and America, for an early copy of 'Byron's Life,' to be published there, the sum agreed to by the American publisher was 333 l . . ."

¹ Cf. Sophus Bugge, *Arkiv*, VI, 225-236.

² Cf. Noreen, *Altschwedische Grammatik* ("Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte"), § 82, Anm. 1.

It is most likely that the *-jó-* in Oícel. *þjófr* is of later analogical origin, perhaps due to the influence of words with initial *þjó-*. With the exception of this one word *þjófr* I find no examples of the combination *þjú-*, whereas the combination *þjó-* occurs very frequently; cf. *þjó* 'thigh,' *þjó-nn* 'servant' and related words, *þjó-rr* 'bull,' *þjó-ta* 'howl': *þjó-str* 'anger, fury,' etc. Since the form *þjófr* represents the only example of the *þjú-*-type, it is possible that the normal form *þjófr* originated under the influence of the *þjó-*-type, i. e., that *-jó-* replaced *-jú-* because of the initial *þ-*, in spite of the following labial *f*. The anomalous form Oícel. *þjófr* has always been viewed from the standpoint of the labial *f* which followed the diphthong *-jó*, but if we view the problem from the standpoint of the initial *þ-*, we may perhaps explain the phonetic irregularity. Initial consonants often furnish the element upon which analogical forms are based; compare, e. g., *slá*, *sló* > *slera* after the pattern of *sá*, *sera* with initial *s-*, but never *þvá*, *þó* > **pvera* with initial *þ-* in spite of the contracted forms of the inf. *sá*: *þvá* with radical vowel *-a*.

II. *Ande* 'spirit.' In the sense of 'spirit' the acc. form *and-a* was occasionally displaced by the nom. form *and-e* (cf. *St. Hom.* and *No. Hom.*). This acc. form *and-e* cannot have been due to leveling in the sing. paradigm, for leveling within the paradigm otherwise always resulted in favor of the oblique cases, and we should therefore have expected a nom. form **and-a* identical with the acc. form *and-a* (cf. *herr-e*: *herr-a*, nom. sing.). The acc. sing. form *and-e* must therefore have been due to the influence of some other declensional type which preserved the ending *-e* in both the nom. and acc. form. Such a declensional type exists in the fem. *in*-stems (cf. *ell-e*, nom.-acc. form). Among the fem. *in*-abstracts are forms ending in the suffix *-and-e*, such as *hyggj-and-e* 'understanding, intelligence.' The type *hyggj-and-e*, nom.-acc. form, furnishes not only the suffix *-and-e* identical in form with the independent word *and-e*, but also an abstract sense 'intelligence' parallel to the abstract sense of *and-e* 'spirit.' Therefore, it is possible that the ending *-e* in the acc. sing. form *and-e* was borrowed from the nom. sing. form *and-e* under the influence of the declensional type *hyggj-and-e*, nom.-acc., in spite of the difference in gender. This hypothesis would account for the irregular leveling in favor of the nom. form *and-e* and seems all the more plausible in that only in the acc. sing. — never in the gen. and dat. sing. — and only in the *abstract* sense of 'spirit' — never in the concrete sense of

'breath' — does the form *and-e* occur in place of historically correct *and-a*.

III. *Fjós* > *þjós* 'cadaver of a whale.' In *fjós* > *þjós* we apparently have an isolated example of the shift of initial *f*- to *þ*- in ON. The primary form *fjós* has been explained as representing an earlier form **fljós* (< PGmc **fleus-ō* 'something cut or split off') with the loss of *-l-* due to dissimilation in conjunction with the *l* in *hval-* in the compound [*hval*] *-*fljós* > *-fjós*.³ Since the shift of initial *f*- > *þ* in ON seems to be restricted⁴ to this one example *fjós* > *þjós*, it seems most likely that this shift was not due to initial position but rather to further dissimilation in the compound *hval-fjós*. In this compound we have a labial spirant *v* (= *ʋ*) in *hval-* and a labial spirant *f* in *-fjós*. Therefore, *v:f* could have been dissimilated to *v:þ* (*hval-fjós* > *hval-þjós*) parallel to, e.g., the dissimilation of *f:f* (= *ǿ*) to *f:ð* in OIcel. *fi-f-rilde* > Mod. Icel. *fi-ð-rildi* 'butterfly'.⁵ This seems all the more probable in that only the form *þjós* survives in Mod. Icel. and is undoubtedly of late origin. According to both Fritzner and Cleasby-Vigfússon the form *þjós* occurs only in the *Jónsbók*. Since the citations are from the edition of 1709 (Holum), it is possible that the form *þjós* originated about this time.

IV. *Hjalm-þér* > *Hjalm-tér*. The irregular *t* for *þ* in *-þér* (< **þewar*) cannot be explained as phonetically correct. The most plausible explanation of this *t* is that it was borrowed from the form *-týr* with which it was associated in the compound *Hjalm-týr*. This assumption is supported by the fact that of all the proper names compounded with *-þér* none has a corresponding form in *-týr* and none appears with the irregular *t* for *þ* (cf. *Egg-þér*, *Ham-þér*, *Sig-þér*, etc.) except *Hjalm-þér*. That the element *-þér* could be confused with *-týr* is supported by the example of the proper name *Angan-týr*, which no doubt was originally identical with

³ Cf. A. Fick, *Vgl. Wörterbuch der indo-germ. Sprachen*, under *flus*, 2, spalten, 255, and Falk-Torp, *Norw.-Dan. etymologisches Wörterbuch* under *Flos*, II, Vol. I, 240.

⁴ Noreen (*Urgerm. Lautlehre*, § 54, 1) cites one other example in ON, viz., *fél:þél* 'Feile'; but it is not certain that these two forms are identical in origin.

⁵ The *-ð-* in Mod. Icel. *fi-ð-rildi* may be in part due to association with the *-ð-* in *fjo-ð-r* 'feather'; see *Walde-Pokorny*, II, 52. But this factor does not invalidate the hypothesis of dissimilation.

the OE *Ongen-þéow* = ON **Angan-þér* (re-formed to *Angan-týr*). Finally, the fact that the irregular *t* in *Hjalm-tér* was not preserved after the long vowel *é* had been shortened (i. e., **Hjalm-ter* parallel to *Hjalm-ðer*) is further evidence of association with the *t* in *-týr* before the long vowel *y*.

V. *The Adjectival Superlative Suffix -rst:-st.* In adjectives with the superlative suffix *-st* (< **-ist*) the *r* of the comparative suffix is occasionally carried over into the superlative form (cf. *fár, fê-re, fê-str* > *fê-rstr*; *ung, ó-re, ó-rstr*, etc.). This transference was evidently due to the example of adjectives in which an organic *r* of the stem syllable was present before the superlative suffix *-st*, such as *ver-re, ver-str*; *fyr-re, fyr-str*, especially since, through loss⁶ of this *r*, doublet forms resulted, *verstr:vestr, fyrstr:fystr*, parallel to the type *fêstr:fêrstr*. Confusion between organic and inorganic *r* could thus easily have led to the transference in question (cf. the similar confusion in the nominal declension, such as *Tý-r, Tý-s* > *Týr-s* after the pattern of *dýr, dýrs*). This confusion was possible only in the *i*-type of comparison, where the *r* immediately preceded the suffix and thus could be felt either as a part of the stem or as belonging to the suffix. No such confusion was possible in the *ô*-type of comparison, where on account of the intervening vowel *a* an organic *r* could not immediately precede the suffix (cf. *vittr-are, vittr-astr*, hence always *spak-are, spak-astr*, never **spak-arstr*, parallel to *ver-str:fê-rstr*).

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CHAUCER REDIVIVUS

Early in 1944, when the Americans were massing in England against the invasion of Normandy, there appeared in *Punch* the following unsigned poem entitled "The Warden":

With hem ther cam a man of smale lengthe,
Yet thik and brood, and therwith gret of strengthe;
Certes, he nas nat lyk a pyned goste;
I gesse he was the maister of a poste,

⁶ Through assimilation of *rs* > *ss* (cf. *fors* > *foss*) and the simplification of *ss* > *s* before the *t* of the suffix.

And keppe wel for everich incidente
 Ther as he hadde warde and gouvernemente.
 He hadde a murie chere, and eyen brighte,
 And sayde he coude see a shining lighte
 Though it were dark with blindes half a score,
 Or shoon but at the kinkes of a dore.
 Whan that the hoine waylede up and doune
 Ther nas no man so quik to here his soun;e
 He waytede ofte on everich happe and chaunce;
 Of bombes coude he al the olde daunce.
 For his arraye, he was accoutred wel:
 His hat was round as it were any bel,
 And ther-on stod y-write a twinned U;
 His shoon were stoute; his habergeoun was blew;
 Therto he heng his lanterne al bfore;
 Nobby he highte: soth, I noot namore.¹

It is obvious from these verses that they are the work of a man steeped in *The Canterbury Tales*. They are in good Chaucerian English, with many an echo of Chaucer's own phrasing; they are in the riming couplets that Chaucer used so effectively; they follow the pattern that Chaucer laid down for himself in lines 38-41 of the Prologue; and they capture the spirit of the portraits of those fourteenth-century pilgrims who made the journey from Southwark to Canterbury.

In subsequent issues of *Punch* other pieces in the same manner, though of different lengths and varying degrees of excellence, were published, the work of G. H. Vallins.² And lest they be overlooked by Chaucer scholars, a list of these other portraits of wartime Englishmen is given here:

The Sergeant-Major	ccvi (16 February 1944), 136
The Land Girl	ccvi (23 February 1944), 160
The Announcer	ccvi (1 March 1944), 176
The Merchant Seaman	ccvi (22 March 1944), 246
The Housewife	ccvi (26 April 1944), 354
The Scolemistresse	ccvii (13 September 1944), 225
The Soldier	ccvii (11 October 1944), 311

¹ *Punch* ccvi (26 January 1944), 70 Quotation from these verses is made with the kind permission of the proprietors of *Punch*.

² The name of the author is revealed in the semi-annual index to *Punch*. It may be noted in passing that Vallins does not confine himself to imitations of Chaucer. He has published in *Punch* verses in the manner of many of Chaucer's successors from Spenser to Housman.

The Conductresse	ccvii (18 October 1944), 330
The Enginer	ccviii (3 January 1945), 10
The Poste-Wif	ccviii (14 February 1945), 138

Shortly after the defeat of the Germans there was published in the same magazine "And Pilgrims were they Alle," verses which may be compared to the links in the framework of *The Canterbury Tales*. Stopping for the night at "a litel toun y-clept Ospringe," the pilgrims are addressed in high seriousness by The Announcer:

Thinketh on hem that in this fighte han fought
 With brave intende, and al this work han wrought,
 And of this londe were the strength and sheeld;
 But som are ded up-on a ferne feeld,
 That were oure frendes dere, and come nat hame,
 And for hem alle we han grete greef and grame.³

Whereupon the pilgrims pass a while in meditation, from which they are roused by The Host:

"Now drinketh," quod oure Host, "bi-fore ye go,
 For we are in o felawshipe y-bonde
 With men and wommen in this faire londe,
 And with hem alle that in the werre were slayn,
 Both neigh and fer, and come nat back ageyn,
 That to us alle, y-wis, were lief and dere.
 I preye yow drinke your wine, and han god chere."

The war over, Vallins' Chaucerian imitations have continued, though they do not appear so frequently as they once did. In what may well be an incomplete series of portraits of English sportsmen five pieces have been published:

The Golfer	ccix (17 October 1945), 332
The Footballer	ccx (13 March 1946), 219
The Cricceter	ccx (26 June 1946), 548
The Darts Player	ccxi (4 September 1946), 184
The Motor Cyclist	ccxi (30 October 1946), 370

None of these are, of course, great poems, for they are but examples of the imitator's skill. Yet they are deserving of mention because they make up another chapter in the unfinished volume on Chaucer's modernity.

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³ *Punch* ccviii (9 May 1945), 398.

BEOWULF AND GRENDEL: AN ANALOGUE FROM
BURMA

A hitherto unrecorded analogue to the Beowulf-Grendel fight is to be found in an article recently published in *The American Scholar*.¹ Writing of Burmese legends told him during his service with O. W. I. in Burma by an American, a missionary's son who had spent his childhood in that region, Adie Suehsdorf introduces his readers to the "tok":

Worst of all is the "tok." This is an ape-like creature of pure horror, somewhat like Beowulf's Grendel. My friend was not reluctant to speak of the "tok," but the pleasure went out of his voice. He had seen the demon twice. Once he had wrestled with it and nearly lost his life.

It was in eastern Burma that he was awakened one night by a noise in the living room of his bungalow. Taking a shotgun, he entered the room. A shaft of moonlight cut across it, and in the darkness beyond was the beast. The man fired and hit the thing full in the chest. Streaming blood, it leapt upon him and in silence they wrestled, each seeking to throttle the other.

My friend always lost himself at this point. He grew vague on details, but stuck, like a browbeaten but dogged witness, to his main points: the terror that gripped him, and the feel of the rough hair on the heaving, living body of the "tok."

The struggle ended when the "tok" suddenly broke away and ran out into the night, leaving my friend exhausted and with a handful of its hair.

In daylight (and here he grew firmer again), he followed the "tok's" blood-stained trail till it vanished in the jungle beside a plant which the natives use to stanch their wounds. He has never seen the creature since.²

Though Suehsdorf casually refers to the similarity between the "tok" and Grendel, he is not concerned with pointing out specific likenesses between his friend's struggle and the first of Beowulf's great fights. It is, therefore, proper to note here that in the Burmese tale and in the Old English poem, there is (1) a terrifying monster known to men; (2) a nocturnal visitation of the monster to the dwelling-place of men; (3) a wrestling-match between the monster and a man; (4) a hasty departure of the monster, with a part of itself left in the man's possession; (5) a

¹ Adie Suehsdorf, "Burma Was Jungle Noises," *The American Scholar* xv (Summer, 1946), 356-359.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 358-359.

trail of blood by which, next day, the man can follow the monster's course; (6) the disappearance of the monster from the haunts of men after that fight.

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ANOTHER NOTE ON DRYDEN'S USE OF GEORGES DE SCUDÉRY'S *ALMAHIDE*

In an earlier article,¹ I pointed out that since Dryden made use of Georges de Scudéry's *Almahide* as the source of *Almanzor and Almahide*, he could have found his inspiration for the episode of Ozmyn and Benzayda in the intercalated story of Abdalla and Fatime, also in *Almahide* (vi, p. 2581 ff.). In that article I did not offer any evidence to refute Mr. Montague Summers' inference that Dryden possibly made use of the episode of Osman and Alibech in *Ibrahim*.²

It seems apparent that Dryden did not use *Ibrahim* for the following reasons:

As cited above, the main details of the episode are to be found in *Almahide*. Having found the model for a beautiful love story in his principal source, why then should he have found it necessary to seek out another version in a second work?

In *Ibrahim*, the hero's father is moved to consent to the marriage of his son to Alibech, not as a result of a change of heart but because of the generous dowry offered by the Sultan Soliman. In Dryden's play and in *Almahide* an obdurate heart is finally moved to compassion by the spirit of self-sacrifice evinced by the two lovers in a combat of generosity, and especially by the *vertu* of the heroine. Note the similarity between the following lines:

Abenamar. Yes, I am vanquish'd! the fierce conflict's past;
And shame it self is now o'come at last.

Benzayda, 'twas your Vertue vanquish'd me:
That, could alone surmount my Cruelty.

(Dryden, Part II, Act IV, Sc. 1, p. 132)

¹ "Dryden's Use of Scudéry's *Almahide*," *MLN*, LIX (March, 1939), 190-2.

² *Dryden, the Dramatic Works*, III, 12, London, the Nonesuch Press, 1932.

Je suis vaincu, ô trop genereuse Fille! s'écria Palsi votre vertu est plus forte que ma cruauté: & je ne luy sçaurois plus resister.

(*Almahide*, vi, p. 2860, ll. 6 ff.)

Elsewhere I find:

Ozmyn. Alas, 'tis counterfeited rage; he [Selin] strives

But to divert the danger from our lives.

For, I can witness, Sir, and you might see

How in your person he consider'd me.

He still declin'd the Combate where you were;

(*loc. cit.*, p. 131)

Considerez donc Seigneur, lui [Palsi] dit Isa . . . si vous pouvez sans iniustice, vous resoudre à la perte d'un homme, qui voyant son Pere Captif, a pourtant eu assez de respect, pour ne vous combattre point, parce que vous estes le mien?

(*loc. cit.*, p. 2857, ll. 7 ff.)

All action in Dryden's play, such as the clashes between the two fathers, takes place, as in *Almahide*, on land. In *Ibrahim* the principals engage in sea battles. In one incident in *Almahide* the two parents attempt to engage in hand-to-hand fighting; the hero stands between them and parries the one and the other's blows. Likewise, in Dryden, Ozmyn shields the body of Benzayda's father with his own while parrying the blows struck against the latter by his own father. (Act II, p. 104, Summers ed.)

There are several important differences between Dryden's episode and the original. In the former, it is Selin, Benzayda's father, who is captive of Abenamar, Ozmyn's father, as the action moves to its conclusion. The situation is reversed in *Almahide*, for it is Isa's father, Palsi, whose heart must be moved to release her lover's father and consent to their marriage. In *Almahide* the two parents, members of the principal warring factions in Granada, have been unjustly discredited and in revenge have turned to piracy. In Dryden, piracy is deleted. In *Almahide* the two lovers invoke the aid of intermediaries to win their fathers over, while in Dryden's play they are victors through their own words and acts.

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HENRY NEEDLER'S KNOWLEDGE OF SHAFTESBURY¹

C. A. Moore has expressed the opinion that Henry Needler was the first literary follower of Shaftesbury, an opinion based primarily on parallel passages from Shaftesbury in the footnotes to *The Works of Mr. Henry Needler . . . Publish'd by Mr. Duncombe* (London, 1728, 2nd ed.) and on a letter of December 3, 1711, from Needler to William Duncombe, the editor of his works.² In this letter Needler discusses the Cartesian doctrine of animal insensibility and the problem of individual consciousness (two matters touched upon by Shaftesbury), thanks Duncombe for sending him "the fine *Philosophical Meditations* of my Lord *Shaftesbury*," and concludes with a rhapsodic prose-hymn in praise of nature and providence, which he particularly ascribes to the inspiration of Shaftesbury's meditations. Herbert Drennon, disagreeing with Moore's interpretation, has pointed out that the footnotes to Needler's works are Duncombe's, not Needler's, and has asserted that as far as he knows Needler never "referred to Shaftesbury except in the letter of December 3, 1711."³ He also suggested that this letter indicates Needler's first acquaintance with Shaftesbury, and that Needler had not read *The Moralists* or the *Characteristics*, but had seen only "the fine *Philosophical Meditation*" in the form of a passage copied out of Shaftesbury by Duncombe and sent to Needler in a letter.

There are two other relevant published letters, which show that Needler was quite familiar with Shaftesbury's works and that he, rather than Duncombe, was considered as the authority on Shaftesbury.⁴ The two, one by Duncombe and the other by Needler, continue the discussion begun in Needler's letter of December 3, 1711. On December 8, 1711, Duncombe replies to this letter with a long paraphrase of two numbers of the *Spectator* (120, 121) supporting the theory that animal instinct is owing to the immediate

¹ This note was written during research on the influence of Shaftesbury carried on with the support of a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

² "Shaftesbury and the Ethical Poets in England, 1700-1760," *PMLA*, xxxi (1916), 264-325.

³ "Henry Needler and Shaftesbury," *PMLA*, xlvi (1931), 1095-1106.

⁴ John Duncombe, *Letters by Several Eminent Persons Deceased* (London, 1773), 2nd ed., 3 vols. i (Letters xix and xx), pp. 75-93.

direction of the supreme Being and with a lengthy anecdote of his own to show that animals have a real soul and rational faculties, inferior to human. Then he quotes a paragraph from "the *Epistolae Miscellanae* annexed to Mr. Raphson's *Demonstratio de Deo*, p. 67" concerning the nature of the soul.

Remarkable of old was the opinion of those (and it is still embraced by some) that the soul is a ray, as it were, or emanation, of the Deity. Of this opinion formerly were the Stoics, and among the moderns are some enthusiasts, whom it is needless to name. Nor do those philosophers deserve more notice, who have established a "common intelligence," or a "sole universal intellect," which they style the "Agent," and impart it to mankind in proportion to the various minds and dispositions of their organs. Similar to this among the moderns are the notions of Spinoza.

Duncombe then gives his reasons for transcribing this passage:

1. To desire you to explain to me the difference between these notions; for Mr. R. speaks as of two distinct opinions, whereas they seem to me to be but one, and the same. And 2. That I might not be thought too severe in saying, that if lord Shaftesbury be one of those enthusiasts, of whom Mr. R. here speaks, and if his "universal genius" is the same as is here called the "universal intellect," I do not see how he can believe the immortality of the soul, considered as one distinct individual being; since it is plain, according to these notions, that the mind will, at the dissolution of the body, be swallowed up in the infinite abyss of being.⁵

In a letter of December 20, 1711, Needler expresses an opinion on these subjects as well as on the various theories concerning animals, preferring the Cartesian mechanistic hypothesis, which makes all the actions of beasts the necessary effects of the laws of motion, to the *Spectator's* theory, which resolves their actions into "the external impulse and operation of the Divine Power." On the notions concerning the soul—the principles which concern Shaftesbury—Needler's comments are revealing. He cites Blount's comparison in the *Oracles of Reason* of the soul, when joined to the body, to a small portion of the sea enclosed in a vial; and when separated from the body, to the same water restored to the ocean.

⁵ It is extremely doubtful that Raphson was speaking of Shaftesbury since the letter which Duncombe translates is dated December 14, 1706. Joseph Raphson, *Demonstratio de Deo sive Methodus ad cognitionem Dei naturalem brevis ac demonstrativa* (londini, 1710), p. 71. The only works of Shaftesbury published at this time were the anonymous preface to *Select Sermons of Dr. Whichcote*, 1698, and the anonymous *An Inquiry concerning Virtue and Merit*, 1699.

by the breaking of the vial. Needler regards this simile as absurd since God is an uncompounded being, and one cannot pluck off "snips and pieces from the Divine Essence." Needler condemns, in addition to the enthusiasts who entertain these notions of a Deity divisible into separate particles, those also who, like Spinoza, assume the same common intellect to be imparted to all men. He cannot without satisfaction, he continues,

observe these pernicious opinions (which undermine the foundations of religion, and blast all our hopes of immortality and future happiness, by taking away the personal distinction of the soul after death), so easily refuted and overthrown.

At this point he focusses the discussion upon Shaftesbury.

I must confess there are some passages in lord Shaftesbury's "meditations," which seem to favour this notion; but, however, I believe there are none (allowance being made for the warmth and freedom of his style) which there is any necessity of understanding in that ill sense. It would be great pity that so pious and elevated a strain of devotion should be tainted with such poisonous notions. I find, though his lordship is reported not to frequent the church, he does not altogether neglect religion. He seems to be of the opinion of the *Quietists*, who believe that the most acceptable worship of the Deity, and that which suits best with his spiritual nature, consists in silent contemplation and inward adoration of his infinite perfections.

This paragraph vindicates Moore to the extent of revealing Needler to be acquainted with Shaftesbury's works and perhaps his personal life as well.

The establishing of Needler's knowledge of Shaftesbury does not greatly affect the general thesis of Drennon's article, that other writers besides Shaftesbury could have influenced the passages in Needler's works which resemble the *Characteristics*, but the probability is increased that Shaftesbury's influence did count materially. The significance of the parallel passages suggested by Duncombe should not be entirely discounted, for it seems plausible that Duncombe, Needler's close friend and patron, should have some notion of Needler's intellectual history. Drennon is willing to accept Duncombe's parallel between Newton and Needler. Why then must we reject those parallels referring to Shaftesbury?

Any paragraph from Needler's essay "On the Beauty of the Universe," which imitates Shaftesbury's glowing descriptions of innumerable details in the universe from insects to suns, would

seem natural coming from the lips of Theocles. The rhapsody in both the letter to Duncombe and in "On the Beauty of the Universe" could have been inspired by Henry More's *Divine Dialogues* or the appendix to John Norris's *The Theory and Regulation of Love*, close analogues to *The Moralists*, but the letter to Duncombe, which Needler himself attributes to the influence of Shaftesbury, has less resemblance to *The Moralists* than has "On the Beauty of the Universe." The possibility of Shaftesbury's influence cannot be discarded.

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AUTHENTICITY OF "THE WISH" AS A ROCHESTER POEM

That witty little six-line poem called "The Wish," dealing with the regeneration of a man within the womb of his mistress, has apparently been unquestionably accepted into the body of Rochester's poetical works. It is included without editorial qualm in the two modern collected editions, that of Mr. John Hayward (Nonesuch Press, 1926) and that of Mr. Quilter Johns (Haworth Press, 1933); its authenticity has likewise not been questioned elsewhere.

The poem does not occur in the earliest collected editions of Rochester's works. Mr. Hayward reprints it from the 1731 edition and Mr. Johns, identically, from that of 1739; it appeared in the editions of 1714 and 1721 as well as in many later editions. Its presence, with an attribution to Rochester, in an important Harvard manuscript collection compiled between approximately 1680 and 1685¹ might be expected to confirm the accepted authorship, especially in view of the lack of other contemporary authority.

It seems to have been overlooked, however, that the poem appeared in print in 1661 in the second part of *Merry Drollery* under the title "Insatiate Desire."² Although one is not inclined to

¹ MS Eng 636F, pp. 75-76. I am indebted to the Librarian of The Houghton Library of Harvard University for permission to publish from this manuscript; I expect to communicate from it in the near future certain material dealing with Rochester and other Restoration poets.

² The songs from the 1661 *Merry Drollery* which (like this one) do not appear in later editions (1670, 1691) are included in J. Woodfall Ebsworth's edition of *Choyce Drollery: Songs & Sonnets* (Boston, Lincolnshire, 1876). "Insatiate Desire," p. 239.

argue against Rochester's precocity in certain fields, it is incredible that he composed this mature piece at such an age that it could find its way into print in a drollery by the time that he was barely fourteen. The fact that he had entered Oxford a year and a few months earlier and the gratuitous speculation by Professor V. de Sola Pinto that he contracted venereal disease during his residency there³ cannot account for the experience—much less the skill—displayed in the poem. Furthermore, disregarding the three juvenile pieces said to have been written at the age of twelve (but probably in whole or in part by Robert Whitehall),⁴ Rochester's poetical career has not been shown to have commenced until some four years after this time. Perhaps regretfully, one must omit "the Wish" from the list of genuine Rochester pieces.

For such interest as the poem may have for its own sake, a collation is presented of the drollery, manuscript, and eighteenth-century versions mentioned above.⁵ Although the readings are quite similar, only for the fifth line are they all identical. No one is uniformly outstanding, and each is in one or more particulars superior to the others.

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AN ATTEMPTED PIRACY OF *THE DUENNA*

Although the sensational popularity of *The Duenna* in November, 1775 made a large section of the reading public eager to see the

³ *Rochester* (London, John Lane, 1935), pp. 11-12.

⁴ For titles and texts, see Hayward, pp. 49-51. For comment, see Hayward, p. 330 and Vincent de Sola Pinto, pp. 12-13.

⁵ *Merry Drollery* — *D*; Harvard Manuscript — *MS*; Eighteenth-century version as typified in the 1731 and 1739 editions — *18*. (Variations in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are ignored.)

Title. Insatiate Desire (*D*) | The Wish (*MS*), (*18*).

1. could by any (*D*) | could by some new (*MS*); now cou'd, by some (*18*).

2. To sperme, convert my spirit (*D*) | Transfuse my Sperme, my Vitalls (*MS*); To sperme convert my Vitalls (*18*).

3. That (*D*), (*18*) | And (*MS*): I might my (*D*), (*18*) | my verry (*MS*).

4. And in her w... my self degenerate (*D*) | Into her Womb and bee regenerate (*MS*); And in the Womb myself regenerate (*18*).

6. Then (*D*), (*18*) | And (*MS*): (*D*) | Swine (*MS*); ... (*18*): back (*D*), (*MS*) | out (*18*).

book of the opera, Sheridan and Thomas Harris (to whom Sheridan later sold the copyright) withheld the full text until 1794, when the opera had cooled in the affections of the theatre-goers. But theatre custom and public demand were both met when the songs, printed for T. Wilkie and T. Evans, were placed on sale almost immediately after the *première*. From these printed songs and from the memories of men like Tate Wilkinson, *The Governess* and other piratical texts of *The Duenna* were compiled,¹ undoubtedly to the indignation of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. The following résumé of a previously unnoted Chancery suit² reveals an effort by him to reserve to himself his right in music.

The Duenna was first performed 21 November 1775; the music was published within two months, 8 January 1776. Sheridan's success stimulated the foremost music publisher of London, Charles and Samuel Thompson, to purchase the music copyright for £150, plus £50 more if the opera played more than thirty nights, and £50 more for a sixty night run. One hundred pounds was paid on agreement.

Straightway the Thompsons had the words and music engraved, "at a very great Expence," and published several copies of the book at ten shillings sixpence. But just as Ryder and others pirated the words, so still others attempted to pirate the music. In their Bill of Complaint, sworn 18 April 1776, Sheridan and the Thompson's charged

that one Robert Falkener of Peterborough Court Fleet Street London hath lately. . . . Printed Published and Sold as your Orators charge for a very large Profit several of the Words and Music of the said Composition and still Continues and persists so to do.

In an attempt to stop Falkener, Sheridan wrote him a note, 6 March, pointing out that *The Duenna* had been entered at Stationers Register on 2 March and that any unpermitted publication would be prosecuted. Falkener disregarded Sheridan's warning, however, and advertised in the *Daily Advertiser*, 7 March 1776, that the public might buy at one penny a page "Eight of the most favourite

¹ See *The Plays & Poems of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, ed. R. Crompton Rhodes (Oxford, 1928), I, 255-276.

² Public Records Office C12/1355/14, Bill of Complaint of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Charles Thompson, and Samuel Thompson, 18 April 1776.

Songs" in *The Duenna* at J. Bland's place at 114 Long Acre. Sheridan and the Thompsons alleged that the overture and the eleven songs were included in this piracy.³ The three complainants asked that a writ of subpoena be issued against Falkener and that, accounting for his profits, he surrender them to the rightful owners of *The Duenna* copy.

In his answer, sworn August 1779, Falkener admitted that it might be true that Sheridan had written *The Duenna*, that the Thompsons may have agreed to publish it, and that Sheridan may have entered it in the Stationers' Register. As to the music, Falkener stated that

he did print and Sell some music notes part of his own Composing and other Part thereof taken from Music Notes some of which had been printed upwards of forty years ago as this Defendant believes, and others of them had been printed upwards of Twenty eight years ago and both which Periods of time being many years before the alleged Composition or Music or work.⁴

Falkener added that the money which he had received from this publication had been "trifling and inconsiderable"; furthermore, on being served with an injunction from the court he had stopped printing the work.

As in many cases like this, nothing but the Bill and Answer seems to have survived. There is no reason to doubt Falkener's statement that he had stopped printing upon being served with an injunction. Undoubtedly he realized that an insistence upon his alleged right would involve a greater expense than the sum of the contemplated profits. Anyhow, Sheridan was apparently successful in his appeal to the court, for all copies of the Falkener printing seem to have disappeared.

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³ The songs listed in the Bill are the ones printed today in Rhodes' edition: I, 194, 198, 200, 203, 207, 214, 224, 227, 233, 236, and 237

⁴ C12/1355/14, Answer of Robert Falkener to the Bill and to the Revivor, dated 30 August 1779. The Revivor had been required because of the death of one of the plaintiffs, Charles Thompson, on 10 February 1777. The Bill of Revivor is dated 13 January 1778; in it the plaintiffs stated that Falkener had been served an injunction on 7 May 1776.

"SOOTH" IN DE LA MARE, KEATS, AND MILTON

Readers of Walter De la Mare's pleasant fantasy *Sam's Three Wishes: or Life's Little Whirligig* may well have lingered appreciatively over the description of small Sammie's mother with her

. . . smooth, clear cheek,
Lips as sooth as a blackbird's beak . . .

without being inquisitive as to how *sooth* became a synonym for *smooth*.

As De Selincourt acknowledges in his edition of Keats,¹ H. Buxton Forman was the first to observe that Keats' employment of *soother* in the oft-quoted line from *The Eve of St. Agnes*,

With jellies soother than the creamy curd,

is "in a measure indebted to Milton's use of the superlative 'the *soothest* shepherd,' *Comus*, 823," though Keats changes its meaning to *softer* or *smoother*. Keats' own use of the superlative may be observed in the sonnet addressed to "*soothest* Sleep," wherein the epithet presumably carries the same distortion of meaning.

Apparently Keats departed from all precedent in his interpretation of this word simply because of a misunderstanding that can easily be explained. Though fully possessed of the fact that the allegorical reference to "old Meliboeus" in *Comus* as "the *soothest* shepherd that ever piped on plain" is but a thinly disguised poetic compliment to his own and Milton's favorite poet, Spenser, Keats himself did not quite share Milton's view of Spenser. To Milton, Spenser was a great moralist, "a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas," *soothest* being employed by Milton in its legitimate Middle English or Chaucerian meaning of *most truthful*. To Keats, on the contrary, Spenser was chiefly endeared as a mellifluous, sweet or *smooth*-voiced singer of limpid verse, not a moral teacher at all; hence Keats' unusual employment of an epithet picked up from his reading of *Comus* and introduced into the English language, in this new sense, according to the *NED*, by Keats in the poems of 1819 and 1820.

In De la Mare's perpetuation of this significance of the word,

¹ Sixth Revised Edition (1935), p. 471.

never a popularly accepted one, lies fairly conclusive evidence of the same sort of poetic appropriation from *The Eve of St. Agnes* that Keats had himself made from *Comus*, but at least De la Mare has contented himself with the meaning as Keats left it.

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A NOTE ON THE SETTING OF MARY NOAILLES
MURFREE'S "THE 'HARNT' THAT WALKS
CHILHOWEE"

Although the general setting of Mary Noailles Murfree's story, "The 'Harnt' that Walks Chilhowee" is her usual vague and romantic one, three details of the description appear to localize it on Chilhowee Mountain in Blount County, Tennessee, above the site of Montvale Springs hotel: the road leading down the mountain from the Giles cabin and passing a fork, the scene of Reuben Crabb's "murder," is on the mountain's western side (on its eastern side the road does not fork); it is a mile to this fork from the cabin, or from the top of the mountain; it is eight miles "along the ridge" from the cabin to Crabb's house near a sulphur spring, which is the distance between Montvale and Alleghany or Yellow Sulphur Springs, also at the foot of Chilhowee Mountain.¹

Miss Murfree did visit Montvale Springs in the fall of 1885, when she presumably gathered material for *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains*.² If the internal evidence of "The 'Harnt'" is admitted, she was there before June 1882, when she announced the story ready for publication.

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¹ *In the Tennessee Mountains* (Boston, 1894), pp. 304, 307, 310, 316, 318, 295, 307, 294

² Edd Winfield Parks, *Charles Egbert Craddock* (Chapel Hill, c 1941), pp. 129-131.

REVIEWS

The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth: Miscellaneous Sonnets, Memorials of Various Tours, Poems Dedicated to National Independence and Liberty, The Egyptian Maid, The River Duddon Series, The White Doe and Other Narrative Poems, Ecclesiastical Sonnets. Edited by E. DE SELINCOURT and HELEN DARBISHIRE. Oxford: Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1946. Pp. xxiv + 596. \$6.50.

"When he died, in May 1943," Miss Darbishire informs us, "Professor de Selincourt left the copy for the last three volumes of this edition of Wordsworth's Poetical Works in a state substantially ready for publication, with injunctions that I should see it through the press." But since Miss Darbishire had done a good deal on the manuscript of this, as of the preceding volumes,¹ her part is not limited to seeing the work through the press. This third volume includes most of the poet's sonnets and memorials of tours together with *The White Doe*. It is greatly to be hoped that the two remaining parts will contain not only the other minor poems and *The Excursion* but *The Prelude*. Nearly a third of the present volume is given over to notes: those the poet published, those he dictated to Miss Fenwick, extracts from letters and Dorothy's journals, parallels, and matters of fact. Although there is little comment and almost no discussion of the purpose or meaning of the several poems, what is new in the notes is always admirable and it is a great assistance to have all the relevant information about a poem brought together for the first time in one place.

The previously-unpublished readings of manuscripts show that Wordsworth's revisions were generally improvements but otherwise they are rarely noteworthy. The first two lines of the sonnet "Composed on a May Morning, 1838":

Life with yon Lambs, like day, is just begun,
Yet Nature seems to them a heavenly guide,

were originally:

Yon mountain lambs whose life is just begun,
A guidance know, to Man's grave years denied.

The sonnet, "O Friend! I know not which way I must look For comfort," at first began, "Coleridge! I know not. . . ." The im-

¹ See *MLN* for November, 1943 and March, 1945.

pressive acknowledgment of Wordsworth's debt to Burns "Whose light . . ."

showed my youth
How Verse may build a princely throne
On humble truth

formerly read:

When, breaking forth like Nature's own,
And led my youth
To Poesy that built her throne
On simple truth²

To the poem following the one from which this last quotation is taken, "Thoughts Suggested the Day Following," Wordsworth added in 1842 a note which is here published for the first time. I quote the significant parts of it:

Familiarity with the dialect of the border counties of Cumberland and Westmorland made it easy for me not only to understand but to feel them [Burns' poems]. It was not so with his contemporary or rather his predecessor Cowper. . . . It gives me pleasure, venial I trust, to acknowledge at this late day my obligations to these two great authors [Burns and Cowper], whose writings, in conjunction with Percy's *Reliques*, powerfully counteracted the mischievous influence of Darwin's dazzling manner, the extravagance of the earlier dramas of Schiller, and that of other German writers upon my taste and natural tendencies. May these few words serve as a warning to youthful Poets who are in danger of being carried away by the inundation of foreign literature, from which our own is at present suffering so much, both in style and points of far greater moment. True it is that in the poems of Burns, as now collected, are too many reprehensible passages; but their immorality is rather the ebullition of natural temperament and a humour of levity than a studied thing: whereas in these foreign Writers, and in some of our own country not long deceased (and in an eminent deceased Poet of our own age), the evil, whether of voluptuousness, impiety, or licentiousness, is courted upon system, and therefore is greater, and less pardonable.³

RAYMOND D. HAVENS

Wordsworth's Reading of Roman Prose. By JANE WORTHINGTON.

New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946. Pp. xvi + 84.
\$2.50.

Miss Worthington has done a substantial service to Wordsworth scholarship by reminding us, with documentary proof, that the

² It would seem that some unrecorded change in the manuscript fitted the first line quoted to those that follow. Cf. p. 442 n. where a later correction cannot be substituted for the text unless changes are made.

³ Pp. 441-2. This note was added in manuscript to the note which Wordsworth printed after the poem in 1842 and later editions. Knight does not give the note Wordsworth printed but cites the passages from Dorothy's journal on which the note was based.

poet was a serious reader of Roman historical writers and stoics, and that his philosophy was deeply stamped with Roman modes of thought. Like the Roman historians and biographers, he believed implicitly that liberty and good government are possible only where private virtues flourish. In his judgments on contemporary politics, he considered that he was guided by general principles rather than by considerations of expediency; and in his notorious shift from democratic to aristocratic views, Miss Worthington insists that it was not the principles that altered but Wordsworth's opinion as to the measures actually needed for securing the commonwealth against an "immoral" despotism. In his radical phase it was his faith in the virtue of the common people that led him to advocate a strictly democratic form of government. In his conservative phase, men of property had become for him the chief exponents of virtue, and it was "petty Artizans, Shop-keepers, and Pothouse Keepers" who represented the immediate menace to English liberties.

Miss Worthington does not suggest what personal factors may have contributed to bringing about this startling *volte-face*; she undertakes no critical analysis of the poet's basic assumptions in either period. It is not clear whether she realizes Wordsworth's extreme semantic naiveté in his use of words like "virtue" and "liberty"—his failure to work out the causal connections between virtue and, on the one hand, wealth and privilege, or, on the other, the moral state of men deprived of political rights and economic opportunity.

Much the most important part of Miss Worthington's study—and it is hardly too much to call it epoch-making in its bearings on Wordsworth's nature philosophy—is her demonstration of the close kinship, the practical identity, of the poet's cosmological system with that of Roman stoical philosophers like Cicero and Seneca, as they relate man's ethical reason with the essential nature and "active principle" of the universe. We are now able as never before to appreciate the systematic ethical philosophy underlying the "Ode to Duty," "The Character of the Happy Warrior," and other poems of his maturity; and new light is shed on the nature-philosophy of "The Prelude," and of "Tintern Abbey" and other poems of its period.

Miss Worthington does not mention the English intermediaries between the Roman moralists and Wordsworth, and she naturally ignores many features of the imaginative complex in which "nature" and "reason" are associated in his poems. But by sticking to the simple core of his philosophy, ethical and religious, she all the more effectively gives the *coup de grâce* to Irving Babbitt and his disciples—a tribe of critics to whom she does not once refer. Only gross ignorance of a great tradition, combined with anti-"romantic" bias, could explain their attempt to discredit Wordsworth's "naturalism" as being incompatible with a responsible

humanism. If, at this date, any reader should still think it a matter of importance to understand Wordsworth's philosophy, one thing he will have to take seriously into account is Miss Worthington's sober study, establishing as it does the close parallel between his thought and that of the Roman stoics.

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Newton Demands the Muse: Newton's "Opticks" and the Eighteenth Century Poets. By MARJORIE HOPE NICOLSON. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. Pp. ix + 178. \$2.00. (*History of Ideas Series*, II.)

The history of scientific reputations probably offers no parallel to Newton's widespread vogue in early eighteenth-century England. A contemporary confidence in method had been stimulated by seventeenth-century mathematicism as a whole, and, by the turn of the century, lingered on in many fields. Newton's achievements, popularly viewed, seemed an exemplary *Discours de la Méthode*, and Thomson was not alone in equating him with "pure intelligence, whom God / To mortals lent to trace His boundless works." Fired by the symbol of Newton's name, Desaguliers could advance his engaging belief that the Newtonian system, "the best model of government," should be applied to political philosophy; while William Guthrie, in a burst of national pride, hoped that the rules of dramatic poetry now stand "upon the same footing with our noble system of Newtonian philosophy."

Newton was certainly affecting English poetry as a whole, though in different ways than Guthrie had in mind; and his influence, as Miss Nicolson shows, came largely through his great treatise on *Opticks* (1704). *Newton Demands the Muse*, which continues Miss Nicolson's suggestive studies of the effect of scientific discovery on literary imagination, discusses the nature of the *Opticks'* influence on English poetry during the thirty years following Newton's death in 1727, the period in which his English vogue was at its height. Her treatment of the subject, however, reveals broader implications which are relevant to English neo-classic poetry as a whole, and also to the aesthetic theory of the period.

After discussing the wide popular reception of the *Opticks*, Miss Nicolson outlines the ways in which Newton's theory of light and colors affected contemporary imagery, leading at times to a veritable "symbolism of the spectrum." Her outstanding example, in this as in other respects, is Thomson, in whom almost all the various strands of Newton's influence on English poetry seem to have

coalesced. Miss Nicolson next discusses the actual exposition of the physics of light in contemporary verse, particularly that of Blackmore, Brooke, Jago, John Reynolds, and Moses Browne. Miss Nicolson's subsequent chapters connect the influence of the *Opticks* with popular speculation on vision, outline the effect of Newton's discovery on aesthetic theory, and discuss the general metaphysical implications of his work. She touches suggestively, for example, on the rising interest during the eighteenth century in synaesthesia, or "harmony of the senses," and in brief space offers one of the few discussions of the subject which really augment or qualify the eighteenth-century material in Irving Babbitt's still standard *New Laokoon*. She also points out, in some detail, the contemporary association of light with the "sublime" and color with the "beautiful." The association may be accounted for in various ways. It had been implied in imagery of other periods, and is to some extent natural to human response. Again, so far as conscious awareness of the association is concerned, eighteenth-century aesthetic theory, on empirical and sensationalistic premises, was tending to equate the sublime with whatever imposed or aroused the strongest effect, whether through "excess" or "privation." Accordingly, while various sounds and colors might be considered "beautiful," extremes—such as loudness or silence, intense light or complete darkness—could be regarded as potentially "sublime." Miss Nicolson finds this tendency strongly accentuated by Newton's influence: light, for example, being associated with etherial space, and the refraction of light into color possessing terrestrial connotation. The more general effect of the prismatic discovery of colors on aesthetics was simply to encourage the subjectivistic assumption that "mind alone," as Akenside said, contains within itself "The living fountain . . . Of beauteous and sublime." Yet this subjectivism was already creating a distrust of objective science, and others besides Hume were stressing the limitations of the human mind, with inevitable results to the triumphant symbol of Newton's name.

At the outset of her book, Miss Nicolson shows herself aware of the possible charge that she has "read more subtlety" into certain poets than they possessed. But I should be inclined to agree with her suspicion that "the oversubtlety is theirs rather than mine." Indeed, aside from fulfilling its general aim of illustrating a marked instance of the literary effect of scientific discovery, her book is particularly valuable in offering one more example of the firm mentality and fine, allusive complexity of early eighteenth-century poetic style: a complexity and mental strength to which the following century was often oblivious, but which, like certain other characteristics, indicate that neo-classicism rather than romanticism was the true heir of the late Renaissance.

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Studies in Honor of A. H. R. Fairchild. Edited by CHARLES A. PROUTY. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1946. University of Missouri Studies, **xxi**, 1. Pp. 191. One plate. \$2.00.

There is an admirable preface, consisting of two sentences. The first reads: "It has seemed fitting to the colleagues, former students, and friends of Dr. A. H. R. Fairchild that the retirement of such a distinguished teacher and scholar should be signalized by a volume of studies." A second sentence acknowledges the indebtedness of the editor. Preceding this is a page containing a *Vita* and a list of Dr. Fairchild's publications. This practice is to be commended to all editors of *Festschriften*: it directs the attention to the intrinsic worth of the tributes, and it should be gratifying to the recipient of the honor in avoiding all eulogy of questionable taste.

Since Dr. Fairchild made his most significant contributions to the Shakespearean field, one expects emphasis upon this and closely related fields. Four of the articles deal with Shakespeare, a fifth with an Elizabethan text, one with the origin of the passion play, two with non-dramatic Elizabethan literature, and among the remaining four, one concerns Lamb's dramatic criticism.

The first article, "The Copyright of Shakespeare's Dramatic Works," by Dr. Giles E. Dawson, of the Folger Library, is the most important contribution to the volume. After three pages devoted to the rise of the idea of copyright the author leads the reader skillfully through a maze of detail relating to the ownership of copyright in separate plays as it affected the publication of the four folios. Nine pages representing painstaking research make possible two sentences of summary: "Separate plays and groups of plays passed from hand to hand by sale and bequest, and only the ownership of a large number of these entitled a man to initiate the publication of a collected edition. Ownership of even one play placed a man in an advantageous position for bargaining with the publishers of a proposed collection: he could insist upon his inclusion as one of the publishers or he could elect a cash payment instead." The account of collected editions in the eighteenth century centers in Tonson, his assumption of copyright, and the opposition of Walker, the Oxford Press, Cave, and Osburn. Scholars will have occasion to consult this article frequently.

They will also consult Dr. J. G. McManaway's study, "The Cancel in the Quarto in 2 Henry IV," dealing with the omission of **III. i** in the first copies and the correction. There are sound conjectures concerning the reasons for the omission and the process of correction. Dr. Harry R. Hoppe's contribution, "John of Bordeaux," a study of a manuscript having the characteristic marks of a bad quarto, also provides an example of the painstaking work in this country with texts and their transmission.

Although Dr. Alfred Westfall's account of the Baconian heresy is not a great contribution to scholarship, its comic spirit, "with no more flippancy than the subject warrants," makes excellent reading. The author proceeds from Joseph Hart and his bullfight, through Delia and Ignatius, Mrs. Gallup and Colonel Fabian, to Dr. Cunningham. It is perhaps the best cure of the disease to which the teacher can send the credulous student.

Dr. J. R. Moore's "The Character of Iago" is unconvincing. There is little point in asserting that "he has eaten supper across the officers' mess table from Iago," only to discover Iago's mediocrity as a soldier, his clumsiness as a plotter, and his stupidity, to boot. The method is questionable, and the character who emerges can hardly have been the agent of Othello's downfall.

Dr. Hardin Craig, in "The Origin of the Passion Play," entering the debate as to whether it was an outgrowth of the *Planctus Mariae*, deplors the general ignorance of mediaeval drama and takes occasion to reaffirm first principles, some of which have been clearly enunciated by Young. Dr. Craig is probably right in his vigorous protest against "hopeless confusion," but some readers may resent the tone, and particularly the implication that some scholars are as hopeless as freshmen who think that *1 Henry IV* must have been written before *1 Henry VI*.

The editor, Dr. Prouty, has added a study in the history of prose fiction, the relation of two tales by Whetstone and Grange to Gascoigne's *Adventures of Master F. J.* "How," he asks, "did the excellent narrative techniques and character portrayals of Gascoigne degenerate so quickly in his immediate successors?" In the answer Dr. Prouty attempts to estimate the literary purpose of both Whetstone and Grange.

Dr. Charles F. Mullett rounds out the Elizabethan studies with an account of Hugh Plat, a gentleman-virtuoso in the tradition of Bacon, whose inventions and observations, often more sound than those in Bacon's *Natural History*, make entertaining reading. Perhaps Dr. Mullett would find valuable cues for the estimate of Plat's originality by a careful comparison of his "discoveries" with contemporary documents.

Of the four remaining articles, that by Dr. Hyder Rollins, "Keats's Elgin Marbles Sonnets," substantiates the conjecture of J. M. Burnbull that Reynolds, not Haydon, wrote the *Champion* review of March 9, 1817. It is convincing. Dr. Edward H. Weatherby deals with a quarrel of Garrick and Churchill, and a reconciliation.

Dr. R. C. Bald's "Charles Lamb and the Elizabethans" finds in Lamb's criticism of Elizabethan drama "the influence of two tendencies usually thought of as characteristically mid-Victorian": moral earnestness and a certain squeamishness about matters of sex. It may be difficult for some of us to reconcile this interpretation of

the early Lamb with his vigorous defence of the a-moral atmosphere in which Restoration comedy should be seen.

The final article, "Steinbeck: Earth and Stars" by Dr. Woodburn Ross, attempts to isolate the ideas and attitudes that have given direction to Steinbeck's fiction. Some may agree with Dr. Ross that Steinbeck is objectifying his own unreconciled habits of thought, and others may conclude that Steinbeck, if he is a thinker, is a very confused one. Certainly, few will concur that the comparison with Comte is either striking or convincing.

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Onze Poèmes de Rutebeuf concernant la croisade, publiés par JULIA BASTIN et EDMOND FARAL. (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades, publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, No. 1). Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1946. Pp. 145. 350 frs.

As a contribution to crusade history between 1254 and 1281, the Rutebeuf monograph issued by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres represents excellent scholarship. As textual criticism, this study is less satisfactory. It should be remembered, however, that the sponsoring series is concerned more with the crusades than with editorial skill in Old French.

M. Faral has collected detailed and valuable information about the historical background for the eleven poems edited by Mlle Bastin. His thoroughly documented discussion has established the date for each poem with admirable precision, thereby correcting a half dozen errors in Bédier's chronology of twenty years ago (*Les Fabliaux*, p. 410); the dates proposed by Christian Dehm in his *Studien zu Rutebeuf* (Würzburg, 1935; pp. 14-15) are likewise superseded. M. Faral has analyzed the individual texts more convincingly than previous investigators of Rutebeuf: his argument for the essential unity in the *Complainte de Constantinople* is a striking example.

In a study focussed on the crusades it is not entirely surprising that comment on Rutebeuf is comparatively sketchy. It is surprising, nevertheless, that the "autobiographical" items in Rutebeuf's so-called personal poems are still accepted without reservation. Also, M. Faral does not mention the possibility that "Rutebeuf" may have been more than one individual; yet it is easy to suspect that poems 2, 8, 11 may not have been by the author of the other texts included in the edition. The monograph contains

no reference to the earlier Rutebeuf studies by Clédât, Denkinger, Feger, Keins, Leo, or Lucas.

A certain laconicism on the *Disputaison du croisé et du décroisé* implies a ready acceptance of the view that this poem was written by a crusade propagandist. To be sure, the editor recognizes the special "life and color" in the verses spoken by the "anti-crusader," but apparently the many parallels with the *Praedicatio sanctae Crucis* of Humbert de Romans have led M. Faral to discount what may well have been Rutebeuf's opposition to the French king's last expedition.

The monograph omits the dull *Complainte d'Anseau de Lille* and the more significant *Renart le Bestorné*. The latter poem, almost certainly an attack on the projected crusade of 1270, has long been classified among the Rutebeuf diatribes against the Mendicant Orders. M. Faral adheres to the latter explanation (cf. p. 33). In a University of Michigan monograph now in press, I am offering suggestions both about *Renart le Bestorné* and about the problem of multiple authorship within the Rutebeuf repertory.

Incidentally, M. Faral's comments on the preaching of the 1270 crusade (pp. 6-14, 53) imply that papal advocacy of the venture was interrupted only during Charles of Anjou's campaign for the Sicilian throne. Nothing is said of misgivings which prompted Clement IV to temper the zeal of Louis IX for a second journey to the Holy Land, and these reservations were already under discussion seventy years ago (cf. H. A. Wallon, *Saint Louis et son temps*, 2nd ed., II, 422).

Mlle Bastin has edited the eleven poems with more success than Jubinal or Kressner, but her texts contain over forty errors of transcription, further mistakes in the variants, needless elimination of inflectional "errors," and other vagaries in the details of emendation. Punctuation is often heavy, and diacritics follow no consistent pattern.

In a short notice, specific support of these opinions is limited to a few samples. Why no defense of C as basic manuscript? Why no explanation of criteria for emendation or conservation? Why no mention, for instance, of the many replacements of scribal *x* by editorial *us*? Why change *qui* ('if anyone') to *que* II-148? *Asseüre* II-157 is correctly translated in the glossary, but a note (p. 31) states that the meaning is not clear. Delete the period after II-159, and the semi-colon after II-167: the sense is at issue in both passages. As in many other verses, rhyme for the eye is not important enough to warrant changing (for example) *eigue* to *eive* V-71. Why change *delireuze* to *dolereuse* V-146? Why no reference (p. 76, n. 2) to X-128? The infinitives in VII-47 go with *s'en va* 44; the period after *detient* is wrong. Why no note on VII-108? For VII, 117-20, it would have been helpful if the editors had had access to the parallels cited in A. J. Creighton's 1944

edition of *Anticlaudian* (p. 152). By introducing a spelling with no support from either manuscript, the editor admits an extra syllable in VIII-62. The variant in VIII-78 is wrong; the text as edited follows C correctly. Manuscript C reads *teneiz* (not *tenés*) VIII-87. Disturbed by the rhyme *nos: -ons*, the editor accepts an ungainly phrase in VIII-146. The C reading *qui* (= *qu'il*) should be retained in IX-129. For the proverb in X-123, cf. also Morawski 2431 (and variants). For *sor noz piauz acroire* XI-30, cf. *Vie de sainte Elysabel* 249. In XI-116, I should prefer to read (cf. Clédât, *Eutebeuf*, p. 126): *En yver — et vos en jaleiz* —, thereby making the link more intelligible between *aleiz* 115 and *querre* 117. Why allow *veioir* XI-330 to stand, while emending *gaiaignier* VIII-98?

In XI-149 is *ce* necessarily correct? Note that C reads *se* and R *che*. In vv. 147-50, Mlle Bastin's punctuation is an apparent demurrer from that of Jubinal and Kressner, in the sense that they were wrong in inferring the dependence of v. 149 upon v. 148. Her text suggests that v. 149 means that "neither God nor your country have any respect for you," while the Jubinal-Kressner versions made the line into a conditional clause: "unless God or your country is proud of you (i. e., unless your moral and worldly reputation is good)." Without actual proof, I am inclined to agree with the earlier editions. At the same time, the pertinence of v. 150 in its particular location has not been explained or discussed: is it something more than an easy banality to complete a couplet in the leonine rhyme *-ais*?

In XI-169 it is not enough to accept Tobler's hypothesis on *Gilemeir* (necessarily a proper noun?) without attempting to construe *tenu* 168 or to explain *couche* 171 (cf. Tobler-Lommatzsch II, 954, where the word is translated as "bed," but with a question-mark). Since non-committal comment in a review is more convenient for the critic than constructive for the reader, the following very tentative translation is proposed for vv. 168-72: "You are bedside knights (although nothing more) because otherwise (cf. the R variant) you would be classed among Gilemeir's lineage and because you do have a little fear of criticism, but not because of any real wish or conscience of your own." This rendering, however, invites two further queries: are Jubinal and Kressner wrong in printing v. 167 without any punctuation, and does the conjunction at the beginning of v. 171 represent Latin *sic* or *si*? In any case, it is fairly certain, whatever the sense of *Gilemeir* originally, that *parentei a Gilemeir* connotes "shirkers in general." Also, it seems impossible not to regard *que* 172 as causal.

The presence of numerous common words in the glossary makes it only the more regrettable that the following have been omitted:

abaier IV-60, *balance* IV-12, *couche* XI-171, *deduist* XI-239, *efforcement* III-18, *estendars* I-140, *mener en destre* X-28, *meniere* VI-38, *metre ariere* VI-43, *piece* VII-114, *pietaille* XI-162, *prestei* III-17, *same* IV-34, *secorre* XI-106, *tenu de* XI-168.

Neither the glossary nor the note on p. 62 explain the expression *patrimoine au Crucefi*: under war-time conditions, the editors were probably unaware of the long note by A. Långfors in *Neuphilologische Mittheilungen* XLVI (1945), 115-122, where the word *Crucefi* is identified with Christ instead of with the crucifix.

EDWARD B. HAM

University of Michigan

Georges Ascoli. Par HENRI CHAMARD. *L'Education nationale*, 20 juin 1946. Pp. 4.

As his American friends have found it difficult to secure information about the fate of Georges Ascoli, I would call attention to this touching tribute, written by one who had been both his teacher and his colleague.

Born at Paris on June 14, 1882, Ascoli entered the Ecole Normale, became an *agrégé* in 1907, taught in several provincial lycées and, in 1919-29, at the University of Lille. He obtained the doctorate in 1930. In October of that year he became *maître de conférences* at the Sorbonne, where he was given in 1935 the chair of French literary history in the nineteenth century.

In the First World War he rose to the rank of *chef de bataillon*, was three times wounded and five times cited for bravery. In the Second World War he served as lieutenant-colonel until he was captured on June 17, 1940. While a prisoner at Nuremberg he organized for his fellow captives a university of which he was rector. Released in August, 1941, he was allowed to return to his home at Sèvres, but he was excluded from his professorship by the Vichy government and was not allowed even to enter a public library. Thanks, however, to the friendship of M. Bonnerot, he was able to work as a collaborator in the edition of Sainte-Beuve's correspondence. On Feb. 19, 1944, only six months before the liberation of Paris, he and his wife were arrested by the Gestapo for the crime of being Jews, were taken to Silesia, and in March were sent to "la chambre à gaz et le four crématoire."

I have just learned from his son, Pierre, that the Nazis, not satisfied with this act of unpardonable brutality, also sought to blot out his labors as a scholar. They ransacked his villa at Sèvres, stole or destroyed a book on Victor Hugo that was almost ready for publication, a study of *Micromégas*, and an elaborate collection of *fiches*. They could not, however, do away with the various articles he had written, including what he wrote for the *Histoire de la littérature française* of Bédier et Hazard, or the books that constitute his greatest contribution to literary history: his critical edition of *Zadig*, his *Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française depuis la*

guerre de cent ans jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle (360 pp.), and his two-volume *Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française au XVII^e siècle* (885 pp.), a monumental work that will keep his memory fresh long after his executioners have been forgotten.

And we shall remember him as Chamard describes him :

ce Français, ardent et ferme patriote, qui fut toute sa vie un homme de devoir, et qui toujours, dans les diverses circonstances où le plaça la destinée, sut allier à tous les dons de la plus vive intelligence les plus belles vertus civiques et morales.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Ned Ward of Grubstreet: A Study of Sub-Literary London in the Eighteenth Century. By HOWARD WILLIAM TROYER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946. Pp. xi + 290. \$3.50.

This is a first-rate book about a third-rate author. It is discriminating, scholarly, complete, and—what is more unusual—very well written. It is the only full-length book about Ward, indeed the only account of any sort since Atken's able but inaccurate sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is a book that scholars interested in the by-ways of eighteenth-century literary and social history have long needed.

The body of the book consists of a chronological account of Ward's life and writings. The mass of rumor, gossip, and genuine information about Ward's life is judiciously sifted, and several new facts are brought forth. We now know, for example, that Ward did not set up as the proprietor of a public house until 1712, and that he never owned or operated the King's Head Tavern in Fulwood's Rents next door to Gray's Inn. We know that he did not visit New England. We know more precisely the nature of the rôle he played in the affair of Partridge the astrologer, and we know the full story of his relations with Alexander Pope. This story, narrated from Ward's point of view, gives us fresh insight into Pope's unscrupulous satirical methods, and a good deal of sympathy for Ward.

Professor Troyer argues convincingly, yet without straining the point, that Ward played a more significant part in the development of English journalism than is usually assigned to him. In other respects his view of Ward is the conventional one. He portrays him as a vigorous but vulgar wit, a hot-brained political pamphleteer, an observer of men's manners, not their souls, a biased reporter who chose to see only what was sordid, cruel, and vicious in the narrow world about him. His works survive today, in so far as they survive at all, as source books for social historians, rather than as monuments of eighteenth-century literature. The frequent quotations

which Professor Troyer sprinkles through his book are well chosen and useful, for most of Ward's writings are inaccessible to the general reader today. An exception is *The London Spy*, which was twice reprinted in the 1920's.

The most famous of Ward's works in his own day were *A Trip to Jamaica* and *The London Spy*. Others that had an enduring vogue were *The Secret History of the Calves-Head Club*, *Female Policy Detected*, and *The Wooden World Dissected*. The last two of these, we learn from Professor Troyer's definitive 50-page bibliography, were still being reprinted a century after their first appearance. Such popularity is a tribute to Ward's success in giving the public what it wanted; but it is also a commentary on the public's taste. For in the final analysis, Ward really deserved Pope's climactic sneer:

Another Durfey, Ward! shall sing in thee.

CYRUS L. DAY

University of Delaware

BRIEF MENTION

Columbia Dictionary of Modern European Literature. HORATIO SMITH, General Editor. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. xvi + 899. \$10.00. *Dictionary* means 'encyclopedia.' *Modern* means 'from Baudelaire to the present,' excluding Hugo. *European* includes Iceland and Turkey, but not Great Britain and Ireland. *Literature* is extended to take in the work of certain critics, literary historians, and philologists (Doumic, Lanson, Asín Palacios), but not others (Villey, Vossler, Paul Meyer).¹ Many literary historians and philologists, indeed, have a better right to be listed than some who appear. Nor is the standard of inclusion the same for different disciplines. The articles contain critical appraisal as well as biographical and bibliographical information. As they were composed by 239 scholars,² distinguished and undistinguished, the commentaries necessarily vary in length and in value, but the book will be useful, for it contains a vast amount of information difficult to find elsewhere on short notice. The general editor had completed his work on the volume before his untimely death on Sept. 9, 1946. He deserves great credit for organizing such an

¹ It was he, as well as Gaston Paris, who founded *Romania*; cf. p. 609.

² These are listed after the preface in alphabetical order, according to their first names, not their last—a method employed, as I have been told, in Brazilian telephone-books. By consulting this list one can easily discover who wrote a certain article, but not what article or articles a certain person wrote.

undertaking, for the labor he expended in selecting the 239 and, with their help, the 1167 subjects, as well as for keeping his battalion of writers in sufficient awareness of limitations in space and time to produce what is, on the whole, a valuable collection of articles. It is a book that no self-respecting library can do without.

H. C. L.

The World of Learning, with an Introduction [1 page] by Dr. GILBERT MURRAY. London: Europa Publications Limited, 1947. Pp. iv + 520. £3. It is hard to keep up with nomads. *Minerva* made an attempt for many years; the *Index Generalis*, briefly. The British are now replacing them. This first edition represents the situation more or less, at least in America, as it was in the academic year 1945-6. It lists universities with their rectors or presidents, their deans and professors; learned societies; libraries and museums; technical schools and colleges. The publishers admit that their work is incomplete and "not as up-to-date" as they would have wished. They mark with an asterisk European institutions of which the lists, on account of post-war conditions, could not be revised. In response to their request for suggestions I make the following comments. Among the institutions of higher learning in the United States I note the absence of the Institute for Advanced Study and with it the name of Albert Einstein. Among libraries there is no mention of the New York Public, the Boston Public, or the Peabody (Baltimore). No mention is made of the University of Algiers. At times professors are not listed unless they hold administrative posts (Rutgers, Syracuse, Washington University, etc.). Retired professors are not listed. There is no index, a most unfortunate omission. The American Philosophical Society should be put, not under "Philosophy and Psychology" (p. 407), but under "General" (p. 403). It is misleading, not to say amusing, to discover such distinguished institutions as the Collège de France, the Ecole des Beaux Arts, and the Ecole du Louvre under the heading, "National High Schools and Colleges." Only thirteen American colleges are mentioned with any detail. The others listed, and with them some universities, are given about as in the *World Almanac*. Yet the Catholic University, Rice, Vanderbilt, Lehigh, Clark, Oberlin, Swarthmore, Haverford, Mt. Holyoke, Wesleyan, and Williams might well claim the consideration assigned to Mary Washington or the North Dakota Agricultural College. However, despite its deficiencies, the book will often prove helpful. Until an improved edition appears, it may well be an essential work for scholars and for those who wish to consult them.

H. C. L.

Eugenia De Acton: 1749-1827. By ELIZA PEARL SHIPPEN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. 1945. Pp. x + 180. It is hard to conceive why such a task as this should have been chosen, and still harder to understand why a learned body should have accepted the subject as worthy of serious investigation. It is the kind of so-called research which furnishes ammunition to the despisers of graduate study, and lends support to their false but dangerous charges that research has come to mean "more and more about less and less." A lesser author than Eugenia De Acton would be hard to find. She was a middle-aged sentimental moralizer, who spun out two volumes of vague essays, and five dreary novels which were cheap imitations of Richardson and Mrs. Radcliffe. Her work was shallow, prolix, and dull; it had scarcely any intellectual significance or artistic merit. Even those hack-reviewers of her day who tried to say something agreeable about everybody, were hard put to it to find anything in her novels that was not either commonplace or contemptible. Nor has Miss Shippen, despite earnest efforts, succeeded in doing so. When Oblivion has mercifully covered such banalities as Eugenia De Acton's, it seems a disservice to enlightenment to try to resurrect them. Each generation produces so much trashy literature of its own that it is unnecessary to drag forgotten rubbish out of the musty recesses of the past.

University of Illinois

ERNEST BERNBAUM

The Moral Poetry of Pope. By GEOFFREY TILLOTSON. Published by The Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1946. (The Robert Spence Watson Memorial Lecture for 1945.) Pp. 32. Professor Tillotson, whose work in the Twickenham Edition of Pope's poems admirably illuminated some of Pope's best imaginative work, shows a similar insight in this valuable lecture concerning the poet's didactic poems, especially *An Essay on Man*. On the two chief problems discussed—the relation of a poet's personality to the sincerity of his doctrine and the relation of didacticism to poetry—Tillotson is a sound and sympathetic guide. The mid-twentieth century, thanks to Tillotson and others like him, will go down in history as perceiving—as the nineteenth century did not always do—that poetry speaks to the emotions, the imagination, and to the intellect. It embodies a voice speaking to total consciousness, not to a specialized part of consciousness. In its "perfected utterance"—which is its essence—intellect cannot be left out. It is this fact that makes for a juster conception of the work not of Pope merely but of the whole art of poetry. Tillotson's lecture will be highly valued by all who wish to savor the finer qualities of Pope—and of poetry.

Harvard University

GEORGE SHERBURN

The Dynamics of Literature. By NATHAN COMFORT STARR. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. viii + 123. Mr. Starr's little book claims to "develop the faculty of making judgments about literature," to "reaffirm certain basic principles" and to spend "some time in close analysis of words, their implications and overtones." (vii) Actually we are given a set of incoherent lectures filled with platitudes and uplift, devoid of any critical scheme and even of moderate skill in close analysis. The level of taste is indicated by favorable references to Kenneth Roberts and Russell Davenport and by plaintive incomprehension for Joyce, Auden and even Conrad and Sterne. The style abounds in metaphors of a sort: we are to "penetrate vertically to the heart of the work" (17), we are to "hold to the good while still it stands before the tooth of time" (49). In practice, we are told little more than that a reader should re-create literature and that an author should "bring an ardent faith in the dignity of man as man" (115). It is difficult to see to what audience this book could be addressed and why a reputable University Press should publish a book so completely out of touch with modern aesthetics and critical theory.

RENÉ WELLEK

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CORRESPONDENCE

MEDIAEVAL AND RENAISSANCE LATIN TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARIES. A new cooperative project for the preparation of annotated lists and guides of mediaeval and Renaissance Latin translations and commentaries is now in progress. The work when completed will list Latin translations to 1600 of Greek authors who wrote before A. D. 600; and Latin commentaries to 1600 on Greek and Latin authors who wrote before A. D. 1600. Inquiries regarding the project may be directed to any member of the Editorial Board: R. J. Clements (Harvard); Dean M. E. Cosenza (Brooklyn College); J. Hutton (Cornell); P. Kibre (Hunter College); P. O. Kristeller (Columbia); D. P. Lockwood (Haverford); Dean M. R. P. McGuire (Catholic Univ. of America); B. Marti (Bryn Mawr); R. V. Merrill (Univ. of Calif., Los Angeles); E. M. Sanford (Sweet Briar); J. J. Savage (Fordham); J. R. Strayer (Princeton); A. Taylor (Univ. of Calif., Berkeley); S. H. Thomson (Univ. of Colorado); and B. L. Ullman (Univ. of N. Carolina).

PEARL KIBRE

Hunter College

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EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY

Ulrich Artzt (d. 1527), a former burgomaster of Augsburg, was the representative of his city in the Suabian League at the time of the Peasants' War. Numerous reports, accompanied by papers setting forth the demands of various groups of the rebellious peasants, were sent home by him, and were ultimately deposited in the archives of Augsburg. In the years 1881 ff. they were brought to light by Wilhelm Vogt, and published in the *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg*.¹ Only a small portion of the letters are by Ulrich Artzt himself; all the documents, however, are of contemporary origin (1524-1527), and most of them reflect the every-day speech of the common man. For the most part they come from the adjacent districts of Suabia. Military terms do not play as important a role as the constant fighting that is recorded might lead one to expect. Words not in the *DWB* of the Grimms are marked with an asterisk.

ABFAHRT, f.: so ains (i. e. ein erbgut) verkauft worden oder durch absterben in ander hend komen ist, hat das allweg funf schilling auf und sovil abfart geben, und hats die herrschaft umb das gelt . . . neher zu handen nemen mugen (p. 42); *DWB* without example.

¹ "Die Correspondenz des schwäbischen Bundeshauptmanns Ulrich Artzt von Augsburg a. d. J. 1524 und 1525. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges in Schwaben von Dr. Wilhelm Vogt. Separat-Abdruck aus der *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg*, VI, Jahrgang. 3. Heft. Augsburg, 1880." (This is the title on the cover of the first fascicle; there are four fascicles, whose pagination, in the reprint, has been changed so as to run from 1 to 610, without indication of their place in vols. VI, VII (and perhaps VIII, IX) of the *Zeitschrift*).

ABFRETZEN, n.: müßen solch abfretzen, zertreten und verderben des unsern . . . teglich vor unsern augen sehen (562); *DWb* cites Frank, *Chronik* (1531?).

ABRICHTEN, *bezahlen*, v.: auf phinztag darnach wellen wir die knecht und ander Kriegsfolck abrichten und urlauben (521); *DWb* records a similar use from Philander.

ABSCHLAG, m.: wiewol wir uns kheins abschlags zu euch versehen, so begeren wir doch eur antwort (194); *DWb* cites Werder, 1632.

*ÄCHTIG, adj.: und lig daran nit, obgleich die von Memmingen nit fur bennig und ächtig gehalten worden . . . wo si von Memmingen ächter und bennig weren, oder dafür gehalten wurden (322).

*ÄHNLEIN, n.: darob ain gancze gemand groslich beschwert ist, die doch mir farerbe *von enlin und von anne* und och von vatter und von mutter und wa die were, da ire vetter enpfielle oder iere man (42): the editor defines *enlin und anne* as *Großvater und Großmutter*.

ANFORDERUNG, f.: wo ir aber gegen uns und den unsern ursachen oder anforderung zu haben vermeinten (195); *DWb* without example.

*ANGEBÜHR, f.: hab ich euch neulich geschriben, das ir euer angebür laut meins vorigen schreibens erlegen sollten (86); compare *Gebührniß*, below.

ANSTALL, m.: unser achtung und schetzen ist, das die paurn den anstall uf iren vortail auch thuen (31); *DWb* cites Dasypodius.

ART, f. *Legend*: sie sind "von unden an von der Steyrischen art gegen Schlemingen und Rastett zu den feinden zugezogen" (509); in suma es ist ain söliche grosse verräterei in dyser art, das nit darvon zu sagen ist. ich hab mein lebenslang nie grösser sorg tragen. mich reut das gut gelt, das fyl umbsunst außgeben wiert (514). *DWb*, I, 568 points out that there is a single instance of *ard* in the *Heliand*, where it signifies *mansio*, *aufenthalt*, and that there are numerous instances of *eard* in Anglo-Saxon, with the meaning: *habitaculum*, *patria*, *solum*, *grund und boden*. Similarly, in the *Sachsenspiegel*: *swenne de koning uppe sessische art kumt, cum rex fines Saxoniae attigerit*. For modern German Grimm differentiates six different meanings of *Art*, but none in the sense

*BEUTMEISTER, m.: das von iglichen venlin einar verornat werde zu einam beitemstar (201).

*BIBLICHEIT, f.: so sie in scheyn des evangeliums uben in vil articuln ungegront, dem evangelischen gotswort und der biblicheit entgegen (132).

*BITTIG, adj.: Zu VII sind mir bittig und retig, daß man uns beliben laß wie von alter her (576); Zu X sind mir bittig, das sy is die herschafftecker lhit, auch dienen, die herschfflit sind (577).

BRACHACKER, m.: die brachacker uns zu abbruch und nachtail verbannen (558): *DWb* cites Dasypodius.

BRANDMEISTER, m.: doch villeicht gemaine stende ainen prantmeister verordnen (126): *DWb* cites Fronsperger (1578).

BRANDSCHATZ, m.: an den 1000 gulden prantschatz . . . von denen von Ransacker prantschatz 500 fl. . . haben die von Silingen fur prantschatz bracht 85 fl. (273): *DWb* cites Hätzlerin.

BRANDSCHATZUNG, f.: das ir und das ander kriegsvolck ain treflich prantschatzung einemen sollet. wo dem also, wist ir, weme die prantschatzung zugehört (126): *DWb* cites Fischart, *Bienenkorb*.

BUNZE, ein Weinmaß: das sy in disen schweren leufen alle nacht ire puntzen auf den kârren und die obgemelten kupferin gefass voll wassers halten und so feur aufgieng . . . zufaren sollen (128): *DWb* cites Henisch and Achmeller.

*ECKERSCHWEIN, n.: So sind mir beschwert mit iren eckerschwinen in wismedern oder in holzmeder. so got ecker git, so bit mir (574).

EHESCHATZ, m.: Item zum zwelften, so vermainen sy von keinem gut kain eeschatz zugeben (27); *DWb* records only: Eheschatz, *Brautschatz*, which cannot be the meaning here. Possibly a scribal error or misprint for *Erschatz* (below): just 12 lines below this passage there is a misprint: *Doppelte Copie*.

EIGENSCHAFT, *servitus*: trungen sind worden, das sie sich in die aigenschaft haben müssen ergeben, auch wenn ainer oder aine sich zu meins herren von Kempten hyndersessen verheyrat, so muessen derselbig oder dieselben sich auch in die aigenschaft ergeben (35): *DWb* cites Frank, *Chron*.

ERSCHATZ, m.: Item zum dritten, so seyen wir beswert mit dem erschatz oder handtlon und ist yetz unser pit, führohn söllich

erschätz oder handtlon abgestellt werden, sonder uns by zimlichen zinsen, renten und gulten zu belyben laussen (549); Für das 5., so wel mir fürohin kain erschatz mer geben, doch das man uns in demselbigen halt, wie hinder und for uns gehalten wiert (550): the coupling of *Erschatz* with *Handlon* makes its meaning perfectly clear: 'abgabe vom lehngut bei eintretendem wechsel des belehnten oder belehnenden' (*DWb* III, 954, where the etymology is not definitely fixed).

*ESSELI, n.: Item die wasser begern wier nit gemain sein, aber so ainer, der kranck wer oder ain schwangere frou hätt, aungefürlich ain essely visch oder kerps (kreps) fachen migen (551): probably diminutive of *Essen*; *DWb* records also Esseling, *weißfisch*.

*EXCEPTION, f.: dise ejeception, replie, duplie und müntlich furtrag haben wir nach baldertail rechtsatz erwegen (322): *ejeception* can only be an error for *exception*.

*EXCIPIREN, v.: wider dieselbigen gegenlag maister Niclaus ejecipirt, das nach ußweisung der recht, der im bann und acht sey, im rechten nit clagen mög (320): the spelling *ejecipirt* must be an error.

*FAHRERBE, n.: da staigt er unß unsere erbgietter darob ain ganzee gemaind groslich beschwert ist, die doch mir farerbe von enlin und von anne und och von vatter und von mutter (42): the context makes probable that this is a compound of *Erbe*, n., with *Fahr*, m. *unus e majoribus*, rather than *Fahr*, f., *res mobilis*.

FALLGUT, n.: Item der gietter halb, so begriffen sind in unserem dorf und nenn sich die valgietter, ist unser maynung, so die ledig werden, das man die nit sell staigern (569): *DWb* cites Hohberg (1716).

FÄNDLFÜHRER, m.: indem so sie sich in gnad und ungnad geben, möchte man die fendlfierer und hauptleut gedencken (141): *DWb* records *Fahnenführer*, but without example.

FEIM, m.: dass wir von wegn des armen folck nit lang in der keichn siezn. es ist ein faim von alln possen puebn, dy aber all verloffn sein (455): *DWb* records *Feim* only in the literal sense of *scum*, not in the transferred sense of *trick*, which we have in *abgefeimt*.

FELDFLUCHT, f.: aber aus irm wenden ist ain feldtflucht worden (134): *DWb* cites Waldis.

FELDGESCHÜTZ, n.: das in kein weg zethun sey, dass wir on veldgeschütz die reyter und fußvolckh abfertigen (70): *DWb* gives no example.

FINANZISCH, adj.: dweil die alten mit subteilen erdichten und finanzischen lüsten dz ir an seelgerait odergleichen stiftung zu geben verfurt sein (258): *DWb* cites Kirchhof (1602).

*FORSTPFENNING, m.: stück, als besincknus, banschatz, leibpfennig, forstpfenning, kelberpfenning und derglychen (553).

FRIAT, m.: so ainer anen sun oder tochter mechten ir am frumen schafen ainß friacz halb usserhalb der seiner gietter (40); so ainer ainen sun oder dochter ir ain frumen schaffen ain friacz halb usser seiner gietter (552): *DWb* has only the feminine, *Freite*. See *Lexer*.

*FRIEDBIETEN, n.: ufrur bewegte . . . soll die nechst person in waß stand sy sye macht habend fried zubieten; der sol von stund an by dem ersten frid rieffen oder bieten gehalten werden. wölchs solchs fridbieten nicht halten wurd, der sol nach seiner verschuldung gestrafft werden (76).

*FRIEDSBRIEF, m.: dass etlich priester mich angesucht und erbeten hand fridsbrief zu geben, han ich user not der lybsnarung denselbigen durch den statschryber zu Betwor fridsbrief machen lassen (206).

FRONTIER: Ostrach, ist ain platz so den baiden frontieren in das Hegau und das land Wurtenberg zu ziehen gelegen (192).

GEBÜHRNISZ: dann es haben die mererteil von fürsten und andern ir gebürnuß schon erlegt und bezahlt (86): *DWb* cites Steinbach.

*GEE, n.: haben wir mit inen darauf gehauen, sind sy ganz zerstreut fluchtig worden; und wiewol wir inen durch das gee gar weyt haben muessen nacheylen, so seind dannocht ungeverlich bis in 2^m tod und alle ire wegen und geschutz bliben (299).

*GEISELPERSON, f.: hab ich die gyselpersonen noch by mir und sy gemant, die sachen zu furdern (231).

*GENICK, m.: nun ist das holz so dickh, daz nit muglich gewest ist mit dem raisgn zeug was zu schaffen. und wie wir daz holz verhuet, haben die paurn ain gnickh und ain gefell gemacht, daz man in weder zu ross noch zu fuess nicht hat abprechen mugen, sonder sy sturmen muessen. indem hat man nach den knecht ge-

schickht, ist der vorlorn hauf komen und habn mit den paurn zu werkh gangen . . . die paurn uber die merkhlich groß wer die sy gethan habn sein etwas hinder sich getreten, also daz unser knecht zu inen in den genickh und gefell kommen sein, haben die paurn . . . ob IIII^m im holz erstochen und erschossen (293 f.): the meaning of *Gefalle* is clear enough: "eine durch gefallte baume künstlich unwegsam gemachte stelle (vergl. gebücke *verhau*), wie sie sich zumal im gebirge . . . von natur darbotten" *DWb* iv. i. 1, 2096). *Genick* must have a similar meaning, and is to be connected with *neigen*, *nigen*. The form *Gebucke*, cited by Grimm, is connected with *biegen*. Under the word *Gebücke* (*DWb* iv. i. 1, 1879), reference is made to Low German *knick*, *hag*, *verhau um einen wald*, which is, of course, our *Genick*. The *DWb* connects L. G. *knick* with the verb *knicken*.

GETUSEL, n.: so das hemlich getusal grossan schadan hat gebracht den Israheliten, wollan wir alla mitari verboten haben (200): to be connected with *tuscheln*.

GEZIRK: Als sich die emberung under dem baurman dises gezyrcks herumb am ersten erherpt (for *erhept*(?)) (570).

GLÖSSL, m.: da mugt es woll aufpauen und last es den herrn iren glössel (glüsten) nit zue (443).

GROSZNOT, f.: nit dz wir in disen sachen wider unsere gegebne brief und sigel fechten, besonder die großnot eraischt, das dan wölher ain gut biß hieher hat wollen bstan (572):

HAHN, ROTER: dermassen dass ich besorg die rotten hannen werdend uf der abtey kregen (181): *DWb* cites Mathesius (1687).

HALBVIEH, n.: "vieh, dessen nutzung zwei je zur hälfte ziehen, indem der eigenthümer dasselbe dem andern auf dessen weide oder in abwartung übergibt": Item er iecz mit uns angefangen ain nyigen brauch und uns verboten, das kainer sol kain halbfiech han, und hat uns sein amptman verkind vor der kierchen, es selle yeder mann daß halbfiech von im thon und mit sein gmayder thaylen (568): *DWb* refers to Mone and Schmeller.

HANDLOHN, laudemium: die ledig zel und hantlöner, hoptrechter, vell, fastnachthennen, hünner, ayer, und wisatschilling usß bit nachzelausen (50); das sy iere gieter also mit handtlon und in ander weg deß ringer bestanden haben (56); so seyen wir beswert mit dem erschatz oder handtlon und ist yetz unser pit, furohin söllich

erschätz oder handtlon abgestellt werden (549); die valgietter . . . so die ledig werden, das man die nit sell staigern, och die liechen on handlon (569); wir sind auch ab den hantlonern parlich bschwart und begerend, das man am yeden . . . laß bleyben (572): cf. *DWb* IV. II. 403.

*HEIMGEDEIHEN, v.: musten . . . unser guter verlaßen und in kurzer zeyt mit weyb und kynden dem bettel heimgedeyhen (564).

*HEIMSETZEN, v.: auf welche handlung sy erstreckung solichs tags uns zu undertenigem gefalln heimgesetzt (324).

*HERRSCHFTACKER, m.: Zu X sind mir bittig, das sy is die herschaftecker lihít, auch dienen, die herschaftlt sind, und 1 jachart lihít wie von alter her (577).

*HERRSCHAFTLEUT: see under *Herrschaftacker*.

*HEUGELD, n.: den halben tayl hausszeins und heewgelt och geben, wenn doch die gietter . . . beschwart worden sind (551); Item zu dem andern, so hat ein hub geben 4 lb. zeinß oder heugeld, yecz so hat man unß dreisig schilling druf geschlagen (567); wir sind auch ab dem heugelt übel bschwart, da begeren wir auch ainer milterung (572).

*HEUWACHS: soll ainer gemaind yren hirten lassen, wen sy sind sunst beschwert genuog an hewachß und an wunn und an waid (45).

*HINTERSICHBRINGEN, n.: und etliche mittel zu der gutlichait furgeschlagen und dieselben auf hindersichbringen angenommen haben (117).

*HINZ, conj.: solher frid ist uns gehalten worden, hintz unser obrigkait all ir stift und stor (?) habn einbracht (497).

*HIRTENEI, n.: weder gult noch hyrtener mer geben, dann wir verhoffen solichs alles von götlichem rechten nit schuldig zu sein (556).

*HOCHGEWILD, n.: und unser oberkait zu eren dem hochgewild nit nachraysen, noch beschedigen (565): *DWb* cites Maaler.

*HOLZMÄDER: So sind mir beschwert mit iren eckerschwinen in wismedern oder in holzmeder (574).

HOLZMARK, f.: hab ich auch meinem bruder Jörgen von Rot in ansehung der holtzmarken VI^M und etlich hundert guldin . . . geben (47).

*HOLZMARKUNG, f.: damit die mulin also fur und fur durch ine

und sein nachkomen mit diser holtzmarkung in guter bestendigkeit underhalten und versehen werden muge. es ist auch unser maynung nit dieselben holtzmarkung in unsern oder anderer hindersassen nutz zu wenden oder zu verkaufen, ist auch bisher durch unsere vorfarn oder uns das wir einicherlay aus diser holtzmarckung in unsern oder der unsern nutz gewendt haben nit beschehen (33, 34).

*INJURIREN, v.: das ist sein mechtikeit glori und er sol nit injurieren schmehen und unniß bruchen (199).

*KÄLBERPFENNING, m.: unedige stück, als besincknus, banschatz, leibpfennig, forstpfenning, kelberpfenning und derglychen (553).

*KORNBEBHALTNUS: nachdem wir an disem ort kein kornbehaltenus oder casten haben (33).

KORNGULTE, f.: unsers stifts hindersassen in disem ambt haben . . . unser korngulten . . . williglichen gefurt (33): *DWb* cites Höfer.

KRIEGSSTÜCK, n.: das keinar kein krigsstuck pruch, wo einar enam vor zehen jaren . . . beledigt hete und das itzund usrichten wolte (200): *DWb* cites *Gargantua*.

*LANDART, Gegend. see above, under *Art*.

LANDSART, Gegend: see above, under *Art*: *DWb* cites *Zimmerische Chronik*.

*LANDNOT, f.: wen aber ain landnot angat, wöl wir mit leib und gut helfen rotten (572).

LEHENTRÄGER, m.: verhoff . . . als lechentrager daß hauchloblichen ertzherzogthumbs Esterreich gehandhabet werden (56): *DWb* cites Maaler.

LEIBPFENNIG, m.: besincknus, banschatz, leibpfennig, forstpfenning, kelberpfenning und derglychen (553): *DWb* gives no example.

*LUPFERUNG, f.: erkennen, daß ich die zyt solcher handlung nit allain sonder selb vierd geritten und gangen bin und nit lupferung haben megen, das etlich priester mich angesucht und erbeten hand (206): presumably connected with lupfen, *laxare*, *solvere*.

*MALEFIZPERSON, f.: in der herrschaft Matrey etlich vil nit allain ufwigler oder ufrurisch, sonder auch ander malefiz-personen gefangen (537).

MANNSPERSON, f.: von ainer frawen nit mer dann vier gulden und von ainer mansperson nit mer dann zwen gulden (552): *DWb* cites Reuchlin.

MESMER, m.: des schmids halb und des mesmers halb (50): *DWb* cites *Wunderhorn* and Schmeller.

*MITSCHATZUNG, f.: ob sy . . . bauru fiengen, das nit kriegsleut wern, dieselben sollen in mitschatzung oder ander weg in die gemeine beut auch verfolgen (301).

MONATSOLD, m.: so mueß man inen . . . ain monatsold durch den ganzen haufen . . . zu geben zusagen müessen (312): *DWb* cites Maaler.

MUMSCHANZEN, v.: als die purn vor Kitzingen gelegen sein, haben sy gemumschanzt, wöllicher der erst sey, so sy die statt gewinen (327): *DWb* cites Frey (1590).

ORDINARI, adj.: auch ir etlich irer ausstenden ordinarien sold, deren sy nit vermugt, also bar bezahlt sein wellen (303); daz ich auf vergangne ordinari bezalung und des berurten slachtsolds zu Böblingen gelts gnueng hab (311): *DWb* cites *Gargantua*.

PASSIEREN, v. trans.: es sollend keine raubige gietter so disen mitverwanten entwert wurden underhalten noch bassiert werden, sonder alsbald man solche erkundet . . . wer aber behaußt oder bassieren laßt, gegen demselbigen solch gleiche wie gegen den reubern gehandelt werden (78): *DWb* cites text of 1598.

*PÖBELREDE, f.: wiewol wir es für pefelrede halten und an eurer person gantz nit zwayfeln (125).

*PRAKTIZIERER, m.: wer dergleichen meutereien anfenger und practicierer sein, werdet ir on uns gewar (526).

PREIS SEIN: dz die unsren den bauren nichtz weyters verbrennent, blindrit oder sich nemyn, es sey kain preis mer (387): *DWb* cites Polychorius (1585).

PREIS MACHEN: ain yeden nach seiner verschuldigung oder ge-
lehenheit seins guts zu strafen und die so ußgetreten gantz breiß
zu machen und zu beiten (204): *DWb* cites Maaler.

PRINZIPAL, m.: und was mit denen und den principaln so under
inen sind wyter fürgenomen (158); auch der rechten principal und
so an gegenwurtiger emberung am nechsten schuld haben Lxi ge-
fangen (291); zu verordnen in der straf der rechten principal . . .
derselben landsart die furnemlichisten und rechten principal (309);
der rechten principal und aufwugler on die so entlofen achtund-
sechzig mit dem schwert richten (310); die rechten principal,
rädlfuerer der überbliben und fluchtigen aufrurer (520): Weigand
dates 1534.

RÄDELFÜHRER, m.: die rechten principal, rädlfuerer der uberbliben (520); auch als bald gegen den radlfuerern mit straf fürfaren (521); mit etlichen knechten, knappen und fluchtigen paurn von redelfuerern pis in 400 starck (525): *DWb* cites *Rädeleinfuhrer* from Maaler.

RATIFICATION, f.: haben uns ire fendlin auch genugsamen gewalt und ratificacon [!] vorergangner irer handlung mit anzagung [!] irer platz zu uberantworten (192): Weigand dates 1573.

*REGNIEREN, v.: wie kann es rechtgeschaffen zugen, es rengniert nichts dann pfaffen, des maisten tayl zu Saltzburg in räten (509).

*REMITTIEREN, v.: als er auch hieher für uns zu recht remittirt und gewisen und noch auf disen tag vor unsern hofrichter . . . im rechten hanget (34).

RENNFAHN, m.: also sind wir . . . als bald mit dem reysigen rennfanen und vorzug zu gnaden und ungnaden widerumb angenommen (288); haben wir als bald mit vier geschwader reysigen sampt meinem herren dem obristen veldhauptman inen entgegen gerecht und nemlich der renfan der erst Pfaltzgrafisch fan der Österreichisch fan und ein fan mit Gilchischen reutern (299): *DWb* cites Kirchhof (1602).

RENNHAUFEN, m.: des wir dann, als wir mit den vordersten rennhufen als wir hierzu komen seind, erfarn (284): *DWb* cites Freytag.

*REPLICIEREN, v.: hierwider die von Memmingen repliciern und nit gesteen, das si weder in bann . . . gefallen seyen (320).

SAUERBECK, m.: Item mit den sauerbecken, auch denen in clostern und spital, da dann die kupferin gefass so man zum feur braucht steen . . . daß alsdann die sauerbecken, auch die in clostern und spital mit dem wasser den obgemelten dreyen haufen zum feur verordnet zufaren (128): *DWb* cites Seuter (1599).

*SCHIEDRICHTER, m.: von uns auch inen etliche schidrichter benent und vor denselben gehandelt werden solte (83).

SELBSZÜNDEND, adj.: mit selbszündenden puchsen und in ander bedroungsweys vergewaltigt (502): *DWb* cites text of 1603.

SINGERIN, f.: 2 singerin und 2 scharpfmezn mitzetailn (267): as name of a gun cited by *DWb* from Fronsperger (1578).

A THEOCRITICAN IDYLL IN FRENCH POETRY

Perhaps the best known, after "la Jeune Tarentine," of the "Bucoliques" of André Chénier is the delightful idyll entitled "l'Oaristys," "imité," the poet tells us, "de la XXVII^e idylle de Théocrite."¹ As a matter of fact, in the words of one of the English translators of Theocritus, "the authenticity of this idyll has been denied. . . . But the piece is certainly worthy of a place beside the work of Theocritus."² The little composition, either in its original form or in the Chénier version, proved so captivating to French amateurs of Greek verse that two nineteenth-century poets, Joséphin Soulayr (1815-1891) and Armand d'Artois (1845-1912), tried their hands at re-fashioning it to suit their own purposes. I should like here to examine briefly these three versions of the Greek idyll, it being clearly understood that I am not concerning myself in any way with controversies over the original among Theocritean scholars as to authenticity,³ textual variants, etc. The theme and the language of the poem are as old as time and as new as the first awakening of love in the heart of the adolescent, and, as such, they are the property of every lyric poet who has attempted to translate these feelings into words.

Chénier's "l'Oaristys" is composed of eighty-eight alexandrines with no fixed rhyme-scheme (its first twenty-three verses rhyme: abba c d e d e d e d f g g f g g f g h h g). Its theme is the wooing⁴ of the shepherdess Naïs by the shepherd Daphnis and, in general, the poem follows the original with a fair degree of fidelity. Chénier yields here and there to the temptation of embroidering somewhat on the

¹ *Oeuvres d'André Chénier*, ed. Henri Clouard, 3 vols., Paris, A la Cité des livres, 1927 (*vide* I, 36-42). I shall refer to this work as Clouard.

² A. Lang: *Theocritus, Bion and Moschus Rendered Into English Prose*, London, MacMillan, 1920 (*vide* pp. 147-151). I shall refer to this as Lang. The translation follows the original very closely.

³ On this point, *vide* E. B. Clapp: "The 'Oaristus' of Theocritus" (University of California Publications in Classical Philology, II, 165-171, October 9, 1911).

⁴ This is the meaning of the word that serves as the title of the poem which, in Lang's translation, is given as "The Wooing of Daphnis." Lang, following the original, gives the shepherdess no name, calling her simply "The Maiden." In the Juntine edition (Florence, 1515), she is called Naïs, which may explain Chénier's employment of this name.

crisp dialogue of the original, so that his poem is about a third again as long. For example, the following line spoken by Daphnis, as given in the Lang translation: "Come hither beneath the elms, to listen to my pipe," reads in Chénier:

Suis-moi sous ces ormeaux; viens de grâce écouter
Les sons harmonieux que ma flûte respire:
J'ai fait pour toi des airs, je te les veux chanter;
Déjà tout le vallon aime à les répéter.⁵

The first two lines of the original, spoken one by the maiden and one by Daphnis, are both given to Daphnis in the Chénier version. Citation of the passages will reveal the closeness of the two texts. Lang renders the original as follows:

The Maiden. Helen the wise did Paris, another neatherd, ravish!
Daphnis. 'Tis rather this Helen that kisses her shepherd, even me.

Chénier puts both these lines into the mouth of Daphnis, who says:

Hélène daigna suivre un berger ravisseur;
Berger comme Pâris, j'embrasse mon Hélène.⁶

In both poems, the shepherdess begins by resisting the wiles of her handsome young wooer, rebukes him for taking liberties with her person, and declares herself to be a votary of Artemis; very quickly she yields to the blandishments of the Aphrodite-worshipping and marriage-promising Daphnis, and her fate is sealed in the two lines with which Chénier ends his poem:

Nais: J'entr'ai fille dans ce bois, et chère à ma Déesse.
Daphnis: Tu vas en sortir femme, et chère à ton époux.

Note the close parallel between this and the Lang translation, where we read:

The Maiden. A maiden I came hither, a woman shall I go homeward
Daphnis. Nay, a wife and a mother of children shalt thou be, no more
a maiden.

The Greek idyll ends with a comment by the poet which Chénier omits, and which Lang translates in these words:

So, each to each, in the joy of their young fresh limbs they were murmuring: it was the hour of secret love. Then she arose, and stole to herd

⁵ *Vide* Lang, p. 148, Clouard, p. 37.

⁶ Lang, p. 147, Clouard, p. 36.

her sheep; with shamefast eyes she went, but her heart was comforted within her. And he went to his herds of kine, rejoicing in his wedlock.⁷

In the main, then, Chénier followed his original rather closely. His chief changes were in the direction of toning down what must have seemed bits of coarseness or unnecessary realism in the original. A few parallels will make this clear:

1. a. The Maiden. 'Tis for thee to caress thy kine, not a maiden unwed.
b. Nais: Adresse ailleurs ces vœux dont l'ardeur me poursuit.
2. a. The Maiden. Lay no hand on me; nay, if thou do more, and touch me with thy lips, I will bite thee
b. Nais: Berger, retiens ta main—; berger, crains ma colère.
3. a. The Maiden. But I fear childbirth, lest, perchance, I lose my beauty.
b. Nais: Quelle beauté survit à ces rudes combats?
4. a. The Maiden. What dost thou, little satyr; why dost thou touch my breast?
Daphnis. I will show thee that these earliest apples are ripe.
b. Nais: Satyre, que fais-tu? Quoi, ta main ose encore . . .
Daphnis: Eh! laisse-moi toucher ces fruits délicieux . . . Et ce jeune duvet. . .
5. a. The Maiden. Thou makest me lie down by the water-course, defiling my fair raiment!
b. Nais: Non, arrête . . . Vois, cet humide gazon
Va souiller ma tunique, et je serais perdue.
6. a. The Maiden. Thou dost promise all things, but soon thou wilt not give me even a grain of salt.
b. Nais: Tu promets maintenant . . . Tu préviens mon envie;
Bientôt à mes regrets tu m'abandonneras.
7. a. The Maiden. Artemis, be not wrathful, thy votary breaks her vow.
Daphnis. I will slay a calf for Love, and for Aphrodite herself a heifer.
b. Nais: Ah . . . Daphnis! je me meurs . . . Apaise ton courroux,
Diane . . .
Daphnis: Que crains-tu? L'Amour sera pour nous.
Nais: Ah! méchant, qu'as-tu fait?
Daphnis: J'ai signé ma promesse.⁸

Perhaps the most striking change introduced by Chénier involves the names of the parents of the two lovers. Whereas the Daphnis

⁷ *Vide* Clouard, p. 42, and Lang, p. 151. The poems occupy pp. 36-42 and pp. 147-151 of their respective volumes and the citations which follow are taken from these pages.

⁸ The above seven passages are transcribed without change from Lang and Clouard, respectively. The suspension points in the passages from Chénier are in the Clouard text and do not indicate the omission of words.

of the original states that "Lycidas is my father and Nomaea my mother," Chénier's counterpart does not mention his mother and gives his father's name as Palémon. Similarly, the Daphnis of the Greek poet says that the maiden's father is named Menalcas; Chénier has Nais refer to "mon père" but not by name. Palémon is undoubtedly an invention, since it is found in none of the manuscripts of the original.

So much for the author of the "Bucoliques." We turn now to Joséphin Souly, leader of a "pléiade"⁹ of Lyonese poets and author of the brilliant set of sonnet-cycles entitled *Sonnets humoristiques* (Lyon, Scheuring, 1858). Vol. II of the three-volume Lemerre edition of his *Oeuvres poétiques* (Paris, s. d.) contains a section captioned "Variations sur un vieux thème," which consists of a six-line "Prologue" and two poems, "Dans un vallon de Co l'an 250 avant J.-C." and "Un peu partout en l'an de grâce 1864." Like Chénier, Souly assumed that Theocritus was the author of the poem he was translating, as we learn from the "Prologue," which reads:

O Théocrite! A l'étourdie
J'ai tronqué tes vers éclatants;
Daigne excuser ma perfidie!
La France n'est pas l'Arcadie;
On faisait l'amour, de ton temps;
Nous en faisons la parodie.¹⁰

We are here dealing, then, with a rendition of the so-called twenty-seventh idyll of Theocritus and a travesty of this idyll. The translation and the parody are printed side by side, the former in italics on the even-numbered pages, the latter in regular type on the odd; the two poems have exactly the same number of lines, sixty-four of dialogue and five of concluding comment (the dialogue is written in alexandrine couplets, the comment forms a cinquain rhyming in one case aabba and in the other aabab). In his adaptation of the Greek idyll, Souly followed the original much more closely than did Chénier, so that the two poems are of about the same length. The French poet employs the Greek pattern of making the dialogue consist of single verses spoken alternately by the two lovers; incidentally, it may be noted that Souly replaces the less

⁹ Vide Paul Mariéton: *Joséphin Souly et la pléiade lyonnaise*, Paris, Marpon et Flammarion, 1884.

¹⁰ Joséphin Souly: *Oeuvres poétiques*, II, 53.

usual name of Naïs given the shepherdess by Chénier with the one naturally associated, because of Longus' famous novel, with Daphnis, that is to say, Chloé. And Soulary's poem closes with the comment which, as we have seen, Chénier omitted, and which I shall cite as an illustration of his use of the original:

Ainsi tous deux, cueillant la fleur de leur matin,
Gazouillaient, et, furtifs, loin du nid clandestin,
Regagnaient leurs troupeaux errants dans la vallée,
Chloé, les yeux confus, la pensée affolée,
Daphnis, le cœur en joie et le regard hautain.¹¹

By way of further illustration, I quote a few of the lines in Soulary's poem which correspond to verses in Chénier already compared with the Lang translation. "Dans un vallon de Co" begins with two lines which parallel almost word for word those of the original:

Chloé: La sage Hélène aime Pâris, un pâtre aussi.
Daphnis: Et moi, pâtre, j'embrasse une autre Hélène ici.

Similarly, the dialogue closes with these verses:

Chloé: Hélas! j'arrivai fille, et m'en retourne femme.
Daphnis: Epouse, bientôt mère, et plus chère à mon âme.

The line: "Come hither beneath the elms, to listen to my pipe," is rendered by Soulary: "Ma flûte a de beaux sons: viens sous l'orme l'entendre." That Soulary did not share Chénier's squeamishness is obvious from a comparison of the following verses with their equivalents, quoted above, in Lang (I quote in the same order):

1. Chloé: Va-t'en baiser tes veaux; respecte une innocente.
2. Chloé: A moi, Diane! A bas les mains, ou gare aux yeux.
3. Chloé: On est mère, on allaite: adieu le corps vanté.
4. Chloé: Hé! fureteur! que fait ta main dans mon corsage?
Daphnis: De ces pommes en fleurs je m'assure le gage.
5. Chloé: Tu m'as jetée à terre . . . Ah! ma robe est perdue!

Finally, in the matter of the names of the parents, Soulary differs from Chénier in following his source directly; for he has Daphnis say, "Mes auteurs sont Lycidas et Nomée" and give Ménalque as the name of Chloé's father. The Soulary rendition, thus, is much

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68. The remaining citations occur on even-numbered pages from 54 to 68.

closer to the original than is that of Chénier and, consequently, is much simpler and more plain-spoken.

Soulary's parody of the charming Greek idyll parallels it only in structure; in theme and treatment, it is characterized by a sophistication which is in dubious taste. It is probable that Soulary made the version of the idyll merely as a pretext for the composition of the parody; if this is so, his arrow fell very wide of the mark, for the version possesses much of the youthful freshness of the original, while the parody is worthless as poetry. It is the account of the love-making of a rake who, having satisfied his desire and discovered that the girl is not the virgin he had supposed her to be, "allume son cigare et rentre à son café."¹² The poem opens with these lines:

Chloé: Qui, moi, votre maîtresse? Ah! ce mot m'injurie!

Daphnis: Tout d'abord aimons-nous; le reste est prudence.

Chloé: Je veux bien vous aimer, mais à titre d'époux.

Daphnis: L'époux détruit l'amant; ce titre seul est doux.

To win this "title," the seducer overcomes, one by one, the objections of the victim, presumably anxious to preserve her honor. When she expresses herself as contented with her poverty, because "On est pieuse, on prie, et Dieu vous vient en aide," he flippantly counters with the warning: "Le mal de ce régime est qu'on meurt du remède." When, tempted by his promise of "maison, chevaux, laquais, bijoux," she is restrained by the thought: "Si ma mère savait!" he cynically assures her: "On tient son enfant riche en estime plus haute." From the point at which the conquest is about to be consummated, the "variation" becomes almost a verbatim restatement of the "theme" in the words spoken by the two Chloés. Note the following parallel lines, the first in each case from the translation of the idyll, the second from the parody:

1. Plusieurs se sont offerts: mon cœur n'a pas battu.
Plusieurs m'ont fait la cour: aucun ne m'a charmée.
2. Vrai? J'aurai ma maison, mon lit, ma bergerie?
Hé, dites! La maison sera vraiment à moi?
3. Ton nom? doux est le nom de la personne aimée!
Dites-moi votre nom; j'en raffole, à coup sûr!
4. Hé! fureteur! que fait ta main dans mon corsage?
Que faites-vous, monsieur? Ce n'est pas bien du tout!

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 69. The remaining quotations occur on odd-numbered pages from 55 to 69.

5. Ta main . . . retire-la. Je suis toute en émoi.
A bas la main! . . . Sortez cette main, ou je crie.
- 6 Ma ceinture, à présent! pourquoi la dénouer?
Vous allez déchirer ma robe, c'est indigne!
7. Le désir promet tout; puis, la soif assouvie . . .
Oui, promesses en l'air! Demain vous en rirez.

The humor of the parody lies in the answers of the nineteenth-century Daphnis and in the five-line concluding comment in which we are told that Chloé, having failed to trap her wealthy suitor into marriage, "gronde en son cœur de dépit étouffé" as Daphnis lights his cigar and goes off "fredonnant l'air de la *Dame blanche*." Soulayr's metamorphosis of the Theocritean rustics is a clever *gauloiserie*.

This brings us to the poem of Armand d'Artois, "Oaristys," described, like its predecessors in Chénier and Soulayr, as an "idylle d'après Théocrite." Indeed, this poem, insofar as its content is concerned, is an exact replica of its prototypes; its *raison d'être* lies in its form and in a greater emphasis on the "carpe diem" aspects of its theme which affiliates it with the poetry of the Pléiade and, more particularly, with the charming *bergerettes* of the 18th century. As examples of the latter, I cite the following brief passages, which will, at the same time, serve to illustrate Artois' style. In answer to the proud declaration of "la Jeune fille," "Je suis vierge!" Daphnis counsels:¹³

Moins de fierté!
De la jeunesse l'heure est brève,
Elle passera comme un rêve
Où comme une ombre sur la grève.

And when "la Jeune fille" hesitates to yield to Daphnis' pleas because "le mariage Traîne avec soi mille maux déchirants," the insistent wooer replies:

Erreur, enfant! L'hymen n'apporte
A ceux qu'il assembla par des liens chéris
Que des plaisirs de toute sorte:
Pas de chagrins, mais les Jeux et les Ris,
Pas de douleurs, mais de douces caresses!

Incidentally, it will be seen from the above that Artois is the only one of the three French poets to follow the original in leaving the

¹³ Armand d'Artois: *Muse et musette*, Paris, Emile-Paul, 1912, pp. 23-34, from which pages the citations are taken.

shepherdess nameless. Curiously enough, while following Chénier in giving to Daphnis' father the name of Palémon (instead of that of Lycidas found in the original and in Soulayr), he follows his 19th-century predecessor (and the original) in calling Daphnis' mother Nomoea and the maiden's father Ménalkas.

In form, Artois employs only sparingly the alexandrines of the Chénier and Soulayr versions, using a pattern in which octosyllabics predominate though decasyllabics and alexandrines occur. The rhyme-scheme is not fixed, couplets, tercets, and quatrains being employed at the whim of the poet. Because of the predominance of the octosyllabic verse and a marked tendency to periphrasis on Artois' part, his poem is much longer than any of the other three, its two hundred seven verses being exactly three times the sixty-nine of Soulayr's version. Moreover, the staccato alternation of single verses in the original and in Soulayr makes way, in Artois, for a succession of irregular stanzas which give to the whole a more fluid and, at the same time, more blurred outline than is the case with his predecessors. Artois' intention, obviously, was to augment the lyric elements of the poem while, at the same time, attempting to preserve its dramatic character.

In order to bring into sharper relief the similarities and differences in the four compositions, I shall cite from Artois' poem passages parallel to those already given from Lang, Chénier, and Soulayr. Artois' "Oaristys" opens with two couplets in which a predilection for ornamentation at once manifests itself:

La Jeune Fille

C'est par force, berger, que Pâris, le beau pâtre,
Triompha de la sage Hélène aux bras d'albâtre.

Daphnis

Et mon Hélène à moi, sans s'y voir obliger,
Vient de baiser sur la bouche un autre berger.

In none of the other versions is there any reference to Helen's arms, and the "sans s'y voir obliger" of Daphnis' couplet is something of a *cheville*. (Attention might be called here to the occurrence of the caesura after the seventh syllable in the second line of this couplet, a phenomenon typical of liberties taken by Artois throughout his poem.) In concluding the dialogue between the young lovers, Artois departs from the tradition in giving the last word to "la Jeune fille" who, in the following rather elaborate strophe, laments the loss of her virginity:

O ma virginité, que j'avais préservée
 D'Eros et de sa trahison,
 Tu me fuis pour jamais, en ma jeune saison!
 Ma destinée est achevée . . .
 Vierge, ici je suis arrivée
 Pour rentrer femme à la maison.

This is followed by a conclusion for which Artois needs twelve verses to say what Soulary had said in five. It is obvious, then, that the latest of the four poems is also the wordiest.

Despite this wordiness, however, Artois does not hesitate to give literal renditions of some of the passages of the original which Chénier preferred to paraphrase. Thus he has "la Jeune fille" declare:

Berger, si, pour que tu finisses,
 Il te faut embrasser quelqu'un,
 Embrasse une de tes génisses!

Or again:

Ah! c'est l'enfantement encor
 Et ses suites que je redoute!

When she expresses, in unmistakable language, her fears of her wooer's intentions:

Que fais-tu là, petit satyre?
 Et pourquoi touches-tu mon sein?
 Finis donc! Quel est ton dessein?

he replies with a metaphor that he might have borrowed from Chénier:

De cueillir ces beaux fruits dont le charme m'attire.

She tries to ward off her fate:

Berger! berger, ton bras me pousse . . .
 Je vais tomber et salir mes habits.

And when she suspects the veracity of Daphnis' promises, she substitutes a "grain de mil" for the "grain of salt" of the original:

Oui, ce n'est rien que de promettre!
 Tu ne parles que de donner, berger subtil,
 Aujourd'hui! Mais demain, qui sait? demain, peut-être,
 Ne me donneras-tu pas même un grain de mil.

Having succumbed to her lover, she begs Artemis for forgiveness:

O puissante Artémis dont j'affronte le blâme,
 Déesse de la Chasteté,
 Pour ton culte que j'ai quitté
 Ne me regarde pas de ton œil irrité.

And, though he does so in speech more florid than is that of his Greek prototype, Daphnis makes a specific vow to the gods for the fulfillment of his desires:

Je veux aux Immortels offrir un sacrifice
 Afin que nous soyons toujours leurs favoris,
 Et je vais immoler sur leurs autels fleuris
 D'anémones et de narcisse,
 Au jeune Eros une blanche génisse,
 Une vache blanche à Cypris!

Of the three versions of the Theocritean idyll here discussed, that of Soulayr conforms most closely to the original. As we have seen, however, the presence of the parody casts some doubt on the honesty of the poet's intention in making the rendition. Chénier and Artois, on the other hand, would seem to have been motivated by a genuine desire to reproduce in their own tongue a captivating specimen of Greek pastoral poetry.¹⁴ As between the relatively simple sensuousness of Chénier and the baroque artificiality of Artois, there is probably little room for choice. But wherever individual preferences may lie, one clear if obvious fact stands out: the direct appeal of Theocritus to three French poets within the course of a little more than a century. This is but another testimonial to the amazing hold which Greek literature has had on French writers and readers from the Pléiade to our own day, from Ronsard and du Bellay to Gide, Giraudoux, Cocteau, Jean Anouilh, and Jean-Paul Sartre.¹⁵

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¹⁴ Leconte de Lisle, in his volume of translations of Hesiod, Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, Tyrtæus, the Orphic hymns and the Anacreontic odes (traduction nouvelle, Paris, Lemerre, s.d.), includes "l'Oaristys" in its accustomed place as the twenty-seventh of the idylls of Theocritus (pp. 262-269). But as this is a very faithful rendition, in prose, of the original, it is outside the province of the present paper.

¹⁵ I wish to make grateful acknowledgment for the assistance rendered me, in the preparation of this paper, by Dr. H. J. Leon, of the department of Classical Languages of The University of Texas.

THE RENAISSANCE FORERUNNERS OF THE NEO-CLASSIC LYRIC

In an excellent article, Catherine Walsh Peltz has described the neo-classic lyric as "artificial in content, polished in style" and seeking the "flawless expression of conventionalized thoughts, reactions, attitudes concerning love making."¹ The *loci critici* for this lyric are found in the passage on songs in the Earl of Mulgrave's *An Essay on Poetry* (1682) and in Ambrose Philips' essay on song-writing in *Guardian* 16 (March 30, 1713). Miss Peltz believes that the conception of the lyric held by the majority of the poets and critics of the Restoration and of the greater part of the eighteenth century does not coincide with that held in the Renaissance. I should like to add a footnote to this idea, a partial contradiction of it: The conception of the lyric as found in Mulgrave and Philips is identical with one held in the Renaissance, and the word *song* gives us a clue: The neo-classic lyric and the neo-classic conception of the lyric derive in part from the Renaissance madrigal and "air."

In ancient Greece a lyric was a poem intended for musical performance to the accompaniment of the lyre. Both Horace and Catullus wrote imitations of such poems, but their imitations were meant for reading from a manuscript. In antiquity, therefore, the lyric was of two types, lyric poems and "lyrics" for songs; and the distinction survives today. In the eighteenth century Dr. Charles Burney defined the lyric poet as one who writes poems for music,² and Dr. John Aikin said that song is a branch of lyric poetry.³ It cannot but be that the ideals of the song should sometimes be the same as those of the lyric poem, and *vice versa*. Consequently it appears that the Renaissance madrigal and "air" could be instrumental in creating the form of the neo-classical lyric, even as was the work of writers who imitated the lyrics of Anacreon, Catullus, and Horace. The neo-classic lyric was influenced not only by Ben Jonson and his "Tribe," the literary imitators of the ancient lyric, but also by Campion and his fellows, the musical composers who

¹ "The Neo-Classic Lyric 1660-1725," *English Literary History*, XI (1944), 96.

² *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London, 1771), p. 47.

³ *Essays on Song-Writing*, a New Edition, with Additions and Corrections, and a Supplement, by R. H. Evans (London, 1810), p. 17.

imitated the musical settings of poetry which came to England from Italy. The result was that the neo-classic lyric has characteristics in common with its Renaissance predecessors in song.

Like the eighteenth century lyric, the poems upon which madrigals and "airs" were based had the virtues of brevity. If the poems themselves were sometimes comparatively long, their basic unit was the short stanza. *The Triumphs of Oriana*, a collection of madrigals published in 1601 under the editorship of John Morley, contains twenty-four lyrics.⁴ A count reveals that all save one are in single stanzas, and that this one has three stanzas, each of which, as in the neo-classic lyric, is a complete thought in itself and does not "run on" into the stanza following it. In the madrigal the single stanza was common since it was almost impossible to use different stanzas for the contrapuntal type of writing of which the madrigal consisted. All of the lyrics in *The Triumphs of Oriana* end with a two-line tag (4a3b) which furnishes repetition to the entire set of madrigals and ties them together. The number of lines in each lyric *minus* the refrain runs from four to twelve. Two madrigals contain four lines, one has five, three have six, one has seven, four have eight, one has nine, four have ten, three have eleven, and four have twelve. The average number of lines is approximately eight. But eight-line stanzas and other of the longer ones usually break into smaller units on the basis of punctuation, and the four-line group therefore prevails. As in the neo-classic lyric, the most frequently used type of poetic foot is iambic, and trimeter lines predominate. Furthermore, longer lines in pentameter, hexameter, or septameter break into smaller units so that for purposes of musical composition the most common types of lines are trimeter and tetrameter. As for rhyme, to which Campion objected in English poetry, it is found everywhere, even in Campion's "airs," and it is always "close" because the lines are short.

The neatness and polish of madrigal verse are found also in the poetical foundation for the "air." In Campion's *Second Book of*

⁴It was not a practice to indicate the authors of the words of madrigals and "airs." Most of the poems are anonymous; a few are translations from the Italian. More poems are identified as coming from Sidney than from anyone else, but Spenser runs a close second to him. See Edmund H. Fellowes, *The English Madrigal School. A Guide to Its Practical Use* (London: Stainer and Bell, n. d.), Part IV, p. 88. Also, Edmund H. Fellowes, *The English Madrigal* (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), pp. 64 ff.

Airs (1613) there are twenty-one poems, all in stanza form, like the single example from Morley's *Triumphs*, and all conform to the standard of separability between the stanzas. Stanzas run from six lines to sixteen, but the usual number is eight. The longer stanzas break into parts because meaning is frequently expressed in quatrains which, though printed without separation, carry separate ideas. Again, tetrameter and trimeter lines are frequent, and longer lines break into these units. Even dimeter, also found in some of the verse in Wagner's music-dramas, is to be found here. Though the madrigal and the air belonged to different musical traditions, the brevity of the lines and stanzas upon which both were based was necessary to the best and most convenient adaptation of poetry to music. The shorter the poetic line, the less unwieldy is it for the composer.

It is also true that the shorter the poetic line and the shorter the stanzaic unit, the higher the degree of polish demanded of the poem as a whole. The miniature is required to have a perfection which the more diffuse and noble work need not and cannot achieve. Like the neo-classic lyric which followed them, madrigals and "airs" demanded the epigrammatic quality of which Philips spoke.

"A Song," he said, "should be conducted like an Epigram."⁵ Twice he had been anticipated in saying this, and both times by Campion. In the Rosseter book of "airs," Campion wrote that "what Epigrams are in Poetrie, the same are Ayres in musicke, then in their chiefe perfection when they are short and well seasoned." And therefore long preludes and many long rests do violence to the form of the "air." But a

naked Ayre without guide, or prop, or colour but his owne, is easily censured of everie eare, and requires so much the more invention to make it please. And as Martial speaks in defence of his short Epigrams, so I say in th'apologie of Ayres, that where there is a full volume, there can be no imputation of shortnes.⁶

In his *Two Books of Airs* (ca. 1613) Campion wrote in a similar vein. "Short Ayres," he said,

⁵ "Essay on Song-Writing," *The Guardian* 16 (1713), p. 72.

⁶ Philip Rosseter, *Book of Ayres* (1601), "Introduction to the Reader," written by Campion. See the Percival Vivian edition of *Campion's Works* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1909), p. 5; and the edition of Rosseter's book in Edmund H. Fellowes, *The English School of Lutenist Song-Writers*, Two Series, 32 Vols. (London: Stainer and Bell, 1920-1932).

if they be skilfully framed, and naturally exprest, are like quicke and good Epigrammes in Poesie, many of them shewing as much artifice, and breeding as great difficultie as a larger Poeme. . . .⁷

Campion's defense of the "air" as a complete form requiring artifice of a high quality had been anticipated by John Dowland. In the preface to Part I of his *First Book of Aires* (1597) Dowland called for "that kind of musicke, which to the sweetness of instrument applies the lively voice of man, expressing some worthy sentence or excellent Poeme," and in his reference to a "sentence" he came close to stating Campion's idea of the importance of the epigrammatic quality of the poetry of the "air."

The models for the poetry of Renaissance song were the same as those for neo-classic poetry: namely, Greek and Latin poets. The required epigrammatic quality was in Catullus and Martial, as Campion maintained, and also in Sapphic verse. Philips too was to mention Sappho, but he held up as examples also Anacreon, Horace, and the writers of French songs; he explicitly named Donne and Cowley, followers of the literary rather than of the true song tradition in the lyric, as men who used too much material in one poem for one song. In his use of the idea of song as epigram (and therefore, as Miss Peltz maintains, of the lyrical poem as epigram), Philips was close to Campion and closer to the song tradition than to the literary one.

The similarity observed between the poetic forms of which I have been speaking extends also to content or subject-matter. Though collections of Renaissance songs, notably Byrd's *Songs of Sundry Natures to 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts* (1589, 1610) and his *Psalms, Songs, and Sonnets, Some Solemn, others Joyful, to 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts* (1611), contain verses on a variety of subjects, even religious ones, most of the themes of the poetry of madrigals and "airs," like most of the themes of the neo-classic lyric, are amorous in nature. They are expressed in conventional amatory conceits and differ from eighteenth century themes chiefly in their complexity, though, being intended for musical presentation, they are less complex than most "conceited" Renaissance verse—a necessity determined by the requirement that what is sung must be heard quickly and understood quickly. Campion never became a "metaphysical" poet like Donne partly because as a musical composer he could not.

⁷ Vivian, *Campion's Works*, p. 114.

In the verse of the madrigals and "airs" one finds the conventional treatment of love among nymphs and shepherds in a pastoral setting; one meets with May-day settings and scenes of festive days, of wedding days, and of days of celebration like those in honor of Robin Hood. The poems are both gay and sad, but lightness and gaiety prevail. Campion admitted that the subject of his "airs" was for the most part amorous, and defensively he added, "and why not amorous songs, as well as amorous attitudes?"⁸ And in his *Fourth Book of Ayres* (ca. 1617) he said that if any "squeamish Stomackes"

shall checke at two or three vain Ditties in the end of this Booke, let them poure off the clearest, and leave those as dregs in the bottome. Howsoever if they be but conferred with the *Canterbury Tales* of that venerable Poet Chaucer, they will then appeare toothsome enough.⁹

Robert Jones, on the other hand, was indifferent to the ill effects of lusty amorousness or to any censure which such amorousness in songs should earn. In his *A Muses Gardin for Delights, or Fifth Booke of Ayres* (1610) he exulted, it seems, and apologized not at all because

In your first entrance into which Garden, you shall meet with Love, Love, and nought but Love, set foorth at large in his colours, by way of decyphering him in his nature. In the midst of it, you shall find Love rejected, upon inconstancie and hard measure of ingratitude: Touching them that are lovers, I leave them to their own censure in Loves description.¹⁰

In another respect was Renaissance song-verse like the neo-classic lyric: They both received, if they did not merit, disrespect and disapproval. The same attitude prevailed towards these genres and towards the poetry connected with them that Miss Peltz has found among neo-classic critics of the lyric poem. Giles Farnaby apologized for his "sillie" works;¹¹ and Thomas Tompkins said that "For the lightnesse of some of the words I can only pleade an olde

⁸ Campion's introduction "To the Reader" to Rosseter's book of airs, ed. Vivian, p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹⁰ See the reprint of Jones' work in Fellowes' *The English School of Lutenist Song-Writers*.

¹¹ Dedication to Master Ferdinand Heaburn in *Canzonets to Four Voices* (1598), reprinted in E. H. Fellowes' *The English Madrigal School*, 36 Vols. (London: Stainer and Bell, 1916-1924.)

(but ill) custome, which I wish were abrogated. . . ."¹² Campion wrote that "as in Poesie we give preheminnence to the Historically Poeme, so in Musicke we yeeld the chief place to the grave, and well intentioned Motet. . . ." ¹³ Contrapuntal "religious" music clearly still carried respect, as did the epic, but the lyrical poem, like the music it accompanied, was thought inferior as art. And yet it could be defended if one said with Campion when he wrote of the "air," that it has both its "Art and pleasure. . . ."

When Mulgrave and Philips used the word *song*, they were not being ambiguous. Their predecessors were Renaissance writers of madrigals and "airs" (and especially the latter), and the literary ideals they expressed came from theories based upon the requirements of music-and-poetry. Some of those requirements were determined by the music itself. The words of the song, by reason of the demands of music, were required to occur in short forms, and especially in short lines. Furthermore, the words of a song had to undergo those frequent repetitions which poetry-as-such finds unnecessary but which music by its very nature demands. Any form of song encourages the adoption of short, well-defined forms of verse, and any poetry, like the neo-classic lyric, in the tradition of the song will tend to adopt them too.

But the general rhythm of the song derives from the words, since the ideal of song-writers has always been to effect a veritable wedding between the words and the music. Campion's words and his music, for instance, were never intended to be printed or performed separately. The true accent was in the words, which singers sang with their true *ictus* as the composer had designed and ordered them. The music followed the laws of true speech and of poetry. Words well-spoken were the basis of the words well-sung.

And therefore the ideals of lyric poets in the Restoration and eighteenth century, the ideals of conciseness, polish and cadence, were the ideals too of Renaissance song-writers who had the necessities of two media of art to satisfy. The poetry of both groups was worldly and had a semi-narrative quality usually absent from the lyric poetry written since 1800. It had that quality of the exact propriety of words and thoughts for which Mulgrave asked, and

¹² Dedication to William, Earl of Pembroke in *Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts* (1622), reprinted in *ibid.*

¹³ "To the Reader," Rosseter's book of airs, Vivian, p. 4.

the character of a little image in enamel for which Philips asked. It had a quality of objectivity of expression and of excessive refinement and smoothness of form. In the Renaissance song these qualities were achieved partly because the artist had to strive for the effect in performance of the perfect marriage of poetry and music. In the Restoration and the eighteenth century, these qualities were aimed for because the writer of the lyric poem had two traditions to follow: the ancient one, and the English one. And since the English one came from the Renaissance, when poetry and music had not achieved complete independence from one another, the history of the English lyric, especially of the neo-classic one, is inextricably linked with the history of English music in the song.

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THE LITERARY BACKGROUND FOR CLAUDEL'S *PARABOLE D'ANIMUS ET ANIMA*

In Paul Claudel's collection of essays, *Positions et Propositions*,¹ there is an interlude in the first essay, *Réflexions sur le vers français*, entitled *Parabole d'Animus et Anima*, inserted, he says, "Pour faire comprendre certaines poésies d'Arthur Rimbaud." The parable reads as follows:

Tout ne va pas bien dans le ménage d'Animus et Anima, l'esprit et l'âme. Le temps est loin, la lune de miel a été bientôt finie, pendant laquelle Anima avait le droit de parler tout à son aise et Animus l'écoutait avec ravissement. Après tout, n'est-ce pas Anima qui a apporté la dot et qui fait vivre le ménage? Mais Animus ne s'est pas laissé longtemps réduire à cette position subalterne et bientôt il a révélé sa véritable nature, vaniteuse, pédantesque et tyrannique. Anima est une ignorante et une sotte, elle n'a jamais été à l'école, tandis qu'Animus sait un tas de choses, il a lu un tas de choses dans ses livres, il s'est appris à parler avec un petit caillou dans la bouche, et maintenant, quand il parle, il parle si bien que tous ses amis disent qu'on ne peut mieux parler qu'il ne parle. On n'en finirait pas de l'écouter. Maintenant Anima n'a plus le droit de dire un mot, il lui ôte comme on dit les mots de la bouche, il sait mieux qu'elle ce qu'elle veut dire et au moyen de ses théories et réminiscences il roule tout ça, il arrange ça si bien que la pauvre simple n'y reconnaît plus rien. Animus n'est pas fin fidèle, mais cela ne l'empêche pas d'être jaloux, car dans

¹ Paris, 1927-32.

le fond il sait bien que c'est Anima qui a toute la fortune, lui est un gueux et ne vit de ce qu'elle lui donne. Aussi il ne cesse de l'exploiter et de la tourmenter pour lui tirer des sous, il la pince pour la faire crier, il combine des farces, il invente des choses pour lui faire de la peine et pour voir ce qu'elle dira, et le soir il raconte tout cela au café à ses amis. Pendant ce temps, elle reste en silence à la maison à faire la cuisine et à nettoyer tout comme elle peut après ces réunions littéraires qu'empistent la vomissure et le tabac. Du reste c'est exceptionnel; dans le fond Animus est un bourgeois, il a des habitudes régulières, il aime qu'on lui serve toujours les mêmes plats. Mais il vient d'arriver quelque chose de drôle. Un jour qu'Animus rentrait à l'improviste, ou peut-être qu'il sommeillait après dîner, ou peut-être qu'il était absorbé dans son travail, il a entendu Anima qui chantait toute seule, derrière la porte fermée; une curieuse chanson, quelque chose qu'il ne connaissait pas, pas moyen de trouver les notes ou les paroles ou la clef; une étrange et merveilleuse chanson. Depuis, il a essayé surnoisement de la lui faire répéter, mais Anima fait celle qui ne comprend pas. Elle se tait dès qu'il la regarde. L'âme se tait dès que l'esprit la regarde. Alors Animus a trouvé un truc, il va s'arranger pour lui faire croire qu'il n'y est pas. Il va dehors, il cause bruyamment avec ses amis, il siffle, il touche du luth, il scie du bois, il chante des refrains idiots. Peu à peu Anima se rassure, elle regarde, elle écoute, elle respire, elle se croit seule, et sans bruit elle va ouvrir la porte à son amant divin. Mais Animus, comme on dit, a les yeux derrière la tête.

It is interesting to speculate on what, if any, were Claudel's literary sources for this parable; whether, in this light, entertaining allegory on the aesthetics of poetry, he harks back to any of the ponderous discussions to be found in both classical and mediaeval Latin literature, where the human soul is divided into its elements, and the Animus and the Anima are given just such contrasting roles to play. The most obvious of such sources, I think, would be the third book of Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura*. Here, in his poetic version of Epicurus's atomistic philosophy, Lucretius divides the human being into four classes of atoms: the *corpus*, or purely animal aspect, the *animus*, or mental, regulating influence, the *anima*, or general quality of aliveness throughout the body, and a fourth nameless substance which is the basic source of life within the human being. (This substance Lucretius generally keeps shy of in his discussion, its quality and source of existence being too elusive for definition.)² And the contrasting qualities with which the poet endows the *anima* and *animus* might well lead them to be symbolized, as Claudel has done, by Man and Woman joined in matrimony:

² Munro's notes on the third book of Lucretius (Vol. 11, London, 1908), have been helpful in clarifying this.

Nunc animum atque animam dico coniuncta teneri
inter se atque unam naturam conficere in se —

D R. N. 111, 135-6.

And as with Claudel, the *animus* is the organizer of the two:

— sed caput esse quasi et dominari in corpore toto
consilium quod nos animum mentemque vocamus.
idque situm media regione in pectore haeret,
hic exultat enim pavor ac metus, haec loca circum
laetitiae mulcent; hic ergo mens animusque est.
cetera pars animae per totum dissita corpus
paret et ad numen mentis nomenque movetur.

Ibid. 137-143.

But beyond this point Lucretius fails to uphold the parable. Claudel describes his ménage as somewhat disturbed by the growing suspicion on the part of Animus that his wife is perhaps the more powerful figure of the two, in spite of her apparent submission. Lucretius's *animus* would have had no such misgivings. For Lucretius is a pagan, ardently engaged in disproving the immortality of the soul; and therefore no higher force could exist for him within the human being, than that which rationally governs the actions of the body.

Et magis est animus vitae claustra coercens
et dominantior ad vitam quam vis animae.

Ibid. 396-7.

But for Claudel, a Christian thinker, the belief that the soul may exist independently of the body causes the part of it most directly concerned with physical action (and devoid of function after the death of the body) to be subordinated to that part which is more intangibly situated in relation to corporeal substance. It is only with the adoption of Christian beliefs, therefore, that the *anima* gains the prestige attributed to it by Claudel.

Tertullian, then, in his acute analysis of the Christian soul, is perhaps a more plausible source for Claudel's parable. In the *De Anima*, as in Lucretius's poem, the distinction is stressed between the *animus* and the *anima*, and again the *animus* appears as the more concrete, practical force of the two:

Proinde, et animum . . . non aliud quid intellegimus quam suggestum
animae ingenitum et insitum, et nativitus proprium, quo agit, quo sapit,
quem secum habens ex semetipsa se commoveat in semetipsa, atque ita

moveri videatur ab illo tamquam substantia alia. . . . Nos autem animum ita dicimus animae concretum, non ut substantia alium, set ut substantiae officium. *De Anima*, XII.

However, the *anima* has now gained the upper hand:

Ad hoc dispicere superest, principalitas ubi sit, id est, qui cui praeest, . . . Enimvero, quis non animae dabit summam omnem, cuius nomine totius hominis mentio titulata est? . . . Ut autem et a Deo discas, animam Deus semper adloquitur, animam compellat atque advocat, ut animum sibi advertat. Illam salvam venit facere Christus, illam perdere in gehennam comminatur. . . . Habes animae principalitatem, habes in illa et substantiae unionem, cuius intelligas instrumentum esse animum, non patrocinium.

Ibid. XIII.

There are of course other possible sources for the parable, but I think that these listed above are probably the clearest examples which can be found, of the contrasted use of *animus* and *anima*. For while Lactantius also appears vaguely conscious of such a distinction,³ his conclusions are, I think, too cloudy to have inspired this parable. And while the article *animus* in Ernout-Meillet's *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Latine*,⁴ cites many examples wherein *animus* and *anima* are used differently, it is not so much concerned with a single writer who consciously illustrates this distinction (such as Lucretius or Tertullian), as with the discrepancy in meaning between the two words throughout Latin literature in general. The examples cited show the Latin words to be used for the widely-differing concepts of *θυμός* and *ψυχή*, and illustrate the gradual substitution, in ecclesiastical writing, of *spiritus* for *animus* (and hence the French "esprit," which Claudel himself adopts as its translation). But none of the examples which the article quotes indicate an interest in the contrast of the two words so much as in the concept behind one or the other. Lucretius or Tertullian, therefore, or a combination of both, would probably be the most likely literary sources, either direct or indirect, for Claudel's parable.

Another possibility, however, and the one I believe most likely of all, is that the story has no fixed literary source at all; that its background is as general as the whole concept of the Rational and the Irrational as combined in the human soul. For if we examine the passages quoted above, we will notice that with neither Lucre-

³ Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Paris, 1857-1903, Vol. VI, ch. 18.

⁴ Paris, 1932, p. 50.

tius nor Tertullian could there exist the subtle, almost even balance of power which Claudel pictures as existing between the *animus* and the *anima*, as either of the former writers conceive of them. For one, a pagan, the *animus* is clearly master. For the other, a Christian, it is as clearly the servant. But the Animus and Anima of Claudel's story represent two more evenly matched elements of the soul, and hence the possibility of impending domestic rupture within the ménage.

The conflict which Claudel pictures is the conflict of Faith and Reason in religion, of inspiration and mechanical technique in art⁵ — of those elements within the human soul which are at once mutually indispensable and mutually incompatible. And my belief is that Claudel took the terms, *animus* and *anima*, out of their much more limited classical and mediaeval context, simply because they denoted a verbal antithesis exactly corresponding to the distinct roles of the two figures in his story.⁶

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ON THE ATTRIBUTION OF A PROVENÇAL POEM

The Provençal poem *S'eu vos voïll tan gen lauzar* (173, 12)¹ is attributed in four MSS (*HIKd*) to Gausbert de Poicibot; in one (*G*) it is anonymous; and in another (*D^a*) it appears as the last in a series of poems by the Monge de Montaudou. The testimony in favor of Gausbert is not so conclusive as one might think from a mere comparison of numbers; for *d* is only a copy of *K*, and *IK* are twin MSS which were presumably copied from one original.² So we have really only the word of *H* (not always a reliable source) and of *one* other witness, against the word of *D^a*—*G* being neutral.

⁵ Claudel uses *anima* specifically in the sense of divine inspiration later on in the same collection of essays. (*Op. cit.*, p. 99.)

⁶ Jung, in his *Psychological Types*, published in 1921, has made a similar convenience of the two words, using them to denote the male and female elements of the personality.

¹ This number, and the designations of the various MSS, are taken from Pillet-Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, Halle, 1933.

² See the descriptions of the MSS in the introduction to Pillet-Carstens, *op. cit.*

Some scholars, therefore, have not been inclined to accept Gausbert's authorship without question. Bartsch³ and Pillet-Carstens,⁴ to be sure, list the poem under Gausbert, and Shepard accepts it as genuine in his edition of Gausbert.⁵ Of the two editors of the *Monge de Montaudou*, the first, Philippson,⁶ includes the poem in his edition; so does the second, Klein,⁷ but among the "Unechte Lieder." And Berton,⁸ writing considerably later than Klein, says that the authorship is uncertain.

But I think it is possible to decide the question of authorship definitely in favor of Gausbert, and to show how the copyist of *D^a* made his mistake.

In the first place, the poem is not actually labeled in *D^a* with the name of the *Monge de Montaudou*. It follows four poems which are undoubtedly his, and it is numbered in the margin with a .v. Now, in *D^a*, the name of the poet is usually repeated before each poem, but by no means always so; and where no other poet is named, the poem in question is ordinarily the work of the poet whose name appeared last. But, as we shall see in a moment, it is almost certain that the copyist of *D^a* knew the present poem to be the work of Gausbert, and simply forgot to enter his name as a heading. The marginal number has little weight as an argument against this theory. These marginal numbers apparently formed no part of the original plan. No space was left for them, and they were merely added out at the side, probably at some later date. The person who added them assumed that any poem bearing no name was the work of the poet last mentioned; and this assumption, while frequently justified, is still only an assumption.

It has been pointed out by most of the scholars already referred to, that Gausbert de Poicibot was commonly called, in the MSS, the *Monge de Poicibot*. And this might have caused some confusion

³ Bartsch, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Literatur*, Elberfeld, 1872.

⁴ See note 1.

⁵ W. P. Shepard, *Les poésies de Jausbert de Puycibot*, Paris, 1924, p. 38.

⁶ Emil Philippson, *Der Monch von Montaudon*, Halle, 1873, p. 29. (I have not seen this edition, but I judge from Klein's comments that Philippson accepts the poem as genuine.)

⁷ Otto Klein, *Die Dichtungen des Monchs von Montaudon*, Marburg, 1885, p. 85.

⁸ In *ZRPk*, xxxviii, 355.

with the Monge de Montaudou. But, in the present case, I think there is another solution.

To follow the bit of detective work here presented, one must understand how *D*^a was constructed. It is a supplement to *D* (with which it is bound). After *D* was completed, its owner evidently came across another MS (or other MSS) containing poems which were not included in *D*. So he, or his copyist, beginning with the first author in *D* (Peire d'Alvernhe), and continuing with the other poets, *in order*, added any extra poems he found in his new source.⁹ He omits some names, to be sure, when he finds nothing to add; but he does not change the order of the poets.¹⁰

Now, the MS from which *D*^a was taken (or the chief source, if there were more than one), was closely related to *IK*.¹¹ The majority of the poems in *D*^a are found also in *IK*, usually in the same order under the poet in question, and almost invariably with the same attribution. It is natural to suspect, therefore, that the copyist of *D*^a found this present poem attributed in his source, as it is in *IK*, to Gausbert de Poicibot.

What happened, in all likelihood, was this: Our copyist found four poems of the Monge de Montaudou to add to those already in *D*, and entered them in his book. Then he went on to the next poet in *D*, found one new poem, and put it after the ones he had just copied. Only, here, he forgot to write down the author's name. The name of the poet who follows the Monge de Montaudou in *D* is, of course, Gausbert de Poicibot.

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TWO UNPUBLISHED SATIRICAL SONGS OF JACQUES CAZOTTE

While the following, hitherto unpublished¹ verse of Jacques Cazotte (1719-1792) belongs to the prolific *genre* of satirical songs

⁹ See Gustav Grober, *Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours* (*Romanische Studien* II), p. 486 ff.

¹⁰ There is one exception: Raïmbaut d'Aurenga, who comes later in *D*^a than in *D*.

¹¹ See Gröber, *loc. cit.*

¹ *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, no. 6873, pp. 112-114, 119-121. The date of these songs is pure conjecture. They were probably penned between 1740

written during the eighteenth century in France and can, therefore, hardly be called distinctive, it is, nevertheless, of interest in expressing the popular opinion of various social types and classes of that period. Although Cazotte made occasional visits to secondary Parisian salons during certain years of his life, it cannot be said that he belonged to the literary aristocracy of the century. He did not pretend to write either for the diversion of the social élite or as a member of the intellectual group striving to form a progressive public opinion. Wishing primarily to catch popular fancy (until he became a serious-minded Martinist a few years before his death), he pleased the populace by attacking its favorite social targets in jovial and unpolished, if biting, rhymes.

Cazotte thus selects as those most worthy of satire from the popular point of view wealthy financiers, licentious magistrates, joy-loving priests, nobles who marry daughters of *traitants* for their money, gluttonous monks, ignorant lawyers, literary parasites, wayward beauties of the upper classes, hypocritical courtiers, and brazen fops. Particularly interesting are his remarks on the tall, lanky Englishman, possessing an abundance of common sense and blackened by the smoke of coal. It is curious to speculate that Cazotte is describing the "typical" Englishman as conceived by the average Frenchman who lacked contact with the British aristocracy or intelligentsia.²

The songs are reproduced below exactly as they are found on the manuscript.

and 1747, the dates of Cazotte's arrival in Paris from his native city of Dijon and his subsequent departure for a lengthy sojourn as a colonial official in Martinique, where his duties gave him little time for writing. During his residence in Paris, his works were characterized by the same bantering satire found in the songs, while, in his literary production following his return to France, satirical humor is replaced by greater emphasis on narrative content or on moral edification in accordance with Martinist doctrines.

² In this connection, one may note that eighteenth-century France used English technical terms in the coal industry and that, according to a memoir of 1742, "the uses made of mineral fuel by artisans and domestic consumers in France had been introduced 'à l'imitation de l'Angleterre'" (J. U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry* [London, 1932], I, 251, 252).

1.

Il nous vient icy tous les ans
de ces Grands flandrins d'Angleterre
malades de trop de bon sens
enfumés de Charbon de terre.
voicy tous nos médicaments
mêlez le Champagne au tonnerre
hantés les niinphes, les Brelans
ayez des chevaux bien fringuans
et.. flin flin flin
et Dav
c'est le remede d'aprésent

2.

Je viens de voir un financier
que son trop d'opulence ennuye
pour un mal aussi singulier
il faut opérer de génie
voicy donc le fin du métier.
mettons la Bourse à l'agonie
un luxe bien extravagant
Eclaboussez moy les passans
Et. flin flin flin
Et Davetc.

3.

Un vieux Magistrat aujourd'huy
est venu dans notre Boutique
se plaindre qu'il mourait d'ennuy.
dans le sein de son Domestique
ce mal est des plus de plaisant
mais j'en sçais le remede unique
la petite maison des champs
avec la Dondon de quinze ans.
Et flin flin flin
et Dav . . . etc.

4.

L'œil cave, et le teint safrané
en débarquant du séminaire
un Prélat tout frais ordonné
implora mon ministère.
quittez cet air de Penitent
laissez moy là votre Breviaire
Rognez votre rabat d'un Cran
prenez un vis-avis Brillant
Et flin flin flin
Et Dav.... etc.

5.

Il vient un marquis du bel air
rougé d'une douleur profonde,
de ne pouvoir marcher de Pair
avec tous les Gens du beau monde,
dans peu vous serez aussi fier
que Seigr. qui soit à la ronde,
prenez la fille d'un traitant
faites rouler l'argent comptant
et flin flin flin
Et Dav. . . etc.

6.

Une beauté depuis un mois
soumise aux lois de l'hymenée
voudrait bien réduire aux abois
la pudeur qui la veut Gêner
Courez les spectacles bruyans
lorgnez y, soyez-y lorgnée
mettez du fard, portez au vent
prenez des tons bien suffisans.
Et flin flin flin
Et Dav . . .
C'est le remede d'aprésent

1.

Petit Poupon quand vous pleurez
vous n'amusez personne,
finissez donc, vous désolez
votre maman mignonne,
Et allons gay gay gay riez
quand la mamam l'ordonne

2.

Sitôt que vous aurez quinze ans
vous irez à la Guerre³
vous serez soldat, ou sergent
tambour, ou mousquetaire
et allons plan, plan, plan rataplan
faites trembler la terre.

3.

Voulez-vous etre Célestin
vous aurez large Echine
Le ventre rond, et le teint fin
sortant de la Cuisine
et allons tin tin tin relintin
faut aller à matine

4.

Voulez-vous etre un Prêlat saint
la disette en est grande,
aimez le sexe, et le bon vin,
jouez votre Prébende
Et vous serez fou.. etc...etc.
fouré dans la Legende.

5.

Rien qu'avoir votre oeil semillant
vous aimerez les dames
soyez poly, soyez Galant,
nous jurons sur nos ames
vous serez Cou...etc ..etc.
couru des jolies femmes.

6.

Prenez des tons bien suffisants
Parlez avec audace
des petits maitres de ce tems
suivez en tout les traces
vous serez fa etc. etc
favorisé des Graces.

7.

Voulez-vous devenir Robin
du plus joly modèle
apprenez fort peu de latin
frequentez les ruelles
vous serez so. .etc. .etc.
sollicité des Belles.

8.

En bons vins, en mets Excellens
que votre table abonde,
ouvrez la Bourse à tout venant
sans que rien en réponde
vous serez pris.. etc. . etc.
prisé de tout le monde.

9.

Voulez vous devenir auteur
de La première classe,
soyez Copiste traducteur
et rimeur à la Glace,
vous serez pla.. etc. . etc.
placé sur le parnasse.

10.

Voulez-vous fortune a la Cour
n'ayez remords, ni honte,
mentez, flattez, rampez toujours,
et tout au bout du compte
vous serez Ba...etc . etc
Baron, marquis, ou Comte.

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³ L. Ducros (*La Société française au dix-huitième siècle* [Paris, 1922], p. 322) states, however, that "est miliciable tout homme âgé de 16 ans au moins (de 18, à partir de 1765) et de 40 ans au plus." It is reasonable to assume that the same age limits applied to the *troupes réglées*.

CHATEAUBRIAND AND THE STORY OF FELICIANA IN JORGE ISAACS' *MARÍA*

That Jorge Isaacs, author of the South American classic, *María*, was strongly influenced by Chateaubriand is obvious to anyone. Critics have pointed out the influence of the French master on the descriptive style of Isaacs. Sentimentality pervades the central love story of Efraín and María. The hero frankly expresses his admiration for Chateaubriand and entertains María and his sister, Emma, by reading the story of *Atala* aloud to them.

While the influence of Chateaubriand on the main plot is generally admitted, no one seems to have recognized the interpolated story of Feliciano, the slave, for what it is: namely, an imitation of *Atala*. Critics have recognized the excellence of the story¹ but have lamented its being placed within the main body of the novel in such a way as to be regarded as a distressing interruption of the main current.² Still, no one has put his finger on the motive which Isaacs may have had for writing it. That the story has a partial basis in fact seems to be established³ but that Isaacs drew heavily on his imagination (with aid from *Atala*) cannot be doubted.

To begin with, both are stories of noble savages living in a continent beyond the broad Atlantic. The Frenchman idealizes the North American Indian, while his Colombian admirer crosses the Atlantic in the opposite direction to idealize some noble West Africans.⁴ The parallelism in plot is discernible at many points.

¹ The Biblioteca Aldeana de Colombia in publishing a representative collection of Colombian tales (*Otros cuentistas*, 1936) included the story of Feliciano as worthy of representing Colombia's great author, Jorge Isaacs.

² "Un tema que debió suprimir el autor es la historia de Feliciano, la negra esclava, madre de Juan Angel; aunque brillantemente narrada, interrumpe el jadeo de la tragedia que el lector no solamente ha presenciado sino que ya se ha hecho cargo de ella." Vladimiro Bermejo: *Jorge Isaacs 1837-1937*, Arequipa, Peru. Ed. de la Colmena, 1937.

³ Rivera y Garrido in an article entitled, "Una vieja reliquia de *María*" (Buga, Colombia, 1897) gives a report of an interview which he himself had with the son of Feliciano, Juan Angel, when the latter was an old man. In it Juan Angel relates how his mother used to tell of having been the daughter of a great African chief and of having worn a gold crown on her head at the festivals of her native land. (Quoted by Velasco Madriñán in his "Jorge Isaacs, el caballero de las lágrimas," Cali, Ed. América, 1942.)

⁴ Both Isaacs and Chateaubriand pepper their narratives with footnotes

As the story of Felciana opens we learn that her African name was Nay and that she was the daughter of the great Magmahú, military leader of the Achantis. She was in love with Sinar, a prince of an enemy nation who had been captured in war and was now one of the slaves of her father's household. Magmahú, having met with military reverses, determines to make human sacrifice to the god of the river, the victims to be his best slaves, led by Sinar. Nay must save him.

The reader will remember how Chactas was a noble Natchez who was made prisoner by the Muscogulges. The latter did not enslave prisoners of war but rather burned them at the stake. Atala, a princess of the Muscogulges, pities Chactas and helps him escape.

Both Atala and Nay show considerable knowledge of drugs and potions. It will be remembered how Chactas, the night before he was to be burned at the stake, was spreadeagled on the ground, a rope leading from each hand and foot to a stake driven into the earth, while a guardian slept on each rope. But ah! Atala had drugged the wine of all four guardians and in the dead of night she loosens her lover's bonds and flees with him. The incident in Isaacs' version is not so dramatic, but we learn that when Magmahú was preparing to make war on Sinar's people, in order to save him from fratricidal conflict Nay drugged his wine and kept him at home in a strange stupor.

The parallelism is often one of small details: The day before he was to die Chactas intoned the Natchez song of death, whose defiance so enraged a Muscogulge that he wounded him in the arm with an arrow. After rescuing him, Atala dressed his wound with a papaya leaf and her own tears. In battling the English, Sinar was also wounded in the arm but lived to have it lovingly treated and bandaged by his lady.

Everyone remembers the French hermit and missionary who consoles Atala when she is dying and so impresses heathen Chactas with his pure Christianity. A similar old French missionary sud-

explaining technical terms and quoting authorities to give authenticity to their stories, e. g. Isaacs, insisting on the nobility of his Africans, gives the following early note: "Cantu, hablando de los achantis dice: 'Son negros, pero se distinguen de las razas del mismo color, pareciéndose más a los abisinios, en razón a que tienen el pelo largo y lacio, barba, rostro ovalado, nariz aguileña y el cuerpo bien proporcionado . . .'" *María*, Ed. Sopena, p. 117.

denly appears also in the story of Nay and Sinar. The physical appearance of the two men of God is strikingly similar. Chactas relates: "j'entrevois sa barbe et ses cheveux tout trempés d'eau; ses pieds, ses mains et son visage étaient ensanglantés par les ronces."⁵ And in the Spanish version we read: "los pálidos rayos del sol moribundo, atravesando los follajes, le iluminaron la faz, tostada por los soles y orlada de una espesa barba, casi blanca . . . Las brisas del Gambia jugaban con su larga y enmarañada cabellera. Llevaba un vestido talar negro, enlodado y hecho jirones . . ."⁶

There is a variation here, for in Isaacs' story it is the man, Sinar, who is first converted by the French missionary, and then he later converts his sweetheart to his new faith.

Contrary to one's usual idea of the scanty garments worn by North American Indians and African savages, both heroines are represented as amply clothed. When Chactas was first captured and tied up by the Muscogulges, Atala came to him, as he relates: "Tout à coup j'entendis le murmure d'un vêtement sur l'herbe, et une femme à demi voilée vint s'asseoir à mes côtés."⁷ Later when she rescued him from his bound position on the ground, he opened his eyes to behold: "A la clarté de la lune . . . j'entrevois une grande figure blanche penchée sur moi, et occupée à dénouer silencieusement mes liens."⁸ In the other book Sinar takes his lady out riding on the back of an ostrich, which he leads to a quiet spot, and then:

Sinar, de rodillas, cubrió de besos los pies de Nay, pendientes sobre el mullido plumaje del avestruz, y éste halaba cariñoso con el pico los vistosos ropajes de su señora.

Muda y absorta ella, al oír las amorosas y tremendas palabras del esclavo, reclinó al fin sobre su regazo la bella cabeza de Sinar.⁹

Since Nay is represented as having a "regazo" and since merely her *feet* are reported to have dangled from the ostrich, the inference is that she wore a skirt of some length, although perhaps not as long as that worn by Atala, which murmured over the grass as she walked.

The custom of making utensils out of the craniums of captured

⁵ Chateaubriand *Atala* (*Œuvres complètes*, Paris, Furne, Jouvet et Cie., 1867-72, v, 47).

⁶ *María*, p. 122.

⁷ *Atala*, p. 26.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁹ *María*, p. 119.

how the citizens fled before the advancing Indians. Doña Mencia de Nidos tried to rally them to resist, but her stirring speech of exhortation was unheeded.

Ni á Paulo le pasó con tal presteza
por las sienas la Jáculo serpiente
sin perder de su vuelo ligereza,
llevándole la vida juntamente,
como la odiosa plática y braveza
de la dama de Nidos por la gente;
pues apenas entró por un oído,
cuando ya por el otro había salido.

The problem is the image in the first four lines. Lancaster and Manchester rashly identify Paulo with St. Paul, and translate:

O'er the brow of Paul, the Apostle,
Darted Jaculus, the serpent,
Losing neither time nor movement,
Bringing death with stinging swiftness.

Now, St. Paul did have one dangerous experience with a snake: perhaps Lancaster and Manchester were thinking of the miracle at Melita (Acts 28.3-6). But there the Apostle was bitten on the hand, the snake was a viper, and it remained clinging instead of darting rapidly. This is a different animal, with different name and habits.

One of the great episodes in Lucan is the march of Cato and his Republican troops through the African desert, in book 9. As well as suffering the usual hardships—heat, thirst, sandstorms—the army was attacked by a horrifying number and variety of snakes, sprung from the blood of Medusa. Lucan lists them in 9. 700 f., and then describes the different types of death which struck down the soldiers who were bitten. Ercilla was impressed by the picturesque names of the snakes—haemorrhoids, cerastes, dipsas, etc.—and he furnished the cave of the magician Fiton with specimens of them, in canto 23. (Some of them reappeared later in Milton's Hell: see *Paradise Lost* 10. 521 f.) Fiton's collection specifically included

las dos alas del Iáculo temido.

This is the same animal, and the passage in Lucan tells us how it kills. Other snakes poison by their bite (Lucan does not mention constrictors), but the *iaculus*, whose name means "javelin," does not.

Ecce, procul saeuos sterili se robore trunci
 torsit et immisit (iaculum uocat Africa) serpens
 perque caput Pauli transactaque tempora fugit.
 nil ibi uirus agit: rapuit cum uolnere fatum

(*Bell. ciu.* 9. 822-5.)

"Look, from a barren treetrunk far off a fierce serpent, called the javelin in Africa, brandished and launched itself, and flew through the head of Paulus, piercing his temples. Poison plays no part there: death seized him at the same instant as the wound." And Lucan adds that the snake flew more swiftly than a slingstone or a Scythian arrow. By the way, he does not say that it had wings, as Ercilla does in canto 23: he appears to have thought it projected itself like a self-propelled weapon.

This then is Paulo: not the Apostle, but a Roman soldier invented by Lucan; and the snake did not dart "o'er his brow," but through his head. The image is an attempt by Ercilla to decorate the prose into which he is constantly in danger of slipping, and which asserts itself at the end of the stanza: Doña Mencia's speech, like the snake, went in one ear and out the other.

It is worth adding that Ercilla quotes Lucan's actual words, for his

llevándole la vida juntamente

is nothing but a translation of Lucan's *rapuit cum uolnere fatum*. Small as this particular point is, it is another illustration of the difficulties of studying a classically educated poet without knowing the classics with which he was familiar.

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MR. EDMUND WILSON AND *THE TURN* *OF THE SCREW*

Some years ago Mr. Edmund Wilson wrote an essay—which has since become famous, or not far short of it—on "The Ambiguity of Henry James."¹ In it he propounded a theory of *The Turn* of

¹ Published originally in *Hound and Horn*, VII (April-June, 1934), 385-406. The essay, slightly modified, was republished in Mr. Wilson's *The Triple Thinkers*, and, more recently, in *American Harvest*.

the Screw. The theory, in brief, is that the story is not a proper ghost-story at all, but a study in the psychology of a frustrated Anglo-Saxon spinster. The governess, who sees the ghosts, is neurotic and "repressed," and the ghosts are merely symptoms of her state—not "real" ghosts, but only hallucinations. No one, as far as I know, has troubled to point out that the theory is quite untenable, that—apart from general considerations—there are details within the story itself that decisively negative it.

The apparition of the man is first seen by the governess at a distance: he is on the tower. She sees him clearly enough to realize that he is unknown to her. She is strangely affected, but does not report the occurrence. The next time she sees him it is at close quarters. She takes in every detail of his appearance, and *does* report the occurrence. She describes the man she saw to Mrs. Grose, the housekeeper; and before she is half-way through her description Mrs. Grose has identified the person being described: the late Peter Quint, the valet. Two points are to be observed. (1) The identification is absolute. Mrs. Grose is not merely reminded of Peter Quint by the description: she recognizes him positively in it. The man the governess saw *was* Peter Quint, or his absolute double: this is a fact of the story. (2) Up to this moment the governess has never heard of Peter Quint.

Here are two stubborn facts of the story, and *they must be accounted for*. There are others, but these two will do, for unless they are accounted for Mr. Wilson's whole case collapses like a house of cards. "Almost everything from beginning to end," he declares, "can be read equally in either of two senses."² "Almost everything"! But what if there is one thing, one little thing, that cannot be read in either of two senses, that can be read only in one sense? What then? How strange that Mr. Wilson does not see that any such fact, however insignificant, could be the sharp little rock on which his whole theory must split.

I suggest that it does split on the fact just noted. Mr. Wilson, it is true, makes a brave attempt to steer round it.

When we look back [he says] we see that even this has been left open to a double interruption. The governess has never heard of the valet, but it has

² Quoted from the version of the essay as it appeared in *The Triple Thinkers* (Oxford, 1938), 130. Argumentatively, it would have been better for Mr. Wilson to have stuck to his original flat assertion: "*everything* from beginning to end" etc.

been suggested to her in a conversation with the housekeeper that there has been some other male somewhere about who "liked everyone young and pretty," and the idea of this other person has been ambiguously confused with the master and with the master's possible interest in her, the present governess. And has she not, in her subconscious imagination, taking her cue from this, identified herself with her predecessor and conjured up an image who wears the master's clothes but who (the Freudian "censor" coming into play) looks debased, "like an actor," she says (would he not have to stoop to love her!)? The apparition had "straight good features" and his appearance is described in detail. When we look back we find that the master's appearance has never been described at all: we have merely been told that he was "handsome." It is impossible for us to know how much the ghost resembles the master—certainly the governess would never tell us.³

I will not attempt to comment on the psychology of this. Let us still stick—amid the giddy swirl of these subconscious identifications, transferences and projections—to the facts. (1) "An image who wears the master's clothes." Peter Quint was the valet, and made free with his master's clothes: Mrs. Grose tells us this. So there is no reason why his ghost should not have been seen wearing them: Mrs. Grose expected that he *would* be wearing them. (2) "The apparition . . . is described in detail." He emphatically is. The man had red hair, close-curling; queer little red whiskers; eyebrows somewhat darker than the hair and the whiskers, and particularly arched; wide mouth, thin lips. He was clean-shaver except for the little whiskers, and he wore no hat.⁴

What does Mr. Wilson really mean? Is he suggesting that the master was so like Quint—queer little red whiskers and all—that the governess was capable of experiencing an hallucination of the master and of describing him in such detail to Mrs. Grose that Mrs. Grose recognized him instantly as the valet? Has Mr. Wilson (one wonders) ever really tried to make quite clear to himself what he means by that concluding sentence about the possible likeness between the master and the ghost?

Once more let us face the critical question. Let us grant, for the sake of the argument, the governess neurotic; let us concede all the "identifications" Mr. Wilson wishes. How did the governess succeed in projecting on vacancy, out of her own subconscious mind, a perfectly precise, point-by-point image of a man, then dead, whom

³ Quoted again from *The Triple Thinkers*, 125-6.

⁴ *The Aspern Papers* etc. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1922), 167.

she had never seen in her life and never heard of? What psychology, normal or abnormal, will explain that? And what is the right word for such a vision but "ghost"?

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SPENSER'S "VAIN DELIGHT"

In his successful attempt to separate the Red Cross Knight from Una by making him believe the lady false, Archimago, whose character and actions conform closely to Elizabethan ideas of witchcraft and demonology, gave to one of the spirits that he had raised the form of Una and to the other the form of a lusty young squire. Spenser then tells us that

Those two he tooke, and in a secret bed,
Couered with darknesse and misdeeming night,
Them both together laid, to ioy in vaine delight.

The Faerie Queene, I. ii. 3: 7-9

In describing the fornication of spirits as "vaine delight," Spenser has touched upon a subject of some dispute among the demonologists of his own and preceding times, who were convinced that demons had illicit relations with those women looked upon as witches, but who could not bring themselves to believe that these incorporeal and asexual creatures were capable of procreation. The possibility of cross-breeding between human and supernatural beings had been discussed by early Christian writers. The second-century Christian apologist Athenagoras, convinced of the existence of giants, believed that they were the offspring of fallen angels who had had carnal knowledge of virgins of this world.¹ St. Augustine in the *De Civitate Dei* denied, however, that angels, being made of air, could propagate, but having to admit the existence of giants since they are mentioned in the Scriptures, explained them as the offspring of ordinary human parents and cited one who had been known at Rome and whose parents were indeed normal humans. He added that undoubtedly there were more giants before the deluge than there have ever been since.² Yet in the *Quaestiones in Hepta-*

¹ Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis*, PG. 6. 947.

² St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, Lipsiae, 1725, II, 70-73.

teuchum he concluded a similar discussion with the statement that different people had held such varying views on the relationship of demons with women that it was difficult to have a definite opinion on the matter.³ Likewise, Hieronymus Magius, whose *Miscellanea* appeared in 1564, refused to accept the possibility of the cross-breeding of demons or angels with men, but sanctioned the notion that giants existed in Biblical times and in antiquity, although he denied for them a semi-supernatural origin. Like St. Augustine, he mentioned contemporary giants.⁴

The theories current in Spenser's time were apparently those of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, compiled by the inquisitors James Sprenger and Henry Institoris in 1486, their views being reflected in such works as Nicolas Remy's *Daemonolatrie* (Lyons, 1595) and Francesco Guazzo's *Compendium Maleficarum* (Milan, 1608). These men held that demons, able to take any form, became succubus (female) or incubus (male) devils to tempt men and women, but that the only satisfaction that they received from their fornication was that of having caused a human being to sin. To explain the fact that people were supposed to be born of such unions, they worked out the elaborate theory that a demon in succubus form would copulate with a man and retain the semen until in incubus form he could copulate with a woman.⁵

Although neither fornicator in the passage under consideration is human, demons were supposed to go to any length to accomplish their evil purposes, and although it is possible that neither of Spenser's spirits may be a demon in the strictest sense of the word, it is necessary to recall that the poet is at liberty to use his material in the way that best suits his needs.

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³ St. Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, PL. 34. 549.

⁴ Hieronymus Magius, *Miscellanorum, seu Variarum Lectionum* in Ianus Gruter, *Lampas, sive Fax Artium Liberalium*, Francofurti, 1604, II, 1266-75. I am indebted to Dr. D. C. Allen of the Johns Hopkins University for calling to my attention the references to Athenagoras, St. Augustine, and Hieronymus Magius.

⁵ Cf. J. Sprenger and H. Institoris, *Malleus Maleficarum*, I, 4; Nicolas Remy, *Daemonolatrie*, I, 6; Francesco Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum*, I, ii; and Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), *passim*. Scot's work, quite out of keeping with the times, is a rational refutation of witchcraft.

"THE PENALTIE OF ADAM"

Few lines in Shakespeare have caused greater dissension among commentators than those of the Duke Senior opening the second act of *As You Like It*. Demanding of Amiens and the other lords whether life in the woods is not preferable to that of "painted pomp" and whether the woods are not more free from peril than the "envious court," the duke (according to F₁, the earliest extant text) continues:

Heere feele we not the penaltie of *Adam*,
The seasons difference, as the Icie phange
And churlish chuding of the winters winde,
Which when it bites and blowes vpon my body
Euen till I shrinke with cold, I smile, and say
This is no flattery: these are counsellors
That feelingly perswade me what I am.

Among editors and commentators there have been two principal schools of thought as to the meaning of "the penaltie of *Adam*," one holding it to be "the seasons difference," the other interpreting it as the curse of toil.

Those who consider "the seasons difference" to be in apposition with "the penaltie of *Adam*" have edited the lines in three general ways—by making the sentence a question parallel to those preceding it in the duke's speech,¹ by substituting some other word, like *but*, for the *not* in the first line, or by accepting the folio reading and attempting somehow to resolve the contradiction between "Heere feele we not . . . the seasons difference" and "These feelingly perswade."²

Contradicting Theobald, who initiated the emendation of *not* to *but* in his 1733 edition of Shakespeare, Whiter, in his *Specimen of a Commentary on Shakespeare* (1794), suggested placing a colon after "*Adam*," to make clear that "the seasons difference" is not in apposition with "the penaltie," and interpreted "the penaltie of *Adam*" as the curse of toil mentioned in Genesis 3:17, 19, 23.

¹ This approach was first made by Rowe, who, in his third edition of Shakespeare's works (1714), substituted without comment a question mark for the semicolon which had appeared after "Wind" in his first two editions.

² *E. g.*, Caldecott (*Hamlet, and As You Like It. A Specimen of an Edition of Shakespeare*, London, 1820), apparently the first editor after Theobald to restore *not*.

Neither interpretation is quite satisfactory. On one hand, none of the devices used in identifying "the seasons difference" with "the penaltie of *Adam*" is entirely convincing. As for inserting a question mark, it is difficult to believe that Shakespeare thought of "the penaltie of *Adam*" as an advantage parallel to those which he has pointed out in the duke's preceding questions. There is no justification for emending *not*. And no attempt to reconcile the contradiction between "Heere feelee we not . . ." and "These feelingly perswade" without emending the passage has made much sense. On the other hand, Whiter's interpretation, by introducing an allusion (viz., to the curse of toil) which is unrelated to the latter part of the sentence, robs the passage of the coherence which, as the comma after "*Adam*" indicates, was intended.

Evidence recently discovered by Mr. Henry N. Paul, of Philadelphia, points to Shakespeare's having intended "the penaltie of *Adam*" to refer to the knowledge of good and evil which Adam and Eve received through eating the forbidden fruit. Genesis 3: 7 in the Geneva translation, a version with which Shakespeare is known to have been familiar,³ begins, "Then the eyes of them both were opened, and they^g knew that they were naked." Note *g* explains, "They began to feelee their miserie, but they sought not to God for remedy."⁴ In a letter calling attention to the Geneva note, Mr. Paul writes that according to the Calvinistic interpretation, the penalty of Adam was this misery due to original sin, the knowledge of good and evil due to his eating of the forbidden tree, so that he had inflicted the real penalty on himself before being cast out into the cold and condemned to labor. The duke and his co-mates do not feel this penalty because they are no longer exposed to the insidious flattery and intrigue of the court. Rather, the differences of the seasons, which they do feel, are useful counsellors whose instruction is described in the concluding lines of the duke's speech: though the physical hardships of the forest may, like the jewel-wearing toad, appear to be loathsome, yet in contrast to the spiritual dangers of the "public haunt," they are actually "sweet," teaching one to find "good in everything." The distinction between the

³ See Richard Noble, *Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge* (London, 1935)

⁴ The verb "feelee" of the duke's observation seems to be echoed from this note. The spelling here is that of a 1580 edition. Dr. Hinman, of the Folger Library, has advised Mr. Paul that, while there were at least sixty-two editions of the Geneva Bible before 1600, all twenty of the editions represented in the Folger collection contain the note in question.

evils of the court and the salutary discomforts of outdoor life is echoed in the lyrics which Amiens sings in this act of the play, "Under the greenwood tree" (where there is "No enemy / But winter and rough weather") and "Blow, blow, thou winter wind" (whose "sting is not so sharp / As friend remember'd not" and despite which "This life is most jolly").

Shakespeare seems to have intended the duke's words to connote a subjective as well as an objective attitude toward evil—that is, a realization that he is as capable of doing evil as of experiencing its effects. In remarking that the differences of the seasons "perswade me what I am," the duke implies that he has escaped not only from the treacherous flattery of the court, but from the pride and greed to which it inspires him. Perhaps Shakespeare remembered that in Genesis 3 the first thing Adam and Eve do after eating the forbidden fruit is to manifest a sense of shame by clothing their nakedness—the shame implying that they have begun to feel their own capacity for wrongdoing.⁵

It is possible, then, that Shakespeare intended the passage, just as it stands in *F*₁, to mean something like this: "Here we do not feel the existence of evil as Adam did after he had eaten the forbidden fruit. The differences of the seasons—as represented by the icy fang and churlish chiding of the winter's wind (when which wind bites and blows upon my body, I smile and say, 'This is no flattery')—these are counsellors which effectively prevent me from succumbing to pride and greed and falling prey to flatterers."⁶ In Shakespeare's mind, it seems, the penalty of Adam was inflicted, not by a supralapsarian deity, but by Adam himself. From his greed, the sojourner in the forest of Arden, "pleas'd with what he gets," has escaped.

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⁵ It is just possible that Shakespeare was familiar with a Biblical annotation in which the subjective aspect of the penalty is explicitly stated. Dr. Willoughby, of the Folger Library, has written Mr. Paul: "In 1584 Barker published a version which differs both from the normal Bishops and the Geneva version. It has this note on Gen. 3: 7: 'By the sinne of disobedience they began to feelee the corruption of their owne nature, which they sought to remedie not by seeking unto God, but by their owne deuises in couering their nakednes with figge leaues.'"

⁶ For the syntax of the passage, see Knight, *Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakspeare* (1838-43), and Franz, *Die Sprache Shakespeares* (1939), § 189 and § 347.

THE TRIAL OF THE BOOKS IN GOETHE AND CERVANTES

A poet who, through his works, or through one particular work, has contributed an uncommon share to the spirit of his time, will often find himself compelled to rebuke his followers, who, to use one of Goethe's favorite similes, are still pulling at the old snake skin which he himself has long ago shed. He will mostly choose to ridicule the spirits which he himself helped call, and of whom he no longer can rid himself, like Goethe's *Zauberlehrling*. But this ridicule, half directed against the others and half against himself, will appear as an account which the poet renders of himself, at the same time fighting, superseding, avowing and continuing to a higher plane what once was, and, of course, still is, part of himself. Many overtones, subtleties and seeming contradictions will enter such a work. The greatest example of this is Cervantes' *Don Quijote*, and in Goethe's works we have the various poems about *Werther*, and, especially, his "dramatische Grille" *Der Triumph der Empfindsamkeit* which he directed against the sentimental lachrymose books that appeared in the wake of *Werther*.

This likening of *Don Quijote* to Goethe's play is not arbitrary, because in the fifth act of the latter we find a scene which seems to have been suggested by Cervantes' book. Oronaro, the sentimental prince, the Quijote of the play, has alienated himself so much from nature and reality that he travels with many trunks full of stage properties, moonlight in boxes, murmuring springs in suitcases, which change his rooms into idyllic nature scenes. Into this false nature he puts a life size doll, his Dulcinea, which is an image of the woman he loves. He prefers this inanimate thing to his real beloved. When King Andrasen, who here plays the rôle of the curate in the *Quijote* (and who is, like the curate, surrounded by women who had advised him of Oronaro's secret) discovers the doll, he finds that the whole image has a literary heart, a "papiernes Herz": it receives its lifelike posture only, because it is stuffed with books, all those pernicious sentimental books that are responsible for Oronaro's madness:

Gebt Acht, das werden Zauberbücher sein. (Er hebt eins auf.)
Empfindsamkeiten!¹

¹ *Goethes Werke, Sophienausgabe*, xvii, 55.

Exactly as in the *Quijote*, one book after another is taken out of the pile, examined, discussed and condemned by the examiner. The first one is the then famous *Siegwart*, but at the bottom, "die Grundsuppe," as Andrason calls it, are the most dangerous ones of them all, because, evidently, they are the well-written ones: Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse* and Goethe's *Werther*, just as Cervantes, too, introduces his own *Galatea* among the guilty books. Andrason wants to burn them all, "ohne Barmherzigkeit." But, as his own wife is the woman whom the prince loves, the king decides not to destroy the chief instruments of the other's madness, so that his estranged wife might recognize her own folly. Once more the importance of the influence of books that can bewitch is stated here:

Ist es nicht deutlich, meine schonen Kinder, dass in diesen Papieren eine Art von Talisman steckt; dass in ihnen diese magische Gewalt liegt, die den Prinzen an eine abgeschmackte ausgestopfte Puppe fesselt, wozu er die Gestalt von eines ehrlichen Mannes Frau geborgt hat?²

Here the parallelism with the trial of the books in *Don Quijote* ends. But the whole scene, as well in its actions as in its programmatic purpose, seems to be a direct echo from Cervantes.

We know that Goethe began the dictation of this play in 1777. Less than two years before, Bertuch's translation of the *Quijote* had appeared, the reading of which must have been fresh in Goethe's mind. His various later remarks on Cervantes' novel testify to his familiarity with and interest in the work.

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DONNE'S PHOENIX

In the "Marriage Song" written in 1613 for Princess Elizabeth, Donne repeats a conventional group of amorous images that he had used in "The Canonization" with a new emphasis.

For thou this day couplest two Phoenixes;
 Thou mak'st a Taper see
 What the sunne never saw, and what the Arke
 (Which was of soules, and beasts, the cage, and park,)
 Did not contain. . . .

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Modern editors have not commented on this passage, because we have lost track of the controversy that lies behind these lines. If, however, one reads this section in the light of 1640, one gets a very different poetic reaction than the average modern reader is likely to have.

The phoenix was such an excellent symbol of the Resurrection that Church fathers like Clement, Tertullian, Ambrose, Cyprian, and others were inclined to believe in the reality of that fabulous bird in spite of the adverse testimony of rational pagans like Pliny. But this posed a problem; for if the phoenix existed, it had to be included in Noah's aviary. The Genesis story, however, said that the birds were admitted in pairs. There was the rub. This was a problem for the exegetes, who busied themselves with such burning matters as whether or not insects, satyrs, merfolk, vultures, birds of paradise, and other zoologicals were in the Ark's waftage, and they gave it their full attention.

Donne was by no means unaware of the activities of these men. He begins his "To Sr Edward Herbert"¹ with a parallel passage clipped from the commentaries on the Flood, and there are other similar allusions in the *First Anniversary*² and *The Progresse of the Soule*.³ The theological glosses likewise give us the key to Donne's stand on the phoenix, for by this time the exegetes had decided that the phoenix was not on the Ark. Pererius writes that some have said that the phoenix could not be taken on the Ark because of its "ambisexterity" and that, as a consequence, it perished in the Flood. He, however, does not believe that the bird ever existed.⁴ Cornelius a Lapide, Drayton's favorite commentator, comes to the same conclusion—"phoenicem non esse, nec fuisse in mundo."⁵ J. C. Scaliger had previously upset matters by asserting that the phoenix was the Indian⁶ Semenda; but when Aldrovandus, the great encyclopaedist of science, issued his folio on birds, he attacked Scaliger's assertion and denied that the phoenix

¹ *Poetical works* (Grierson, Oxford, 1912), I, 193.

² Lines, 317-8.

³ Lines, 9, 21-30.

⁴ *Commentarii et disputationes in Genesim* (Lugduni, 1607-10), II, 205-9.

⁵ *Commentaria in Pentateuchum Mosi* (Antverpiae, 1630), p. 113; see also Jacobus Bonfrerius, *Pentateuchum Moysis, commentario illustratus* (Antverpiae, 1625), p. 151.

⁶ *Exotericarum exercitationum liber XV* (Francofurti, 1612), p. 731.

had ever been on the Ark.⁷ After the great authority had expressed himself, no theologian, and certainly not John Donne, felt able to support the discredited patristic position.

DON CAMERON ALLEN

SUR DEUX ADDITIONS FAITES PAR ROUSSEAU À SON PREMIER DISCOURS

Dans la préface du *Discours sur les sciences et les arts*, Rousseau a dit qu'il avait 'laissé deux additions faciles à reconnoître, et que l'Académie n'auroit peut-être pas approuvées.'¹ Mais on se demande encore quelles sont ces additions,² et l'on a fait trois hypothèses à leur sujet. S'agit-il d'un passage où Rousseau fait une référence³ aux *Pensées philosophiques* de Diderot? Est-ce celui où il parle de 'l'inégalité funeste introduite entre les hommes'? Ou bien est-ce la phrase qui mentionne la ruine⁴ de la Maison de Bourgogne? Mr. Havens, qui propose cette solution, croit qu'il est possible que Rousseau ait 'hésité à soumettre ce passage à l'Académie de Dijon, en pleine Bourgogne.' Mais le sentiment particulariste de la Bourgogne n'était, pourtant, pas assez vif, au XVIII^e siècle, pour que les habitants de cette province, rattachée à la France depuis la fin du XV^e siècle, ne pussent se réjouir de la défaite de Charles le Téméraire, à Granson et à Morat. Mais, ce qui aurait pu déplaire à l'Académie de Dijon, c'était l'éloge des Suisses, et, justement, Rousseau avait dû tenir à rappeler une des plus célèbres victoires de ses compatriotes. Nous retiendrons donc l'hypothèse de Mr. Havens, mais pour une raison différente de celle qu'il propose. Quant à l'autre addition faite par Rousseau, ne serait-ce pas la phrase suivante: 'Telle enfin s'est montrée jusqu'à nos jours cette nation rustique si vantée pour son courage que l'adversité n'a pu

⁷ *Ornithologiae, hoc est, de avibus historiae, libri XVIII* (Francofurti, 1610), I, 403-4, 410.

¹ J.-J. Rousseau, *Discours sur les sciences et les arts*, éd. George R. Havens (New York, 1946), p. 95.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 175-176, n. 40.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 235-236, n. 252.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

abbatre, et pour sa fidélité que l'exemple n'a pu corrompre.'⁵ On lit cette allusion à la Suisse,⁶ avec un peu de surprise. Rousseau venait de parler des Perses, des Scythes, des Germains et de Rome. Il s'était inspiré des témoignages des Anciens, et l'on s'attend mal, après cela, à l'éloge de la Suisse. On a l'impression que Rousseau a ajouté l'exemple de sa patrie, après coup. Les deux additions⁷ qu'a faites Rousseau, au moment où il commence de penser à sa 'réforme,' seraient donc celles qui se rapportent à son pays natal.

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THE PUBLICATION OF HANNAH MORE'S FIRST PLAY

Although Hannah More's *A Search After Happiness*, three verse-dialogues in the form of a pastoral, is generally conceded to be her earliest work, the date of its initial publication has been in doubt.¹ This uncertainty would appear to be wiped out in a letter written November 8, 1773, by William Eddis, surveyor of customs at Annapolis:

I have lately received a very sensible, and very entertaining letter, from my valued correspondent, Miss M—— M——, who informs me that her sister H—— has, at length, complied with the requisition of many judicious and impartial friends, and has ventured into public notice, in defiance of criticism. On the 10th of May last, her pastoral poem, 'THE SEARCH AFTER HAPPINESS,' made its first appearance; and so rapid has been its success, that a second large impression took place early in August.²

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⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199, n. 131.

⁷ Mr. Havens a, d'ailleurs, fort pertinemment rapproché les deux passages du *Premier Discours* dans lesquels Rousseau parle de la Suisse.

¹ See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XLIII (July, 1773), 342, *The Monthly Review*, XLIX (September, 1773), 202, and *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*.

² *Letters from America . . .* by William Eddis (London, 1792), pp. 153-4. Eddis probably received his information from Hannah's sister Martha. A list of subscribers prefixed to his book includes the names of "Miss Hannah More, Bath" and "Miss Martha More, ditto."

WORDSWORTH'S DEBT TO THOMAS NEWTON

To illustrate his view in the *Preface* of 1815 that one function of the poet's imagination is to consolidate "numbers into unity," Wordsworth analyses Milton's comparison of Satan to a fleet of merchantmen. In the course of his remarks he says:

'So seemed,' and to whom seemed? To the heavenly Muse who dictates the poem, and to the eye of the Poet's mind, and to that of the Reader, present at one moment in the wide Ethiopian, and the next in the solitudes, then first broken in upon, of the infernal regions.

Commenting more than half a century earlier on "so seemed," Milton's editor, Thomas Newton, had written:

Dr. Bentley asks, whom Satan appeared to *far off*, in this his *solitary flight*? But what a cold phlegmatick piece of criticism is this? It may be answered, that he was seen by the Muse, and would have seemed so to any one who had seen him. Poets often speak in this manner, and make themselves and their readers present to the most remote and retired scenes of action.¹

That Wordsworth was acquainted with Newton's note seems fairly probable. In the light of Newton's final sentence, moreover, it is not surprising that Wordsworth should have clinched his own discussion of the simile with Horace's "*Modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.*"

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¹ Quoted in H. J. Todd, *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (London, 1801), III, 138. Newton's observations on Milton's choice of a fleet instead of a ship are worth comparing with Wordsworth's discussion of the point in his letter to Sir George Beaumont written August 28, 1811.

REVIEWS

Essai sur le Journal de Voyage de Montaigne. Par CHARLES DÉDÉYAN. Paris: Boivin [1946]. Pp. 218.

L'Influence du voyage de Montaigne sur les Essais. Par IMBRIE BUFFUM. Dissertation. Princeton University, 1946. Pp. viii + 153.

Montaigne chez ses amis anglo-saxons. Par CHARLES DÉDÉYAN. 2 v. Paris: Boivin [1946]. Pp. 448 + 118.

One of the many results of the war has been the separation of scholars and duplication of effort in the field of learning. It is quite possible that one of the two books devoted to Montaigne's *Journal* would not have been written if the author had known that the other was to be published in the same year. Both authors relate the circumstances under which the *Journal* was composed, stored away for nearly two centuries, discovered, identified, and printed. M. Dédéyan gives in greater detail the reasons for considering it an authentic document and lists a few French editions that Dr. Buffum, writing in America, was unable to cite, but otherwise this part of the two books is very much the same. However, there are considerable differences elsewhere, for D. discusses the style of the *Journal*; following D'Ancona and Lautrey, studies its barbarous Italian; gives more comments upon it by later writers; and adds somewhat superfluous chapters on other French travelers in Italy. B., on the other hand, goes more thoroughly into the question of the influence exerted by the trip upon the composition of the *Essais*, that is, upon Book III and the additions to Books I and II.¹

Both point out in the *Essais* a number of undeniable allusions to experiences of the trip, most of them recorded in the *Journal*. Both go much farther than this, attributing to the trip a very considerable influence upon Montaigne's opinions. According to B., the "voyage" developed Montaigne's attitude toward physical pain, toward death, toward social life, toward his acceptance of every individual as a sample of humanity, toward his trust in his own experiences. He writes (p. 139):

Si les passages à la louange de la coutume et de la société deviennent bien plus nombreux après le voyage, le cas est encore plus frappant en ce qui concerne l'idée de l'unité de la nature humaine, idée qui ne paraît jamais avant le voyage, et qui est ajoutée aux *Essais* pour la première fois

¹ Since D. dedicates his book to Georges Duhamel, it may be well that he emphasizes less than B. Montaigne's interest in mechanical devices.

dans l'édition de 1582. Il est donc permis de croire que le voyage contribua à fixer la forme que revêtit en dernier lieu sa pensée philosophique, et sa conception du monde et des hommes.

D. also stresses the importance of his travels (p. 151):

Le voyage a donc cette conséquence en apparence paradoxale de le faire, une fois sorti de lui-même, rentrer en lui-même, en lui montrant que le monde ne peut fournir à notre expérience que des renseignements négatifs et ne lui prouvant l'absence qu'il soupçonnait déjà d'une vérité unique. Le profit accessoire qu'il a pu tirer de ses pérégrinations, il l'a éparpillé tout au long des *Essais*.

Now Vols. I and II of the *Essais* were first published in 1580; the trip lasted from June 22 of that year to Nov. 30, 1581; the 2nd edition appeared in 1582; the third book in 1588. One would expect to find the influence of the trip especially in the additions made in 1582 to Books I and II, but it is much stronger, according to both D. and B., in Book III, in the additions made in 1588 to the earlier Books, and in the further marginal additions that Montaigne made in the Bordeaux copy. However, before 1588 Montaigne had been Mayor of Bordeaux, had had the experience of the plague, had witnessed the intensification of civil war. How can one tell whether it was the trip to Switzerland, Germany, and Italy rather than his administrative life and the events of 1582-8 that made most of the difference between his earlier and his later work? Even if he had never passed the borders of his country, tendencies expressed in *Amitié*, *Institution des enfants*, *Cannibales*, and other essays might well have developed into those of Book III. His enlightened attitude towards the Turks,² for instance, was not due to a visit to their country. He referred to the "calessons de la signora Livia," as D. shows (p. 127), before he went to Rome or called upon her colleagues. One must take into consideration the success of Books I and II in estimating Montaigne's reasons for giving a more ample portrait of himself in Book III. And the account given in the *Journal* of his leaving a silver votive offering at the shrine of the Virgin at Loretta does not fit very well with the Montaigne that we meet in the *Essais*. That the trip furnished him with certain illustrations no one can deny, that it may have strengthened his ideas about the unity of mankind is highly probable, but to the question whether or not it had the fundamental importance attributed to it by B. and D., Montaigne himself would probably have answered, "Que sais-je?"

Neither writer seeks to make of the *Journal* a literary masterpiece. D. admits (p. 160) that the style is "négligé et incorrect" and that there are "presque pas d'images," but he attributes to it a rich vocabulary and a few passages that recall the *Essais*. After

² Cf. C. D. Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature*, Paris, Boivin, 1940, pp. 369-76.

all, we are interested in Montaigne because of the *Essais*; in the *Journal* because of Montaigne.³

D.'s two-volume work is devoted to the reception accorded the *Essais* and the *Journal* in Great Britain and in New England. It should make a companion volume to A. M. Boase's *Fortunes of Montaigne, a History of the Essays in France, 1580-1669*, but D. goes much farther than Boase, studying as recent writers as Stevenson and Pater. He shows that Walpole and others resented Montaigne's concentration upon himself; Carlyle and others, his *gauloiserie*; but that he won admiration from Goldsmith, Sterne, Gibbon, Byron, Hazlitt, Thackeray, etc., as well as from Emerson and Lowell. It is difficult, of course, to establish the question of influence,⁴ but D. makes it clear that Montaigne was generally recognized as the father of the essay, that the *Essais*, like the Bible, was often regarded as an English classic, and that the work may well have broadened many an Englishman's interest in humanity and encouraged in him a conversational style. John Sterling and Bayle St. John even went on pilgrimages to Montaigne's château. John M. Robertson wrote of him: "Of all essayists who have yet written, he is the most transparent, the most discursive, the most free-tongued, and therefore the most alive."⁵

When someone in the twenty-first century carries the fortunes of Montaigne down to the middle of the twentieth, he will be obliged to list D.'s three volumes and B.'s dissertation. He will note in them their authors' intense admiration for the Gascon and the extensive inquiry they have made into the question of how he came to write as he did. He will be impressed, too, by the still more

³ I cannot agree with D. (p. 38) that, if Montaigne had been "plus jeune et plus valide," he would have embarked with Jacques Cartier pour le Canada ou avec sir Walter Raleigh pour la Virginie," for he was only nine when Cartier returned from his last voyage to America, and Raleigh never sailed for Virginia. P. 52, for l'Aristote read l'Arioste B. (p. 140) states that the part of the *Journal* written by the secretary "parle toujours de Montaigne à la troisième personne," but D. denies this and shows (p. 16) that the *je* of "je fus là averty d'une sottise que j'avois faite" refers to Montaigne, not to the secretary. P. 141, B. gives the first edition of the *Journal* that appeared as part of the *Œuvres* of Montaigne as that of Buchon, Paris, Lefèvre, 1836. The only edition made by Buchon that D. cites is that of Paris, Desrey, 1837, but he lists editions of the *Œuvres* containing the *Journal* as published at Paris by Lefèvre in 1818 (reprinted, 1823) and 1826-9.

⁴ I would not, as D. does (p. 123), consider Montaigne the source of Byron's commonplace remark that no one is a great man to his valet merely because the idea is expressed in the *Essais*.

⁵ Cited by D., II, 86. This second volume consists of extracts from Florio, Bouhier, Hazlitt, Henry Hallam, Fitzgerald, etc. The quotations in Vol. I are given in French translation, usually with the English in a foot-note. Most of these translations are accurate, but I would not translate "put everybody right" (I, 402) by "mettre chacun exactement à sa place" P. 399, approval is given for the statement that Robert Louis Stevenson always wrote for "les jeunes filles et les enfants." I wonder for which of these categories he composed *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*.

elaborate inquiry that D. has made in the field of literary relations between the French and the English, and by the fact that, despite the presence of their common enemy, the manuscript was completed at Rennes in December, 1943.

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Alessandro Manzoni: Esthetics and Literary Criticism. By JOSEPH FRANCIS DE SIMONE. New York: S. F. Vanni, 1946. Pp. 429.

Alessandro Manzoni does not rank very high in the history of Italian literary criticism. He never professed literary criticism, on only few occasions did he undertake the discussion of theoretical problems, and very seldom, and very reluctantly, did he express his opinion on individual writers. Nevertheless his views on literature have attracted the attention of leading Italian critics from De Sanctis to the contemporary Croce, Momigliano, and Galletti, both because he was the acknowledged leader of Italian romanticists and, especially, because of the lofty position he occupies in the realm of Italian letters.

Prof. De Simone's book is a welcome addition to this literature because it is the most extensive and systematic treatment of the subject. The work consists of two parts. The first summarizes and integrates the partial studies already published on Manzoni's esthetics. The second, and much more voluminous part, collects and organizes the literary judgments which Manzoni left in his published works or expressed privately in conversation with friends and were later disclosed by Cantù, Tommaseo, Stampa, Fabris, and Borra. These judgments, with careful analyses and elucidations by De Simone, are arranged according to the nationality of the writers discussed and in chronological sequence for each nation, thus presenting in convenient form what Manzoni said about several national literatures,—Greek and Roman, Italian, French, English, German, and Spanish.

In the first part Prof. De Simone does a competent job discussing the evolution of the esthetic ideas of Manzoni in his search for a form combining the morally good, the historically true, and the esthetically beautiful. This evolution is traced from the groping of the juvenile period, when Manzoni adhered to classicism and 18th century rationalism; through the period of the religious and literary "conversion," when he created his narrative masterpiece *I Promessi Sposi* as well as his great lyrical and dramatic works; to the final and longest period of his life, that of renunciation and negation of art, when he abandoned creative literature, and turned

his attention to linguistic and historical problems. Prof. De Simone stresses, and rightly so, the essential unity and consistency of Manzoni's mind, showing that there is no break between the periods, and no insoluble contradiction between what he thought in his youth and what he thought in his maturity. This viewpoint is not new,—nor does De Simone claim that it is,—but its presentation is very elaborate and well organized and documented.

The second part,—the discussion of Manzoni's literary criticism,—is less fortunate. The literary opinions which Manzoni expressed on individual writers are too few and too short to supply any sort of basis for a judgment on Manzoni as a critic. Since Manzoni left only some passing references, some chance remarks, and in some cases was even completely silent, on the majority of the writers discussed, Prof. De Simone is forced to supplement the scanty material with surmises, hypotheses, comparisons or contrasts between Manzoni and the writer under consideration. Although Manzoni never mentioned Chateaubriand and Leopardi, De Simone devotes five pages to Chateaubriand and no less than fourteen to Leopardi. His discussions are interesting, some of them quite acute, but they hardly have any bearing on Manzoni's literary criticism. Furthermore in most cases Manzoni did not attempt to pass comprehensive judgments, but expressed himself only on some trait of the writer's character or thought,—as is the case for his unfavorable remarks on Dante, Boccaccio, Ariosto, Tasso, Alfieri, and many others. It is not fair to Manzoni's taste and intelligence to suppose that those remarks fully state his critical views. What Manzoni really thought we do not know because he did not choose to say, but it is safe to assume that his judgments would have been less biased and one-sided if he had turned his attention to the totality of the works of the writers mentioned. An example of this are his observations on Machiavelli whose works he discussed with equanimity and acumen, although he emphatically rejected Machiavelli's main principles. The fact is that Manzoni never was nor tried to be a literary critic, and he is definitely out of character when this role is forced on him on the basis of a few and unrelated utterances.

Prof. De Simone is fully aware of these difficulties. He repeatedly calls attention to the paucity and incompleteness of Manzoni's critical judgments. He realizes that "Manzoni's literary criticism adds little that is new to the study of those works analyzed and examined by him" (p. 420), but he feels his work is justified because "the literary judgments . . . discussed in the second part of this work are extremely valuable for the understanding of Manzoni himself. They complete our picture of him as a great spiritual unity." (p. 421). That is true, provided we keep constantly in mind that most of the judgments reported were expressed in the third period of Manzoni's life, when his attitude toward literature was negative, and so, naturally enough, was his opinion on most individual writers.

Perhaps it would have been better to use these judgments on writers and works in the discussion of Manzoni's Esthetics, as illustrations of statements of theoretical principles, rather than to devote a whole, and altogether too long, section of the book to them. The work would have gained in conciseness and clarity, and would have given a truer exposition of Manzoni's thought. But even as it stands the book is good. It is clearly the result of wide reading and serious thinking. The material collected is certainly very useful, whether one likes its organization or not. For these reasons Prof. De Simone's book is a study that students of Manzoni can ill afford to ignore.

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The Meditations of Daniel Defoe. Now First Printed. Edited by GEORGE HARRIS HEALEY. Cummington, Mass.: Cummington Press, 1946. Pp. x + 26. \$7.50.

A half century ago Karl Bülbring published a manuscript Defoe had left unfinished at his death. Mr. George Healey, recently captain in the USAAF, now publishes what are probably the earliest compositions by Defoe we shall ever have. They are from a notebook which passed from Defoe's daughters to their minister, Dr. J. Duncan of Wimborne in Dorsetshire. Over a century ago Walter Wilson looked in vain for it. Mr. Healey turns it up in the Huntington Library, where it has been for two decades or so.

The notebook consists of 195 pages, largely filled with Defoe's transcript of six, in a series of seven, sermons preached by John Collins in 1681, but having at the end, in twenty-three pages, seven verse meditations of Defoe's own composition. Mr. Healey finds the sermons dull and prints only the meditations, duplicating page by page the manuscript as nearly as possible. The edition

is limited to 280 copies printed from Poliphilus and Blado types, thirty copies on Georgian paper being for review, the rest, numbered 1 to 250 and on Tuscany handmade paper, being mostly for sale.

In so ornate a volume, Mr. Healey might have reproduced for us one of the notebook's handsome pages in which, he says, the script, though characteristically Defoe's, has a

flowery, self-conscious, almost schoolboyish quality, constantly reminding us that this is a much younger Defoe than the one whose writings we know best.

The sermons appear to have been transcribed at the time of their delivery in 1681, and the verses to have been written not long after-

ward. The first page of the verses is in heroic couplets, and another page, containing the whole of the sixth meditation, is in what hymnbooks call short meter. All the rest is in irregular stanzas, which are better suited than couplets to introspection. Few will disagree with Mr. Healey in regarding the chief importance of the meditations as biographical. They reveal an earnest youth of less poetical genius than piety, who had just decided (or had he?) not to enter the ministry. The following stanza from the first meditation, in which lines 5-7 at least echo earlier religious lyrics of the century, illustrates the subjectivity of the meditations.

Chiefly I come,
(Ah That I were at home!)
From all That Gawdy Righteousness of Myne,
To Dress in That New Robe of Thyne
And From My Self,
That Fatall Shelf,
On which my Soul Would Splitt & Drown,
Lord I Have Nothing of My Owne!

Mr. Healey recognizes that the transcript of sermons, too, has biographical value. What Defoe was doing in the five years following school we do not know. The usual assumption has been that he served an apprenticeship to a merchant and that he traveled on the continent. Dottin, citing neither reason nor authority, positively identified the merchant as Charles Lodwick, who in December, 1683, sponsored Defoe's application for a marriage license.¹ He then supposes that Defoe finished his apprenticeship in time to make a continental tour in 1680-82 with a group of merchant-travellers. Professor Sutherland accepts Defoe's vigorous denial that he had been an apprentice and thinks that Defoe must have become a merchant by 1680. But he says nothing of Dottin's statement about Lodwick.²

This is the uncertain period into which Mr. Healey now projects the information that from February to September and later in 1681 Defoe was listening to sermons delivered in London by John Collins. The evidence for London is stronger than Mr. Healey recognizes. Mr. John Collins, D. D., was at the time minister of an Independent congregation in Paved Alley, Lime Street,³ and one of six distinguished lecturers (four Presbyterians and two Inde-

¹ Paul Dottin, *De Foe et ses romans* (1924), I, 29, 47; G. A. Aitken, "Defoe's Birth and Marriage" in the *Athenæum*, II (1890), 257. Dottin suggested that Defoe was employed as a comrade for Lodwick's son, Thomas.

² James R. Sutherland, *Defoe* (1937), pp. ix, 28.

³ Collins succeeded Thomas Malory upon the latter's death in 1668 or 1669 and served till his own death in 1687, when Nathaniel Mather, brother of Increase Mather, became the minister. See A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934), articles on Collins, Malory, and Mather; John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1873), 186 ff.

pendents) who took turns on Tuesday mornings in Pinners' Hall, supporting "the doctrines of the Reformation against the prevailing errors of Popery, Socinianism and Infidelity."⁴ On 28 November and 12 December, 1681, about the time the sermons Defoe was transcribing were concluded, Collins was being cited with Annesley, Calamy, and others for violating the Uniformity, Conventicle, and Five Mile Acts.⁵ He had collaborated with the Presbyterians in the Savoy conference in 1661 and was greatly respected by all dissenters, who would have been surprised to hear his sermons called dull.⁶

The six sermons Defoe dated as follows: 20 February, 1680 [1681], 26 March, 15 May, 12 June, 10 July (Defoe missed this sermon), 25 September, and (for the seventh of the series and the sixth heard by Defoe) a time unspecified. Since they were all upon the same text (*Mark* 16: 15-16, "Go ye into all the world") and came several weeks apart, they may have been a series delivered elsewhere than in Collins's own pulpit.⁷ They could not have been Pinners' Hall lectures, for they are not controversial and they were not delivered on Tuesdays. All were Sunday sermons, unless the date given for the second is correct; 26 March, 1681, was a Saturday. However this may be, the dates support my warning that Defoe may have seen less of the continent than Dottin supposed;⁸ and they do not contradict Professor Sutherland's suggestion that Defoe had already set up in business for himself.

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Jean Paul und die Schweiz, von EDUARD BEREND. Frauenfeld/Leipzig: Verlag von Huber and Co. [1943]. Pp. 131.

Although Jean Paul like Schiller never visited Switzerland, his works exhibit, as do Schiller's, an intimate knowledge of Swiss life and scenery. When Jean Paul salutes the Swiss Alps as the seat of "the invisible temples of freedom and religion," he is voicing a sentiment not alien to Schiller's viewpoint.

It is indeed fortunate for Jean Paul and the Swiss people that the

⁴ Daniel Neal, *History of the Puritans* (1733), iv, 451.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. (dom. ser.)*, 1680-1681 (1921), pp. 592, 613.

⁶ Daniel Neal (*Hist. of the Puritans*, iv, 580) says that Collins had a sweet voice and a most affectionate manner in the pulpit, that he was "mighty in the scriptures," and that he died universally lamented. But having read his "farewell" sermon of 1662 (*Farewel Sermons*, 1663, p. 305), I accept Mr. Healey's verdict upon the sermons of 1681.

⁷ Otherwise how came Defoe to transcribe none of the intervening sermons on other texts?

⁸ A. W. Secord, review of Miss Ragan's translation of Dottin's biography, *JEGP*, xxx (1931), 298.

course of this mutual interest has come under the discerning eye of the greatest living authority on Jean Paul. Forced by the exigencies of the war to take up his residence as an exile in Switzerland, Eduard Berend has, amid the most harrowing and distracting experiences, traced with infinite care and admirable balance the record of Jean Paul's connection with the Swiss people and their literature. Only one so conversant with Jean Paul's life and works as Eduard Berend could, in the compass of so small a volume, evoke so complete a picture of this relationship.

The book is appropriately dedicated to the Swiss scholar, Albert Béguin, who both by his excellent translations of *Hesperus* and *Jubelseniör* into French (a not inconsiderable achievement) and by his critical studies has done so much to reveal Jean Paul to a larger public.

An opening chapter recounts how great and persistent was Jean Paul's longing to see the Alpine countries. Visits to Stuttgart and Munich represent the nearest he came to its realization. Successive chapters discuss Switzerland as reflected in his works, his personal connections with Swiss people, his knowledge and judgment of Swiss writers, and finally the reception and effect of Jean Paul's writings on the Swiss.

His knowledge of the Swiss country was gained largely through books of travel of which he was a voracious reader, poetic works of Haller and Gessner, Schiller's *Tell*, Baggesen's *Parthenais*, and the historical writings of Johannes Müller.

The longest and in certain respects the most interesting of these chapters treats of Jean Paul's acquaintance with Swiss people. Some of these, like Heinrich Zschokke, he met personally in Bayreuth; some were not Swiss but enthusiastic admirers of the Swiss people, like Juliana Krüdner, who repeatedly urged him to join her on a trip to Switzerland; others, he knew only through correspondence, for example Lavater whose letters appear here for the first time. Sometimes the connection is only indirectly through the medium of friends, as for instance Pestalozzi.

One of the most original of these acquaintances fostered by correspondence is a representative not from Swiss literary circles but from the people, an honest, sturdy character, Mummenthaler by name. As an indication of Jean Paul's popular appeal, these letters are significant. The friendship was sealed at its inception by a gift to Jean Paul of a huge Emmenthaler cheese. Cheeses are a recurrent matter of comment in these letters, which in other respects reveal an exceptional familiarity with Jean Paul's works even to the extent of imitating his style of humor.

His debt to Swiss literature is treated somewhat at length. He was not particularly interested in Bodmer and Breitinger, but in the Swiss literature of the second half of the 18th century he was thoroughly at home. Haller was a favorite writer. He was espe-

cially attracted to his political novels, particularly *Usong* and of course *Die Alpen*. Haller's scientific works, particularly the eight volume edition of the *Physiologie*, claimed much of his attention. It is interesting to note that his devotion to Swift and to Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* was furthered largely by the translation of these works by Heinrich Waser of Zurich. Jean Paul's own style at one time, as Berend points out, was largely influenced by these translations. Salomon Gessner also was an early favorite of Jean Paul. However, in Goethe's *Jery und Bätely* he finds more Swiss local color than in half the works of Gessner.

The influence of Jean Jacques Rousseau is so pervasive in Jean Paul's work and so well recognized that the pages devoted to him in this little volume are confirmative rather than informative. Of Madame de Staël, Jean Paul had expressed himself at length in the pages of the *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*. Berend, however, brings the main aspect of this relationship into focus and illuminates the salient features of this connection with apt comment. Since the first non-German critical survey of Jean Paul's position in the literature of the time came from Madame de Staël, these pages are of great interest.

It is an ingratiating little volume written *con amore* and disclosing vistas of still unexplored territory for further study.

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Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Gesammelte Werke in zwölf Einzelausgaben: Die Erzählungen. Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer Verlag, 1945. 461 pages, \$3.75.

It has been reported that the French people during the years of their national misfortune turned with an increased fervor to the study of their classical authors. If the same thing happens to the Germans now, the edition which the present volume inaugurates can be of great importance. It will show to the readers that Hofmannsthal (1874-1929), one of the three great German poets of the past generation, can claim a place among German classics. This new edition is planned in 12 volumes. It will contain all the works of Hofmannsthal published so far: to the *Gesammelte Werke* of 1924 in six volumes (reprinted with addition of the second version of *Der Turm* in 1934 in three thick volumes) it will add the more recent operas, the essays, some published in 1931 as *Die Berührung der Sphären*, some never collected, the pantomimes and other minor works for the stage, and above all, the various publications, in rare editions and in periodicals, of the fragmentary material left by the poet: rejected works, fragments of stories and

plays, projects, and a wealth of notes and ideas. In order, however, to present a complete picture of Hofmannsthal, this edition will have to be supplemented in two directions. First, the poet's letters will not be included in the new edition. With a few exceptions, the letters have been published only to the year 1910. (One of Hofmannsthal's closest friends during the last ten years of his life has recently made known some valuable excerpts of letters: Carl J. Burckhardt, *Erinnerungen an Hofmannsthal*, Verlag Benno Schwabe Co., Klosterberg, Basel, 1944.) Second, there will remain still unpublished fragments and notes which, according to the editor, would fill four more volumes. The editor is Herbert Steiner, who has enriched German letters by directing the review *Corona* (1930-1940), and has now started a periodical above language boundaries: *Mesa* (printed at Aurora, N. Y.).

The picture of Hofmannsthal that will result from this new edition will be a new and more definite one than the old picture of 30 years ago of the "aesthete," and the more recent notion of the ethical poet worked out by Grete Schaeder, Brecht, Krueger, Naef, Alewyn, and others. Even this first volume of narrative prose impresses the reader with three features that were before not as obvious. In the first place, there is in the narratives the predominance of an Oriental atmosphere. German poetry has received Oriental influences, but almost exclusively as transmitted forms, in the lyrics of Goethe, Platen, Ruckert. But the Orient of 1001 Nights as a dream content, as the breathing space of a poetic imagination, has hardly been important in German letters before the narratives of this Viennese poet, who considered Venice, an Orient transferred into the Occident, the most beautiful city that he knew. The second characteristic that strikes the reader is the number of fragments, about equal to the number of finished works. One could almost speak of an attraction, of a charm that the fragmentary nature of a work exerts on Hofmannsthal's mind. He finds in a fragment the deep, stimulating, exciting, sudden flash of insight, which only the fragmentary state preserves in its elementary immediacy. This the art lover of today, who often prefers the drawing of a master for the same reason, will understand. This aspect of Hofmannsthal's work will be brought out more clearly in the volume of the notebooks (*Aufzeichnungen*), which belong to the most stimulating products of recent German letters, comparable to the aperçus of Paul Valéry. In the third place, the unity of Hofmannsthal's work is impressed upon the reader by the new edition. "The end is woven back into the beginning," as we read in one of the stories. It might often be hard to tell, except by a close analysis of style, which piece was written in early life and which in his last years. The personal development of the poet is of little importance. His themes, and even his language, were at his disposal from the very beginning. They were only enlarged by a growing awareness of the needs of his time and his nation.

His life and mind were secure in a historical and intellectual tradition, a phenomenon common enough among French or English writers, but unusual among Germans, who have not been favored in this respect either by circumstances or their own natures. Therefore, in the eyes of a German, Hofmannsthal's person and work seem to offer a spiritual shelter, a promise that the German mind can attain unity.

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Examen des remarques de Racine sur l'Odyssée d'Homère écrites à Uzès en 1662. Par GASTON-E. BROCHE. Paris, Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie et imprimerie Marc Texier réunies, 1946. Pp. xiii + 123.

Méridional, secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie Racinienne et amateur d'Homère ayant suivi, sur la Méditerranée, les traces géographiques d'Ulysse, M. Broche réunit les trois qualités qui, de son propre aveu (pp. xi-xii), étaient nécessaires pour étudier avec fruit le cahier contenant les remarques de Racine sur l'*Odyssée*. Ce cahier est un de ces textes antérieurs à la *Thébaïde* que l'on lit rarement, mais qui n'en sont pas moins indispensables à l'étude et à la compréhension de la formation littéraire de Racine: correspondance d'Uzès, *Remarques sur les Olympiques de Pindare* et livres annotés, parmi lesquels on trouve ces notes de Racine à la *Poétique* d'Aristote que M. Vinaver a récemment rééditées et commentées.

M. Broche étudie l'un après l'autre les dix premiers chants de l'*Odyssée* commentés par Racine et répartit ses 82 observations en quatre rubriques: I, bonnes remarques; II, remarques médiocres; III, lacunes; IV, remarques diverses. Méthode assurément minutieuse, mais trop exclusivement analytique et qui s'abstient de regrouper les remarques fragmentaires de Racine, d'autant plus que le livre ne comporte pas de conclusion.

Cependant l'auteur met en lumière l'intérêt que présentent plusieurs des scolies du poète. Il montre, par exemple, comment quelques-unes d'entre elles expriment une conception fort peu janséniste des infortunes humaines (pp. 5-6, 105-107). Il faudrait ajouter à cela que certaines des notes de Racine en marge de Platon ou de Plutarque,—antérieures, il est vrai, de plusieurs années,—révèlent une attitude précisément opposée. M. Broche souligne ailleurs (pp. 25-26, 48-50, 71-73) la manière plus poétique qu'ecclésiastique dont Racine réagit devant certaines des héroïnes épiques, attitude que confirme la lecture de ses lettres à Vitart ou à Le Vasseur. Il met très justement en valeur (pp. 46-47) le commentaire que fait Racine de quelques vers de l'*Odyssée* (Δ , 12-14),

commentaire résumant de manière significative le thème de la future *Andromaque*. On pourrait ajouter qu'en marge de la Vème *Néméenne* de Pindare (Mesnard, vi, 217), Racine fait un commentaire qui résume déjà le thème théorique de *Phèdre*. D'autres remarques montrent l'attitude de Racine devant la composition de l'épopée (pp. 39-40, 57-58, 85), son admiration pour une préparation à longue échéance d'Homère, technique qu'il admirait chez les tragiques grecs et qu'il perfectionnera dans son propre théâtre. Ailleurs, M. Broche, qui se passionne pour la géographie, nous montre l'ignorance que Racine en avait (pp. 18-19, 40-42, 62-63, 104-105, 107-109, 116-119); puis l'attitude de Racine devant le réalisme pittoresque d'Homère (pp. 9-11, 64-65, 111); devant la psychologie homérique (pp. 7-8, 33-36, 80, 94-95, 98-99); devant la toxicologie (pp. 59-61, 112-113),—affaire des poisons.

Les *Remarques* de Racine présentent cependant d'autres aspects intéressants qui ne ressortent pas de l'étude trop morcelée de M. Broche: notamment l'érudition livresque de Racine, les constants rapprochements que le texte grec lui suggère, avec des auteurs grecs (Platon, Théocrite, Héliodore, etc.), latins (Cicéron, Horace, Ovide, etc.), voire italiens (l'Arioste, le Tasse). A une vingtaine de reprises, il note la manière dont Virgile imite Homère, observation capitale de la part d'un homme qui allait imiter Sophocle et Euripide. Ailleurs (Mesnard, vi, 147-148, 159) Racine discute certaines des assertions d'Homère en faisant intervenir le témoignage d'autres écrivains et se livre à un exercice de critique analogue à celui auquel il s'adonnera dans la préface d'*Iphigénie*.

On ne saurait trop insister, en effet, sur l'importance des lectures que Racine fit à Port-Royal puis à Uzès; et le principal mérite de l'ouvrage de M. Broche est bien de nous montrer, d'une manière malheureusement trop fragmentaire, comment on peut utiliser ces textes critiques de Racine sinon afin de mieux comprendre son génie, du moins afin de mieux évaluer ce que ce génie doit, dans son expression et dans sa forme, à l'éducation littéraire du jeune homme.

GEORGES MAY

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The Nature of Poetry. By DONALD A. STAUFFER, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1946. Pp. 291. \$3.00.

Mr. Stauffer's able study may suffer in some quarters from its title. It does not, it seems to me, actually advance the theoretical position of modern criticism very much. Though it includes many fresh insights into particular poems, the book is not remarkable for the originality of its critical approach. Rather, it represents a consolidation of ground already gained by the critics of the last twenty

years. This is a service which is of solid value and ought not to be minimized. The consolidation needed to be performed; and it might have been performed poorly or well. Mr. Stauffer's *The Nature of Poetry* performs it very well indeed.

Yet, in saying this, it would be unfair to imply that the book is a mere popularization. The level of writing is too high, the quality of thinking too acute, the mass of concrete material treated too large, to allow one to set the book down as mere popularization. It is a detailed application of the principle of organic structure to a host of concrete examples drawn from the poetry of Chaucer down to that of our own time. If Mr. Stauffer does not push the implications of the principle of organic structure as far as I think they demand to be pushed, he does illustrate the theory convincingly to many people who would probably reject it if presented in a more rigorous form.

Mr. Stauffer, in his search for organizing principles, begins with a commentary upon, and illustration of, the "exactness" of poetry; and he goes on with chapters entitled "Poetry is intense," "significant," "concrete," "complex," "rhythmical," and "formal." For his purpose the method is excellent, and because his comment is consistently tied to concrete examples, the rather pragmatic and loose arrangement of topics does no harm. Such chapters give him means by which to get the reader going into an examination of specific poems. Actually, it seems to me, Mr. Stauffer might have shuffled his chapter topics and got very nearly the same results; or he might indeed have begun with other "unifying principles" such as, for example, poetry is universal, poetry is personal, etc., and got results equally as good. For all of his discussion finally comes to an assertion of the organic nature of poetry.

Occasionally Mr. Stauffer is betrayed into minor contradictions by what I feel is his anxiety to appear catholic and tolerant in his treatment of poetry. For example, in his "Prologue" he suggests that sentimentality can be defended in poetry and that the significance of poetry is "primarily a moral significance." But the chapters that follow show that he knows better than this, and that the "modern critics" from whom he means to dissociate himself in these matters are much closer to his actual position than perhaps he has been aware. Or, to take another example: Mr. Stauffer's hesitance lest he seem dogmatic impels him to write that "the simple and direct statement of an emotion . . . is in itself seldom poetic." But his excellent concluding chapter "Poetry is Formal" implies that poetry is *never* "simple and direct."

Sometimes Mr. Stauffer's examples are not strictly apt. He observes, rightly I believe, that the technique is bad in Keats's "I stood tiptoe upon a little hill." As he puts it: "[The opening line] plunges direct to an extreme." And he goes on to contrast with this opening line that with which Keats begins his "Ode to a Nightingale," "the commonplace statement, 'My heart aches.'" We sense Mr. Stauffer's point; but most of us will feel that "I stood

tiptoe upon a little hill" is a much more *commonplace* and *unemotional* statement than "My heart aches."

But there is very little to quarrel with in the general import of the book. Particular assertions which, taken in isolation, do seem questionable tend to be modified and corrected in the larger context. Moreover, the book abounds in critical statements for which one is grateful: "... it is impossible to fix the significance of any raw material for all artists . . ."; "it is my belief that the nature of poetry is constant . . ."; "Simplification leads to falsification. Allegory, in this light, is hardly more than a start toward poetry"; "Every poem . . . is untranslatable and irreplaceable." Mr. Stauffer is apparently willing to be admirably dogmatic on such points as these. If he is, that is almost enough; for the implications of these statements are immense. Developed and held to, they might go far to rescue the humanities from the morass of sociological relativism into which they have sunk.

CLEANTH BROOKS

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BRIEF MENTION

Letters of Dora Wordsworth. Edited by HOWARD P. VINCENT. Chicago: Packard and Co., 1944. \$2.00. These letters, written between 1825 and 1832, unfold the story of the friendship of two intelligent young women, Dora Wordsworth and Maria Jane Jewsbury. The letters are interesting, and Mr. Vincent's introduction is useful and unpretentious. The book is pleasant reading. Such criticisms as one feels inclined to make refer solely to the mechanics of editing.

The editor's preface states that he has "tried to be faithful to [the] manuscripts, . . . keeping [their] somewhat erratic spelling," and avoiding "the defensive and tiresome use of *sic*." Any apparent misprint, therefore, is due not to misreading or faulty proof correction but to Dora Wordsworth. Yet it is difficult to be sure. One can credit, for example, that by a slip of the pen Wordsworth wrote "I prefer you prose to your verse" (p. 19) or that his daughter wrote "Wiandermere" (p. 48) and "Fower show" (p. 49), though most readers would prefer to have such slips corrected and the correction acknowledged editorially as concisely as possible. It is less easy, however, to believe that Dora wrote "Korkston" for Kirkstone (p. 24) or the unintelligible "Haotsup" (p. 48), and it is scarcely credible that a northcountryman, on receiving a present of game, would thank the donor for the "boids" (p. 43). The order of the letters is not always right; it is clear from internal evidence that no. 8 should follow, not precede, no. 11.

The letters are printed without indication of writer or recipient

other than they bear in the originals. It is disconcerting, to say the least, to find that the first of "Dora Wordsworth's" letters has no indication of date, no other form of address than "Dear Sir," and is signed "Maria Jane Jewsbury." Then, after the last letter, there come some paragraphs headed by the roman numeral "V"; they are apparently meant to be continuous with the four sections of the introduction. To what extent the editor is to be held responsible is uncertain, but a book which boasts in addition a typographical designer should surely be free from such faults.

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A Critical History of English Poetry. By H. C. J. GRIERSON and J. C. SMITH. New York: OUP, 1946. Pp. viii + 593. \$5.00. This volume is intended for the "general reader" and hence it should not be judged by the standards that one usually brings to the consideration of histories of literature. The authors are interested only in English poetry and consciously put aside the factual material with which the corpses of dead poets are mummified for eternity. Their purpose is to entice the average literate into the systematic reading of English verse by providing him with a few critical notes on each poet, notes that are illuminated by samples of the poet's own work. The critical observations are often excellent and the hardened reader, even the professional student of literature, will extract a great amount of profit from this book.

D. C. A.

CORRESPONDENCE

PARADISE LOST I, 549-55. That the true source of these lines is the passage in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus* describing the Spartans entering battle to the sound of music was pointed out in *MLN* (January, 1934), by Fred L. Jones. To demonstrate the parallelism he quoted both Milton and Plutarch, using for the latter, however, the Clough translation, based on the so-called Dryden translation. The source was known to Knightly Chetwood, D.D., translator of the *Lycurgus* for Tonson, published (vol. I) 1683. Proof is found in the superb phrase "deliberate valor," the spirit of free men ready to die for their country, which does not occur in North, at least in the 1603 edition. Milton, writing before 1667, presumably originated the phrase, deriving it from the context of the Greek. Chetwood, discovering the source, with fine judgment employed it.

Thus the source was known sixteen years after publication of *PL*, although thereafter it went unnoted for 251 years.

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BRAZIL AND THE AZORES

In 1943 Professor Paiva Boléo, of the University of Coimbra, published a study concerning the interest of the language of the lower classes to linguistic science.¹ In the appendix, in which he discussed "false Brazilianisms," he criticized certain Brazilian writers for labeling as peculiar to Brazil phonetic, morphological, and lexical characteristics of South American Portuguese which are also heard in many Lusitanian Portuguese dialects (the pronunciation of final unstressed *e* as [i], for example). He failed to emphasize, however, that these *brasileirismos* normally occur in the "standard language" of Brazil but not in the "standard language" of Portugal.²

¹ Manuel de Paiva Boléo, *O Interêsse Científico da Linguagem Popular*. Lisbon: Tipografia da Editorial Império, L.^{da}, 1943, 36 pp. This study was a reprint, with additions, of an article which appeared in the *Revista de Portugal, Série A, Língua Portuguesa*, I: 3 (Dec, 1942), 129-140.

² On p. 66 of *Brasileirismos* (see note 3) he accuses others of doing what he himself has done: ". . . É, portanto, grave defeito pôr em paralelo o português literário de Portugal com o português popular do Brasil, ou o português popular de Portugal com a linguagem corrente do Brasil. . . ."

The question of a standard language in Portugal and its former colony bears striking similarities to the parallel question in Britain and its former colony, our own United States. In both American countries the language of no one region has been recognized, as yet, as the norm for all speakers to adopt: Paulistas are to Cariocas what New Englanders are to Middle Westerners. In Portugal, however, a standard language has long been recognized, although scholars have disagreed as to the exact locality which furnished it. The first students of Portuguese phonetics, Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte (*Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1880-1881, Part I: 1880, 23-41), Gonçalves Viana (*Romania*, XII, 29-98), and Henry Sweet (*Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1882-1883-1884, Part II: 1883, 203-237), took as their norm the language of cultured people in Lisbon.

Later in the same year Professor Paiva Boléo followed up his initial discussion of Brazilianisms with a much longer study.³ In it he censured quite severely the work of a number of Brazilian students of linguistics and developed his thesis that many so-called *brasileirismos* occur dialectically in Portugal. For support, he cited not only published works on Portuguese dialectology but also the results received from his noteworthy *inquérito linguístico por correspondência*.⁴ He alluded several times to the pronunciation of

In later studies, Gonçalves Viana wavered between Lisbon (*Portugais*, Leipzig, 1903, p. iv) and the region between Lisbon and Coimbra (*Exposição da pronuncia normal portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1892, p. 43, *Ortografia Nacional*, Lisbon, 1904, p. 23), although this vacillation in no way affected the doctrine expounded in his series of studies.

Leite de Vasconcelos dared go so far as to write: "Le parler du bas peuple de Lisbonne est plus cultivé que celui de n'importe quelle autre localité" (*Esquisse d'une dialectologie portugaise*, Paris and Lisbon, 1901, pp. 211-212). Oliveira Guimarães, on the other hand, took the language of the "cultíssima sociedade académica coimbrã" as his norm (*Fonética Portuguesa*, Coimbra, 1927, p. 32).

João da Silva Correia (*Bíblia*, ix, 1-22) tried to be non-committal and concluded by taking the language of both Lisbon and Coimbra, but Lisbon first (cf pp. 9 and 11).

Almost every layman in Portugal feels obliged to tell the foreigner that "Em Coimbra é que se fala o melhor português." I was told this all over Portugal, Madeira, and the Azores.

³ *Brasileirismos* (*Problemas de método*), Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, Limitada, 1943, 91 pp. First published in volume III of *Brasília, Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros da Faculdade de Letras de Coimbra*.

⁴ In order to make up in part for the lack of a linguistic atlas of Portugal, Professor Paiva Boléo decided that it would be worthwhile to draft a preliminary questionnaire and to take "linguistic soundings" of both continental and insular Portugal by means of correspondence as well as by personal inquiries in various regions. The questionnaire, consisting of 542 questions on vocabulary, was printed in two different booklets. The shorter, *Inquérito linguístico organizado por Manuel de Paiva Boléo* (Coimbra, 1942, 115 pp.), contains the questionnaire itself, accompanied by a minimum of explanatory material; copies were sent to primary school teachers, parish priests, and others, in order that they might select informants, fill in the blanks, and return the information to the organizer of the project. The longer, more scholarly version, *O estudo dos dialectos e falares portugueses* (*Um inquérito linguístico*) (Coimbra, 1942, 151 pp.), contains the questionnaire and also a more complete introduction and more notes and includes an explanation of the reasons for adopting the correspondence method, which had previously been used with success for an *Inquérito de Geografia regional* and an *Inquérito do habitat rural*.

In the two versions the author recognized, and rightly so, that his plan

Portuguese on the island of São Miguel in the Azores, with which he was familiar through his survey. The particular pronunciations which he selected are those claimed as Brazilianisms.

The Brazilians, he says, pronounce the diphthong written *ei* as *êi*, whereas the speakers of standard Lusitanian say *âi*.⁵ But, Professor Paiva Boléo points out, *êi* is also heard on Lusitanian territory, especially in the Azores, "pelo menos nalgumas zonas." He then quotes from a reply from Ponta Delgada, São Miguel: "O ditongo *ei* é pronunciado invariavelmente *êi* e não *vi*, qualquer que seja a posição em que se encontre . . ." (p. 24).

Again, the suppression of final *r* is not specifically Brazilian, says the author, for it occurs, among other places, on São Miguel: "No distrito de Ponta-Delgada (Açores), são frequentes os substantivos e os verbos de tema em *a* em que se suprime o *r* final. . . . Esta pronúncia encontra-se, mais ou menos, em todo o resto da ilha de São-Miguel" (p. 26).

Attention is next called to the Brazilian *sinhá* and it is observed that "em localidades da ilha de São-Miguel se ouve, a cada passo, dizer *senhara* por *senhora*." There follows the significant question: "¿Não estará aí, pergunto eu, uma das fases anteriores do brasileiro *sinhá*?" (p. 26).⁶

The change of *lh* to *i* has been called a Brazilianism, yet, the author has learned, this change is common on São Miguel, particularly in Arrifes, where *abelha* is pronounced *abêia* (p. 27).

of a linguistic inquiry by correspondence would not be satisfactory for a study of regional pronunciations and wisely held the phonetic instructions to a minimum. No matter how enthusiastic and well-intentioned priests and local teachers may be, and in Portugal their enthusiasm for scholarly subjects is well-known, they do not have the requisite linguistic and phonetic training to make observations on pronunciation, except of a most general nature. Paiva Boléo recognized this not only in the questionnaire but also in *O Interêsse Científico*.

Paiva Boléo's linguistic survey has served as the model for a similar survey now being conducted on the island of La Palma in the Canaries. Cf. Juan Régulo Pérez, *Questionario sobre palabras y cosas de la isla de La Palma*, La Laguna de Tenerife, 1946, 185 pp (Universidad de La Laguna—Facultad de Filosofía y Letras—Seminario de Filología Románica).

⁵ The letter *â* represents approximately the sound of *u* in English *but*. In works on Portuguese phonetics the symbol [u] is often employed.

⁶ The word *señá* is common in peninsular Spanish; cf. "la señá Fra-squita" in Alarcón's *El sombrero de tres picos*.

Lastly, Professor Paiva Boléo has found on São Miguel the palatalized pronunciation of *t* before *e* and *i*, so characteristic of some regions of Brazil. At least, he has found, on São Miguel, something peculiar about the way the natives pronounce *t* and *k*. Although, from the descriptions which he quotes, it is difficult to conclude just what this something is, the author asks a second significant question: "Em vez de se atribuir *t'* africado brasileiro a influência espanhola, como por vezes se ouve (cfr. *noctem* > *noche*), ¿não estará a origem dessa pronúncia nos Açores?" (p. 30).

In short, not content with the claims of those who allege an influence of African languages on the Portuguese of Brazil any more than with the claims of those who see an influence of native Indian languages,⁷ and although expressing doubt as to whether certain phonetic changes in Portuguese (*u* to *ü*, for instance) are cases of influence at all, but rather natural evolution,⁸ Professor Paiva Boléo assumes an Azorean influence on Brazilian, an influence which would have been brought about by the large number of Azoreans who emigrated to Brazil.⁹ He now recognizes the need of soliciting the aid of History and is duly informed by History that some Azoreans in fact did emigrate to Brazil:

Vê-se, por conseguinte, que a minha suposição de que deve ter havido influência da linguagem dos Açores nalgumas regiões do Brasil, suposição a que fui levado pelo simples confronto de particularidades linguísticas e antes de ler qualquer livro sobre emigração açoriana, parece ser confirmada pela história da colonização. E, se digo "parece ser," e não "é confirmada," é porque estes problemas são de uma grande complexidade.¹⁰

Feeling the need of more historical facts than he was able to present in *Brasileirismos*, Professor Paiva Boléo engaged in his

⁷ Cf. p. 43 of *Brasileirismos*: "... Observarei apenas que me parece que nas últimas dezenas de anos se tem evitado, louvavelmente, o exagêro (que era também um êrro) de atribuir muitos fenómenos do português do Brasil à influência das línguas indígenas, em especial o tupi, para se cair noutro exagêro: o de querer explicar tudo por influência africana. . . ."

⁸ Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 69. "... ¿que relação haverá entre certos factos linguísticos da mãe-pátria e factos idênticos das ilhas adjacentes, das colónias ou do Brasil,—como seja o caso do *ü* açoriano, que existe também em terras da Beira Baixa, não falando de outros a que fiz referência atrás? Trata-se de influência ou de evolução natural?" See also p. 33.

⁹ No mention is made of possible Italian, German, Syrian, and Japanese influences!

¹⁰ *Brasileirismos*, pp. 72-73.

torical research in the Arquivo Histórico Colonial in Lisbon and published the results in an article entitled *Filologia e História*.¹¹ In this study, in which he presents valuable new statistical information, as well as dates, he definitely localizes the Azorean influence within the states of Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. In his preceding work he had already begun to find out that it was to this part of Brazil that the Azoreans had emigrated.¹² In his most recent book, which I have reviewed elsewhere, Professor Paiva Boléo apparently still holds to his theory.¹³

Before discussing the evidence on which this theory is based, I should like to point out that, in my opinion, an Azorean influence on the language of Brazil, or, at least, on its pronunciation, is *a priori* unlikely. As a result of my visit to Brazil in 1941, when I listened to the pronunciation of the language in Belém, Recife, Baía, Rio de Janeiro, Santos, São Paulo, Campinas, Curitiba, Florianópolis, Porto Alegre, Pelotas, and finally Rio Grande, I was led to the conclusion I had formed after studying the pronunciation of the Madeiran and Azorean dialects,¹⁴ namely, that all phonetic changes noted were in keeping with the general phonetic tendencies of the Portuguese language, and, perhaps more broadly, of the Romance languages as a whole. Even admitting the role of ethnic influences on pronunciation, if one does not believe in the influence of African or American Indian languages on Brazilian, how can one believe in the influence of a relatively small group of emigrants from the Azores? ^{14a}

¹¹ *Filologia e História, A emigração açoriana para o Brasil (Com documentos inéditos)*, Coimbra: Edição da Casa do Castelo, Editora, 1945, 44 pp. First published in volume XX (1944) of *Biblos, Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra*.

¹² Concerning the Azorean emigration to Brazil, cf. Dutra Faria, "O Homem e a paisagem nos Açores," *Atlântico*, III (1943), 167-168, and Luís da Silva Ribeiro, "O P.º António Vieira e os colonos ilhéus no Brasil," *Boletim do Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira*, II (1944), 299. The latter article concerns the 100 families who migrated to Brazil from Santa Maria in 1647 and 1648.

¹³ Cf. pp. 8 and 42 of *Introdução ao estudo da Filologia Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1946), reviewed in *Hispania*, XXX (1946), 613-627.

¹⁴ Cf. "Insular Portuguese Pronunciation: Madeira," *Hispanic Review*, XIV (1946), 235-253, reviewed by Eduardo Antonio Pestana in *Revista Portuguesa de Filologia* (see note 16), I, 223-228.

^{14a} Robert C. Smith has suggested that there may be an Azorean or Madeiran influence on the architecture of Brazil. Cf. p. 126 of "Recent

Professor Paiva Boléo is well aware that his theory is founded on insufficient data. Ideally, one should have phonetic treatises on the standard languages of Portugal and Brazil as points of departure. We do not even have such basic works as these. Next, one should have a dialectal survey, or, linguistic atlas, of both continental and insular Portugal, of the Portuguese colonies, and of Brazil. Although the need has been expressed many times, we have no such surveys, with the exception of the recent attempt carried out in Portugal through the mails.¹⁵ Lastly, one requires a complete historical study of the Portuguese emigration to Brazil, from Madeira as well as the several Azorean islands, including the proportion of emigrants from each of the eleven Adjacent Islands and the regions in Brazil in which they settled. Professor Paiva Boléo's historical research is evidence that such data are not available.

The most serious weakness in the theory is the use of the *phonetic* results of the "linguistic inquiry by correspondence." This preliminary survey was directed primarily at vocabulary, on which, within limits, intelligent priests and teachers can report. Yet the theory is based on pronunciations reported, pronunciations heard primarily on São Miguel. Moreover, not only were all the results from all areas of continental and insular Portugal not collated and studied before the theory was announced,¹⁶ but some of the results

Publications on the Fine Arts of Portugal and Brazil," *The Art Bulletin*, xxvi, 124-128.

¹⁵ The need for an atlas of Brazil has been expressed by Rebêlo Gonçalves on p. 314 of an article entitled "Instituto de Filologia—Considerações sobre a criação de um Centro de Estudos Filológicos na Universidade de S. Paulo," *Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa*, iv (1937), 302-319, and by Antenor Nascentes on p. 65 of his *Estudos filológicos (1.ª Serie)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1939).

¹⁶ It is recognized that it will be a long while before the mass of information from the nearly two thousand replies can be studied. Indeed, Professor Paiva Boléo is having students at Coimbra work on this material at the present time. Moreover, he has already issued a printed map of Portugal, dated 1944, showing the places from which he received replies from his *inquérito*, a mimeographed *Lista das povoações inscritas no Mapa* (13 pp.) to accompany the map, and a mimeographed *BIBLIOGRAFIA sobre inquéritos e atlas linguísticos* (dated April 8, 1944; 7 pp.).

Among the first scholarly fruits which the linguistic inquiry has borne is an article by Karl Jaberg entitled "Géographie linguistique et expressivisme phonétique: Les noms de la balance en portugais (Avec une carte)," published in the new Portuguese journal of which Professor Paiva

To summarize, I do not believe that the phonetic observations made on São Miguel as a result of the linguistic inquiry and quoted in *Brasileirismos* are sufficiently accurate to justify the conclusion that has been drawn. Nor is the assumption justified that, because pronunciations are heard on São Miguel in the twentieth century which bear a resemblance to certain contemporary Brazilian phonetic phenomena, these island pronunciations were the same during the period from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century, the period of the Azorean emigration to Brazil. Moreover, if characteristically Brazilian pronunciations had been reported in the Azores by phonetically trained observers, Professor Paiva Boléo might well have drawn a conclusion diametrically opposed to that discussed above, namely, the influence of Brazilian Portuguese on the language of the Azores.²⁰ Indeed, the marriage of Philology and History should have given rise to a second child, whose general features might have been divined from a glance at the 1930 census figures. The Azoreans, and also the Madeirans, were great emigrants; they emigrated chiefly to Brazil and to the United States. Large numbers of them, however, and here is what Professor Paiva Boléo failed to note, returned to their native islands, to the extent that, in 1930, 210 Brazilians were reported in the Madeiran archipelago and 552 in the Azores. In the same census 201 Americans were listed in the Madeiran islands and 1,089 in the Azores.²¹

The many Azoreans and Madeirans who emigrated to the United States and returned introduced a large number of English words into the insular Portuguese vocabulary, as, for instance, *bossa* (boss), *rêque* (rake), and *Seriol* (City Hall), but they influenced the insular Portuguese pronunciation apparently not at all. The influence exerted on the vocabulary by the Azoreans who returned from Brazil was similar:

²⁰ A hint concerning this influence may be found in a foot-note on p. 72 of *Brasileirismos*: "O inverso, assim como a influência, nos Açores, dos dialectos crioulos, nos quais se verificam alguns fenómenos idênticos, não é tão fácil de dar-se nem de provar-se."

²¹ Figures taken from *Censo da população de Portugal, Dezembro de 1930, 7.º Recenseamento Geral da População*, vol. I, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1933, p. 256. The figures on the Azores have been quoted in Luís da Silva Ribeiro's article "Formação histórica do povo dos Açores," published recently in *Açoreana* (cf. p. 12 of the offprint).

Fenómeno semelhante ao que se dá hoje com os anglicismos se deu anteriormente com os brasilianismos, quando a corrente emigratória insular se dirigia de preferência ao Brasil. Também os *brasileiros* gostavam de inutilmente recorrer a eles e alguns o povo adoptou; mas, passados poucos anos após o desvio da emigração para os Estados Unidos, foram esquecendo, e agora só raros se ouvem a um número muito limitado de pessoas.²²

This Brazilian influence on the Azorean vocabulary has been discussed elsewhere in print. In *O emigrante açoreano*,²³ Dr. Silva Ribeiro mentions the Brazilian expression *fazer sanzola*, in the sense of futile conversation, as having been current at the turn of the century but no longer used in 1940. In a list of nicknames current on Terceira we find the word *Maranhão* with the explanation: "Um 'maranhão' é uma pessoa mal trajosa. Deve ser porém alcunha geográfica, da emigração para o Brasil."²⁴ Furthermore, a possible Brazilian influence on the Azorean folksong has been admitted:

A canção popular parece ter sofrido influência brasileira. Alguns pretendem que as comuns ao Brasil e aos Açores foram destas para aquêle, mas mais provável se afigura o contrário. Se dos Açores tivessem ido, não seria necessário substituir a letra, como sucede com aquelas cujo assunto, por excessivamente regional, não pode ser compreendido nas ilhas. Os nomes dalgumas canções açoreanas são brasileiros, como *fôfa*, *charamba*, *lundum*, e a melodia oferece, às vezes, certas modulações, que muito se assemelham às das canções sul-americanas.²⁵

Whatever may have been the influence in the past of the Azoreans who had emigrated to Brazil, and then returned, on the vocabulary and popular songs of the "Western Islands," I should be very

²² Pp. 132-133 of Luís da Silva Ribeiro's article "Americanismos na linguagem popular dos Açores," *Portucale*, XIV (1941), 131-133.

²³ Ponta Delgada, 1940, p. 26.

²⁴ P. 206 of Capitão Frederico Lopes, Jr., "O abraço, espelho satírico do povo terceirense," *Boletim do Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira*, II (1944), 188-214.

²⁵ *O emigrante açoreano*, pp. 27-28. In a letter dated August 17, 1946, Dr. Luís da Silva Ribeiro wrote me as follows. "Leituras recentes tem-me revelado que foi muito mais importante do que entre nós se julga, o papel dos açorianos na colonização de quasi todo o Brasil. No que respeita a tradições e usanças, sobretudo canções, se algumas foram de cá para lá, outras suspeito que teriam vindo do Brasil. . . . Quando era pequeno circulavam na linguagem popular flagrantes brasilianismos que já esqueceram. Sucedia mesmo dizerem-me em casa, quando inconscientemente repetia certas palavras: 'O menino não diga isso; os brasileiros é que falam assim.'"

reluctant to admit a general Brazilian influence on the insular Portuguese pronunciation. I should view characteristically Brazilian pronunciations either as the result of a spontaneous phonetic evolution which paralleled that of the language of Brazil or, if they are known to be very restricted in extent, as the local influence, within his family or immediate community, of a returned *brasileiro*.²⁶

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MORE'S *UTOPIA* IN ENGLISH: A NOTE ON TRANSLATION

The portraitist wants to duplicate men, the translator wants to duplicate writings. Neither succeeds if he adds or removes or changes, for he becomes one who makes or destroys, not one who reproduces. Reasonable men assume that no portraitist or translator will ever succeed completely.

Saint Thomas More's *Utopia* was translated in 1551 by Ralph Robinson, a needy scholar become clerk to Wm. Cecil. His important labor deserves looking at because the *Utopia* did and still does reach the English-speaking public mainly via the Robinson detour.

A company of writers¹ has conned and appraised the seachange which during the Renaissance overtook non-English works on their being introduced into the mother-tongue. These writers say proper things, and well enough has been written on the subject. Translators are dangerous persons, however, and issuance of whilom warnings to that effect can be salutary. Not that readers of translations

²⁶ In 1940 I wrote, on p. 465 of my unpublished doctoral dissertation: "... I wonder if the occurrence of (č) in Saint Michael's isn't the peculiarity of some returned emigrant to Brazil . . ." I repeated this opinion on p. 478, where I discussed the pronunciation of *Maria* as *Mária*, which I was told was characteristic in Bretanha. In their endeavor to see a French influence in the pronunciation of this region, the São-Miguelians naturally concluded that the fully opened *a* in the first syllable was due to the French *Marie*.

¹ In addition to the *Tudor Translations* prefacers, Charles Whibley again, *CHEL*, iv, Ch. i; F. O. Matthiessen, *Translation: an Elizabethan Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931); and latterly Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1946), Ch. ii.

are not equally dangerous, because they are—in letting down their guard too soon.

One peculiarity of the English *Utopia* illustrates pretty well how a translator can go wrong through insufficient conscious realization of the meanings with which his text happens to be saturated.

Everyone is interested in what Plato does with poets in the *Republic*. His treatment of them engulfs him in the same radical conflict between the body and the soul, between the esthetic-sensuous and intellectual-spiritual awareness of experience that still plagues Western men. Readers at present who turn the pages of *Utopia*, having this ordinary interest (of course besides many others) are curious to learn how its Modern English Catholic Humanist author has dealt with the eternal dilemma, and how the position he takes is given embodiment in what he conjured up for the lessening of a naughty Christian Europe—a laudable kind of imaginary commonwealth, good certainly, whether perfect or not, in essence Greco-Roman-Christian, officially and superficially exotic-heathen. They want to know in both abstract and concrete terms what it was, the good kind of life English Catholic-Christian Humanism, through More, held out for the captivation of the sixteenth and all centuries.

For theory, there is first of all the long and familiar passage, put into Hythlodæ's mouth, describing the life-ideal of the Utopians, *voluptas*, of which there are two sorts. The first and higher, spiritual pleasure, is recognizable as *ἔπος*, a striving after union with The Divine. The subordinate second one, freely recommended, is corporal pleasure, described positively as delight through the senses, and feelings of healthy well-being, negatively as pleasure "whereof cummeth no harme" ("ex quo nihil sequatur incommodi"). The possibility of excess in pursuit of the first is not mentioned, but indulgence in the next, as just noted, is explicitly bounded. The Utopian may enjoy within measure the gratifications of earthly life while he is alive (*σωφροσύνη*), but he believes in God and immortality and knows the life of the spirit to be paramount.

Unfortunately for the searcher into the ways of More's thinking, he did not write in a vacuum. Behind the Utopian isle looms sixteenth-century Europe. This, as well as their greater importance, helps to explain why the *animi voluptates* are fulsomely dwelt on while the corporal ones are given only a lick and a promise. Europe was putting the emphasis the other way. It may explain too why description of the external culture of Utopia is so sketchy, at times

only half-conscious and indifferent. As a protester, More had what he disapproved of more on his mind than what he liked. If anybody wants to discover the exact nature of external culture in Utopia, he must scratch around.

On the subject of decorativeness and decorative art, as well as on art itself, More is obscure. He does not say whether any artists exist in Utopia. Enumerating the occupations of the people in time of peace, exclusive of holy men, scholars, and officials, Hythlodaye says:

Besides husbandry, which (as I sayde) is common to them all, every one of them learneth one or other seuerall and particuler science, as hys own proper crafte. That is most commonly other clotheworkinge in wolles or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smythes crafte, or the carpentes scyence. For there is none other occupacyon that anye numbre to speke of doth vse there (139-40).²

Is the artist hidden in the craftsman, or in the last sentence of the above quotation? Is More thinking of him, or a certain type of him, when Hythlodaye refers to "vayne and superfluous occupations . . . for ryotous superfluyte and vnhonest pleasure" "where money beareth all ye swing (146)"? Regarding the result of the artist's activity, has he it or a certain type of it in mind when a little later it is stated that products of work should be "requysyte other for necessitye, or for commodytie; yea, or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be trewe and naturall (147)"? Who knows? To relieve bafflement, all one can do is recall the direct attacks on finery, of which there are enough. There is an extended onslaught against gold and silver, jewels, fine stuffs, and color in the long passage leading up to and including the account of the Anemolian ambassador's visit (173-83), as well as a general declaration of principle earlier:

Certeynly, in all kyndes of lyuyng creatures, other fere of lacke doth cause couetousnes and rauyne, or in man only pryde; whiche counteth it a gloryouse thyng to passe and excell other in the superfluous and vayne ostentacion of thynges. The whyche kynde of vice amonge the Vtopians can haue no place (157).

Or without getting much satisfaction, he can look around Utopia itself. Music there is, "No supper is passed without musicke (166)" (but where does it come from?), and it is in the churches

² Nos. in parentheses refer to pages in J. H. Lupton, *The Utopia of Sir Thomas More* (Oxford, 1895).

too, "they sing prayes vnto God, whiche they intermixt with instrumentes of musick (295)"; but poetry, painting, sculpture, or dancing will be looked for in vain. Architecture of a sort and municipal design there had to be, because there were buildings and towns, but it is discouraging to be told merely that "As for their Cyties, he that knoweth one of them knoweth them all (126)," and that "they be all set and situate a lyke [eadem ubique], as farfurth as the place or plotte suffereth (119)." For the rest, he must be contented with such abstract attributives as "spatiosas omnes ac magnificas (119)" (applied to the cities), "egregia" and "operosa modo (289)" (to the churches), "descriptae commode (130)" (to the streets), "nec ad oculum indecora (140)" (to clothing).

There are a few references, provokingly offhand and equivocal, to an ordinary esthetic-sensuous appreciation of everyday life. Over-fastidiousness is scorned. More has only contempt for the well-off men in his own England "of so nyce and soo delycate a mynde (149)" that they disdain perfectly good houses that do not quite suit them. But there is also normal disgust for filth and menial work with filth. The most repellent work is delegated to criminals. (Inconsistently, the market-place in Amaurote is flushed for a practical reason only, "least the ayre, by the stencche thereof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases (158).") Between these two extremes of over-fastidiousness and hyper-insensibility there is middle ground. The Utopians are not puritanical, they have wine and mead besides "cleane" water, and, of course, their backyard gardens, from which they derive, besides pleasure, profit and personal pride. More does not, it will be noticed, subsume this particular pride under "vayne ostentacion," and there is no mistaking an enthusiastic tone, even more in the Latin than in the English, when gardening is mentioned: "Hos hortos magnificunt. in his uineas, fructus, herbas, flores, habent, tanto nitore cultuque, ut nihil fructuosius usquam uiderim, nihil elegantius (131)." There is and is not uniformity of clothing. All wear the same, but in some way, one does not know exactly how, the sexes and married and unmarried persons are distinguished. At least no opportunity is given for pleasure in the wearing of garments various in color and design. Esthetically they are only "nec ad oculum indecora." They are plain and uniform, of wool without dye. Only their cleanliness is esteemed, and the fineness of thread, as in all cloth, goes ignored. But here again, in that most odd way almost reminiscent

of the small boy at the cookie-jar, hungry but apprehensive of consequences, there are the minute concessions: work-clothing is not worn in public except under a cloak, and the whiteness of linen, it appears, "ys regardedde (151)." In another place, during the attack on gold and silver, when decorative objects made from them are objected to (because men, delighting in them, are reluctant to melt them down for use as tender), household ware of the Utopians is mentioned in contrast, but scarcely as a pure-utilitarian alternative: "in fictilibus e terra uitroque, *elegantissimis*³ . . . edant bibantque (175)." The interiors of the churches are "subobscura (290)" and contain no eikons (291), and the congregations dress in sober white, all in the same way, but the priests, for no given reason, are vested in parti-colored robes, interwoven with the feathers of birds (294).

What does Robinson do in the face of this delicately poised revelation of More's approach to human living? This much. He throws it off balance. By licence of translation at key points he changes the Utopian *civic architecture* from what it is, a dim, vague, abstractified, unattended reflection of Tudor London, fetched out of the penumbra of More's consciousness, and renders it up as, remembering everything else, one knows More would never have had it, gothically elaborate and splendiferous. All with a few words.

The range of distortion extends from down-toning to extravagant coloring. "Insula ciuitates habet quatuor et quinquaginta, spatiosas omnes ac *magnificas*" is made "There be in the Ilande .liiii. large and *faire* cities or shiere townes (119)," the only instance of down-toning. There is naturally no attempt to fancy up the farmsteads, which, "commode dispositas," are in English "wel appointed and furnyshed (120)." He beautifies, however, with no justification at all, the tower which stands at the mouth of the bay. "turrim" in the text becomes "*a faire and a strong* towre (117)." As much heightening is added in another place: "The stretes be appoynted and set forth *verye commodious and handsome*, both for carriage and also agaynst the wyndes" is got from "Plateae cum ad uecturam, tum aduersus uentos, *descriptae commode* (129-30)"; but these are tame. Real exuberance is shown when the following: "Nam totam hanc urbis figuram, iam inde ab initio descriptam ab, ipso Vtopo ferunt. Sed *ornatum, cacterumque cultum* . . ." is put beside this: "For they say that king Vtopus himself, euen at the

³ Italics mine throughout.

first beginning, appointed and drew furth the platte fourme of the city into his fasion and figure that it hath now; but *the gallaunt garnishing, and the bewtiful setting furth of it . . .* (131-2)."

Robinson's favorite extravagantizing word is *gorgeous*. There are ten instances of it. The dress of the Anemolian ambassadors is so described three times in the English. "At Anemolii . . . decreuerunt *apparatus elegantia* deos quosdam repraesentare, et miserorum oculos Vtopiensum *ornatus sui splendore praestringere*" is turned to "But the Anemolians . . . determined in the gorgiousnes of their apparel to represent very goddes, and *wyth the bright shynynge and glisteringe of their gaye clothinge to dasell* the eyes of the slie poore vtopains (178)"; "*totus ille splendor* apparatus" is turned to "al that gorgeouesnes of apparel (179)"; "*omnem illum cultum*" is turned to "all that *gorgyouse arraye* (181)." The word is used three times miscellaneously. "*mundi huius visendam machinam*" emerges as "the *maruelous and gorgious* frame of the worlde (218)," "*suis explicatis opibus*" as "by *gorgiously* setting furthe her [Pride's] riches (306)," and "in templo duae Mariae, quod et *opere pulcherrimum*, et . . ." as "in our ladies church, whyche is *the fayrest, the moste gorgious and curyous* church of buyldynge in all the cytye . . . (25)." These uses are innocuous, they merely heighten what is represented as truly splendid, but they serve to prepare for four uses of the word in connection with Amaurote's *décor*:

1. "Vrbs aduersae fluminis ripae . . . *egregie* arcuato ponte, commissa est" becomes "There goeth a brydge ouer the ryuer . . . with *gorgious and substanciall archeis* (128)";
2. "*aedificia neutiquam sordida*" becomes "The houses be of *fayre and gorgious buyldyng* (130)";
3. "At nunc omnis domus *uisenda forma* tabulatorum trium" becomes "But nowe the houses be *curiously builded, after a gorgyouse and gallaunt sort*, with .iii. storries one ouer another (132)";
4. "*Delubra visuntur egregia . . . operosa modo*" becomes "Their churches be *very gorgyous . . . of fyne and curious workemanship* (289-90)."

This, when the essence of the Utopian life is its bareness, its simplicity, its austerity. Utopians live almost according to a *regula*, and indeed if it were not for explicit mitigating features, their community might almost be described without qualification as a sort of mammoth lay monastery relieved of the obligation to mortify. By taking liberties, Robinson disturbs the purity of this conception.

His behavior invites imaginative questioning. What does it mean that so many of his alterations are alike? Did he make them knowingly, half-knowingly, or unknowingly? What is their τέλος? The answer to the first question is perhaps easy. What he did looks like a rebellion against undecoratedness, plainness, homeliness even. The second is more difficult. When there is room for doubt, who will venture, today of all days, to distinguish confidently between the workings of the conscious and the unconscious? Resolution of the third, of course, bristles with even more peril. His individual taste may have been the cause, a taste that may have been awakened or fanned by exposure to the high coloring of prose romances. Then too, he was a poor man, and the poor do not yearn after austere paradises, whether celestial or mundane. Bemused with Amaurote, and finding it a little dull, he may have wanted to brighten it up a bit. Or he may have in London developed an admiration for courtly splendor. More obviously hated it, because of what it symbolized, but that does not mean his translator had to, even while he was translating diatribes against it. There is no evidence that he was a careful student of More's ideas, and the implications of all that More had to say may very well have escaped him. He was also an Englishman of the sixteenth century. Perhaps again, as must be recognized possible, his pen moved in response to the eddying of a time-spirit which need not here be further specified.

What can be said certainly? At least this: that to use the word *gorgeous* in describing anything Utopian is to violate fundamentally the whole tenor of a great man's mind.

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THE ORIGINAL OF ATEUKIN IN GREENE'S *JAMES IV*

It was pointed out a good while ago that the plot of Greene's *James IV*, c. 1591, far from being based on history, is based on the story of Astazio and Arrenopia in the first *novella* of the third decade of Giraldo Cinthio's *Hacatommiti*.¹ The glaring departure of the

¹ P. A. Daniel, "Greene and Cintio," *Athenaeum*, Oct. 8, 1881, p. 465. This discovery was independently confirmed by Wilhelm Creizenach, "Zu Greene's *James the Fourth*," *Anglia*, VIII (1885), 419-23. The *novella* source is undoubtedly correct, although a lost play with the suggestive title

play from historical facts has been widely noted,² one of its editors remarking with some asperity, "Beyond the fact that James IV of Scotland was famous for his gallantries, and that he married, not Dorothea, but Margaret the daughter of Henry VII, the play has absolutely no relation at all to that king, or to the events of his reign."³

The Italian source and Greene's characteristic distortion of history may be granted.⁴ But one important figure in the drama does not appear in the *novella* of Cinthio,⁵ for Ateukin is Greene's own creation.⁶ It seems to me that the portrayal of this character, who is variously regarded as a type of the parasite and flatterer,⁷ or a type of the Machiavellian villain,⁸ may have been influenced by the tradition of a curious charlatan whose relations with James IV of Scotland resembled the relations of Ateukin with James IV in Greene's unhistorical history play.

A Tragedie of the Kinge of Scots was presented at court in the season 1567/68; see Albert Feuillerat, ed., *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth* (Louvain, 1908), p. 116.

² Alexander Dyce, ed., *Dramatic Works of Robert Greene* (London, 1831), I, xliii; J. A. Symonds, *Shakspeare's Predecessors* (London, 1884), p. 559; A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne* (London, 1899, rev. ed.), I, 220, Felix E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama* (Boston, 1908), I, 244; A. E. H. Swaen, ed., *The Scottish History of James the Fourth* (Malone Society Reprints, 1921), p. vi

³ J. Churton Collins, ed., *Plays and Poems of Robert Greene* (Oxford, 1905), II, 80. Indeed, the play appears to bear so little relation to the events of James IV's reign (1488-1513) that a topical significance has been seen in it because of the parallels between the dramatic character of Greene's James IV and the historical character of James VI; see Ruth Hudson, "Greene's *James IV* and Contemporary Allusions to Scotland," *PMLA*, XLVII (1932), 652-67.

⁴ The historical persons in his plays—Alphonso V of Aragon and I of Naples, Amurath II, Roger Bacon, Prince Edward Plantagenet, Henry III, and Frederick II—cannot be regarded as historical characters in the same sense, for example, as Marlowe's Edward II or Shakespeare's Henry V.

⁵ Giovanni Battista Giraldis Cintio, *Gli Ecatommisti* (Firenze, 1834), pp. 154-59, *passim*. The cruel Captain who acts under Astazio's orders in the attempt to assassinate the Queen does not correspond to Ateukin, but to the French bravo Jacques.

⁶ Collins, ed., *op. cit.*, II, 84, says "to relieve [James] of part of the burden of infamy, he creates Ateukin to originate and prompt the murder."

⁷ Symonds, *op. cit.*, p. 560; Wilhelm Creizenach, *English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (London, 1916), pp. 294, 305

⁸ Frederick S. Boas, *Shakspeare and his Predecessors* (London, 1940, 7th impression), p. 81; *Introduction to Tudor Drama* (Oxford, 1933), p. 165.

For a good many years there was at the court of James IV an Italian adventurer named John Damian, who first ingratiated himself with the king by his pretense of skill as a surgeon and apothecary, and then continued to abuse the king's confidence by practicing alchemy and astrology. James had an extravagant weakness for such occult arts,⁹ and the accounts of the royal treasury record frequent payments to this "arch-impostor."¹⁰ "The king would neither set bounds to his expense," says Buchanan, "nor wanted flatterers—the perpetual bane of a court—who encouraged his profusion."¹¹ In 1503 James made his favorite Abbot of Tungland.¹² In 1507 the abbot-chemist-astrologer promised a miracle by announcing that he would fly from the wall of Stirling Castle using a set of feathered wings, an attempt in which he took an ignominious fall while the king and his court watched with interest. Dunbar wrote a satirical poem, "Of the Fenzet Frier of Tungland," on the subject of this new fraud of the foreign quack; and he alludes to the incident again in a second poem, "Lucina Schynnyng in Silence of the Night."¹³ Damian was clever enough, however, to maintain his intimacy and influence with the credulous king, accompanying him about the country as his close companion in his sports and pastimes, always at the king's expense,¹⁴ and preparing to mulct him further with a fraudulent gold mining scheme shortly before James fell at Flodden Field.¹⁵

An account of James's protégé is given by John Leslie in his *Historie of Scotland*, 1578.¹⁶ Leslie tells the story of the aeronauti-

⁹ G. Gregory Smith, ed., *The Days of James IV* (London, 1900), p. 109, prints evidence of this weakness from James's letters and from the treasurer's accounts.

¹⁰ Sir James B. Paul, ed., *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1900-02), "Preface," II, lxxvi-lxxviii; III, xxxiv, lxxxvi-lxxxvii; IV, xvii.

¹¹ George Buchanan, *History of Scotland* (1582), trans. by James Aikman (Glasgow, 1856), II, 181-82.

¹² Paul, ed., *op. cit.*, II, 423.

¹³ John Small, ed., *Poems of William Dunbar*, II, Scottish Text Society, II and IV (1893), 139-43; I, Scottish Text Society, XVI (1893), 149-51.

¹⁴ Paul, ed., *op. cit.*, III, 179, 406; IV, 83, 89, 101, 103, 104, 110, 111.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 409; John Small, "Sketches of Early Scottish Alchemists," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XI (1874-75), 184-85.

¹⁶ E. G. Cody and William Murison, edd., *Historie of Scotland*, by Jhone Leslie, II, Scottish Text Society, XIX and XXIV (1895), xvii-xxi. Bishop Leslie, who was Mary Stuart's faithful emissary to the court of Elizabeth,

cal experiment as "a singular disceit of a certane Abbot." This charlatan, he says, had previously beguiled King James with his pretended skill in alchemy and his pretended insight into mysterious matters. He would go to any length, it seemed, to capture the king's favor; but he was a fraud, hated by all men. Indeed, he was "sa disceitful, and had sa craftie and curious ingin to begyl, that he persuadet the king of his gret cunning in al thing natural . . . bot his intentioun only was to milk purses, quha knew nathing quhat he promiset."¹⁷

The account was repeated in substantially the same form, with Leslie credited as the source, in the 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. The strange impostor who victimized James IV, the author declares, was "a noble framer of deceit, and boaster of his wit [who] did on a time persuade the king, that he was so conversant in all hidden knowledge of naturall things, and in the secret science of Alchumie." On the failure of his projects, his Scottish backers discovered that "their purses were emptied, and the vaine man was defamed by the breach of his promise . . . fallen into the hatred and offense of all men."¹⁸

An examination of the character of Ateukin indicates that Greene may have been acquainted with this historical tradition of an unscrupulous foreign sharper who boasted of his wonder-working powers, wormed himself into James IV's favor, inspired the hatred of the Scots, deceived the king into giving him money and honors, and failed to carry out any of his schemes because he "knew nathing quhat he promiset."

Ateukin in Greene's play is a penniless foreign adventurer in Edinburgh (I, ii, 523 ff.)¹⁹ who is determined "by wiles and words to rise" (I, i, 272). He introduces himself to the king as

a man of Art,
Who knowes, by constellation of the stars,
By oppositions and by drie aspects,
The things are past and those that are to come.

(I, i, 301-304)

wrote his history in Scottish dialect during his sequestration in London for his share in the Norfolk conspiracy. He presented the book to Mary in 1571. He then translated it into Latin for its publication in Rome in 1578. It was translated into French in 1579.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 124-25.

¹⁸ Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1587), II, 292.

¹⁹ All references are to the text printed by Collins, *ed. cit.*, II, 89-158.

He divines the king's love for Ida by reading his horoscope in accordance with "the sooth of science" (I, i, 309 ff.). James is amazed at this exhibition of his skill (I, i, 325, 331 ff.). Seeing that the king is bemused, Ateukin subtly denies that he is a flattering courtier who would beg "This lease, this manor, or this pattent seald" in return for his service (I, i, 340), but he tells him, "your grace knowes schollers are but poore" (I, i, 343), and therefore

You cannot chuse but cast some gift apart,
To ease my bashful need that cannot beg.

(I, i, 346-347)

James quickly reassures him on this point:

Thine Art appeares in entrance of my loue;
And since I deeme thy wisdom matcht with truth,
I will exalt thee, and thy selfe alone
Shalt be the Agent to dissolue my grieffe.

(I, i, 353-356)

In order to win Ida for the love-smitten king, Ateukin proposes to demonstrate again the power of his art:

Ile gather moly, crocus, and the earbes
That heales the wounds of body and the minde;
Ile set out charmes and spels, nought shal be left
To tame the wanton if she shall rebell.

(I, i, 379-382)

James thereupon promises him wealth and honors (I, i, 384 ff.).

These promises of the king are soon kept, for in Act I, scene ii Ateukin has already risen high at court. He has "wealth, honour, ease," and he congratulates himself on his "high promotion" (I, ii, 434 ff.). He realizes the insecurity of his position, however, and resolves to stop at nothing to remain in the king's favor:

For men of art, that rise by indirection
To honour and the fauour of their King,
Must vse all meanes to saue what they haue got.

(I, ii, 445-447)

In Act II, Ateukin is the acknowledged intimate of the king (II, i, 750 ff.), although it is generally known that he lives by his wits and his frauds practiced on the court (II, i, 776 ff.); and the lords of the realm soon begin to complain of the king's "intenuie trust to flatterers" (II, ii, 915 ff.) and of Ateukin's "cloking

craft" (II, ii, 1005). In this same act his advertised "charmes and spels" fail utterly to influence the chaste Ida, before whom he unsuccessfully lays the king's suit (II, i, 785-839). James loses patience at this collapse of Ateukin's boastful scheme, asking, "Are these thy frutes of wit, thy sight of Art . . . ?" (II, ii, 1043). Yet he gives heed to the plan to have the Queen done away with, and promises him that if Ida yields

Thou shalt haue what thou wilt; Ile giue thee straight
A Barrony, an Earledome for reward.

(II, ii, 1096-1097)

Thereafter Ateukin becomes notorious for his crafty frauds (III, i, 1144 ff.; III, iii, 1347 ff.), which he practices with impunity protected by his position in the kingdom close to James. He is now "my Lord Ateukin" (III, ii, 1191 ff.), and according to Andrew, his servant, he "lius by cousoning the King" (IV, iii, 1554).

As the political action of the plot becomes more complicated following the disappearance and supposed death of the Queen, Ateukin laments the approaching miscarriage of his plans:

What, was I borne to be the scorne of kinne?
To gather feathers like to a hoppe! crowe,
And loose them in the height of all my pompe?

(V, ii, 1939-1941)

In the end, of course, Ateukin and his "lewde compeeres" (V, vi, 2409) are ordered apprehended and hanged under martial law (V, vi, 2424 ff.).

Greene has created in Ateukin, a character not found in his source, an excellent type of the parasite and evil flatterer, as well as a type of the Machiavellian villain. He has also created a crafty impostor who crawls into King James's favor by pretending to possess occult powers, alienates the Scots, works on the king's credulity to gain both profit and promotion, and remains in high favor for a time despite his palpable frauds. This characterization, in the light of the evidence presented, may possibly have been patterned after an original who was well known in historical tradition as much the same sort of unscrupulous individual.

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MORE ABOUT CALDERÓN, BOURSULT, AND RAVENSCROFT

Professor Lancaster's hypothesis¹ of the relationship between Boursault's *Ne pas croire ce qu'on void, histoire espagnolle*, Thomas Corneille's *Les Engagements du hazard*, Calderón's *Casa con dos puertas* and *Los Empeños de un acaso*, and Ravenscroft's *The Wrangling Lovers*, leaves much to be desired. We are asked to believe that Boursault's

statement that his translation is not faithful may be due to the fact that he added the minor plot of Elvire-Francisque, a little historical background, certain humorous comments, and a few episodes, especially those of the rendezvous that the veiled lady does not keep, of the valet's search for the veiled lady, the bath incident, and Elvire's excursion with her brother into the country.²

Since the Elvire-Francisque plot alone constitutes about one-tenth of Boursault's novel, we would have indeed a prime case of infidelity in translation!

Moved by dissatisfaction with Mr. Lancaster's explanation, I have made a careful study of all the works involved and of another play of Calderón's, *Fuego de dios en el querer bien*, which, in part, resembles *Casa con dos puertas*. The results are most interesting.

At three points, *The Wrangling Lovers* shows phrasology found also in Calderón but not in Boursault:

(1) When Ruis comments to Gusman on his early rising, the latter says, "I had some thoughts in my mind that broke my repose."⁴ Boursault has merely, "Dom Ruis . . . dormoit avec une grande oeonomie [sic] quand son amoureux ami entra dans sa chambre, tira son rideau, & lui apprit toutes les circonstances de son aventure. . . ."⁵ But, in *Casa con dos puertas*, Calderón has almost the words Ravenscroft used, though he gives the speech to Félix, who would correspond to Ruis,

¹ *MLN*, December, 1936, LI, 523-8.

² P. 526.

³ P. 525.

⁴ *The Wrangling Lovers*, London, 1677, I, p. 6.

⁵ *Les Apparences trompeuses ou Ne pas croire ce qu'on void. Histoire espagnolle*. Amsterdam, 1718, p. 36.

Un cuidado, que me trae
Desvelado, no permite
Que sosiegue ni descanse.⁶

(2) At the scene of his snatching the note from Sanco, Diego says to the servant, "Stay, Friend, till I have read it,"⁷ which is not in the French. In *Los Empeños*, Félix (Diego) commands Hernando (Sanco), "Esperad; no os vais . . . Hasta que yo haya leído."⁸

(3) When Octavia tries to keep Diego from entering the closet where Gusman is hidden, she cries, "Hold you must not Sir, my Father will come in there immediately, that being the coolest Room in the house, he alwayes writes his Letters there, and order'd when he went out, that Pen, ink, and paper should be carried in ready against his return."⁹ The temperature only is in Boursault,

. . . Blanche, qui avoit ses raisons pour l'empêcher d'y entrer, l'arrêta par le bras, & lui dit que c'étoit là qu'ordinairement son pere se retiroit quand il revenoit de la Ville, parce qu'il y faisoit plus frais qu'ailleurs . . .¹⁰

But the writing is in *Casa con dos puertas*, where Laura (Octavia) detains Félix (Diego):

LAURA.
Aguarda, espera;
Que no has de entrar aquí dentro.

DON FELIX.
¿Por qué?

LAURA
Porque siempre aquí
Está mi padre escribiendo
Mucha parte de la noche.¹¹

These verbal similarities certainly could not be coincidental; nor is it conceivable that Ravenscroft would have known Calderón's plays and used *only* these phrases. The inevitable conclusion is that both Ravenscroft and Calderón were using a Spanish novel, which Boursault translated.¹²

This conclusion is strengthened by another verbal similarity in

⁶ I, iii.

⁸ I, xii.

¹⁰ P. 296.

⁷ IV, p. 45.

⁹ V, pp. 66-7.

¹¹ II, vii.

¹² The possibility of Calderón's having used the Spanish novel seems not to have occurred to Mr. Lancaster, who writes, "It is most improbable that there is a Spanish novel that was Boursault's source, not only because it has never been discovered, but because it would have to include just the parts of *Los Empeños* and of *Casa con dos puertas* that Thomas Corneille utilized." (P. 526)

corresponding passages of *The Wrangling Lovers*, *Ne pas croire ce qu'on voit*, and Calderón's *Fuego de dios en el querer bien*, which also would seem to be based in part on the elusive Spanish novel. On coming out of the closet where he had taken Gusman's place, Diego upbraids Octavia, ending, "O ungrateful and perfidious."¹³ In the French, this runs, "De peur que ce quart d'heure là ne fût perdu il l'employa à l'appeller ingrate, lâche, perfide. . . ."¹⁴ In *Fuego de dios en el querer bien*, Juan calls Beatriz, in precisely the same situation, "Fiera, ingrata, desleal, Aleve, falsa, cruel. . . ."¹⁵

From this evidence I believe we may safely conclude:

(1) that Boursault was translating an "histoire espagnolle" and that, as he himself stated, his translation was not entirely faithful, so that, at three points, phraseology used by Ravenscroft from the original does not show in the French.

(2) that Ravenscroft based his *Wrangling Lovers* not on Boursault's translation but on the original Spanish, and

(3) that Calderón used the same Spanish "histoire" for his *Casa con dos puertas* and *Los Empeños de un acaso* and for part of *Fuego de dios en el querer bien*.

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¹³Y, p. 68.

¹⁴P. 304.

¹⁵Should we adjust this evidence to Mr. Lancaster's theory, we would have Boursault forming his novel from T. Corneille's *Les Engagements*, Calderón's *Casa con dos puertas*, his own invention, and a pair of words from *Fuego de dios en el querer bien*! And still all that would leave Ravenscroft's verbal similarities to passages in Calderón's two plays quite unexplained! The fact that Ravenscroft was adapting the Spanish and not the French would nullify Mr. Lancaster's evidence (p. 525, footnote) for Boursault's having used *Les Engagements*. Ravenscroft's maid, like Corneille's, is called Beatrice (Beatrix); Ravenscroft and Boursault are identical in the affair of the valet, in which Corneille is much nearer to Calderón, despite the stabbing; and the unwanted suitor is in *The Wrangling Lovers*, where, as in Boursault, he is called Francisco de Medina. This unwelcome lover is used only slightly in both the English and French plays, but he figures in the chief sub-plot of the novel. It is most unlikely that, if Boursault had used Corneille, there would not be provable verbal reflections; but these do not exist. It seems highly possible that Corneille knew the Spanish novel as well as Calderón's plays. Naturally, as a dramatist, he would then adapt the plays, which would "lie" better for his purpose. His memory of the name Beatrix and of the unwelcome lover idea—which he gives quite independent treatment—would hardly necessitate his mentioning the novel as another source.

STILL MORE ABOUT CALDERÓN, BOURSALT,
AND RAVENSCROFT

Mr. Rundle's discoveries have led to this extraordinary conclusion: there once was a Spanish novel that was imitated by Calderón in three plays, then probably by a French dramatist, certainly by a French novelist, then by an English dramatist, yet no Spanish scholar knows what its title was or where the text is to be found, not even Martinenche, though he tried to discover it, or Mr. Rundle! Nor is this all. As Ravencroft's play is obviously much closer to Boursault's novel than it is to the three plays of Calderón, and as, according to Mr. Rundle, Ravenscroft did not use Boursault, but went straight to the Spanish novel, we must have the text of this unknown work best preserved in the English version, next best in the French novel, and finally in the Spanish play! The hypothesis recalls Gibbon's remark about miracles, that detailed knowledge of them increases as opportunity for observing them diminishes.

Now on what evidence are these miraculous conclusions based? In the first place, on the fact that Boursault called his novel a "Traduction Espagnole." As he does not say that his source was a novel, as he refers to his translation as none too faithful, as he admits disguising the title, transposing certain incidents, and skipping what he did not understand, I suggested that he was following the example of Thomas Corneille, who had imitated in his *Engagemens du hazard* Calderón's *Empeños de un Acaso* except in his fourth act, when he followed the same author's *Casa con dos puertas*. This would explain the origin of about five-sixths of the French novel, but Rundle considers my explanation unsatisfactory. He writes as if he were discussing a work by a contemporary translator, but in the seventeenth century even professional translators added phrases of their own, and Boursault's humorous references to his Spanish original show that he is not to be taken very seriously as a translator. In fact there are passages in which it is clear that he is not translating,¹ and he may well have allowed himself digressions that take up a sixth of his novel.²

¹ He refers, for instance (pp. 181-2), to an event as happening 216 years before the time in which he is writing, 1670, the date of his novel, not that of his source. His joke about the gender of the word "Comette" (p. 167) would have no point in Spanish.

² His chief digression concerns Don Francisque, Elvire's unwelcome fiancé.

In the second place, Mr. Rundle submits as evidence four cases in which he thinks that details given in the Spanish novel have been preserved in three of Calderón's plays and by Ravenscroft, but not by Boursault. Let us look at these cases: (1) In *Casa con dos puertas* X says to Y that anxiety kept him awake; in the *Wrangling Lovers* Y says to X that his thoughts woke him up. The resemblance is so slight that it is without significance. (2) A valet is told to wait until a letter has been read, both in *los Empeños de un Acaso* and in the *Wrangling Lovers*. This rare thought, according to Mr. Rundle, could not have occurred to Ravenscroft independently. (3) In *Casa con dos puertas* a man is told not to enter a room because a father writes there much of the night, while in the English play it is said that the father "always writes his letters there." So strange an occupation for the father of a family could not have been invented by Ravenscroft, according to Mr. Rundle. (4) In a third play by Calderón, *Fuego de Dios en el querer bien*, a lover calls his beloved, "Fiera, ingrata, desleal, Aleve, falsa, cruel"; in the French novel he is more restrained, saluting her as "ingrate, lâche, perfide"; in the English play he exercises such control over his emotions that he dubs her merely "ungrateful and perfidious." Even Mr. Rundle cannot deny that Ravenscroft is here nearer to the French than he is to the Spanish, but he holds (cf. his note 15) that, if my theory is correct, Boursault cannot have invented his three adjectives; he must have derived them from the Spanish novel!

Now Mr. Rundle's hypothesis is based on his refusal to admit coincidence, even in very minor matters, yet if I had space enough I could submit examples of coincidence, not borrowing, much more striking than these Mr. Rundle cites. His entire hypothesis, moreover, depends upon the assumption that Ravenscroft did not imitate Boursault. I will now show that this assumption is erroneous.

A valet in the French novel is named Ordogno (Spanish Ordoño), a name that becomes in Ravenscroft Ordgano. Whence the *g*? Certainly from the French, not from the Spanish. Ravenscroft's Count de Benevent has the French form of his name, not

Its introduction may have been suggested by Thomas Corneille, in whose play *Elvire* is also engaged and the engagement is broken. Boursault substituted a more entertaining way to rid *Elvire* of this fiancé.

Benavente, the Spanish. "Sixty and fourteen ducates" (p. 28) is a translation of Boursault's "soixante & quatorze ducats" (p. 98); to express 74 in this manner is neither Spanish nor English. Ravenscroft writes (p. 20), "an adieu *Jusqu' au revoir*," following Boursault (p. 69), "un adieu jusqu' au revoir"; one can hardly suppose that the Spanish novelist dropped into French at this point. Both Ravenscroft (p. 46) and Boursault (p. 47) bring into a comic passage a threat to report a person to the Inquisition; would a Spanish author have dared do this?³ These examples make it clear that Ravenscroft imitated Boursault. They show that Mr. Rundle's similarities between the English dramatist and Calderón are due merely to coincidence.

If he could give up his obsession of the Spanish novel, he would realize how great a debt Ravenscroft owed to Boursault, from whom he derived his plot, most of the names he gave his characters, the location in Toledo, and many passages that are obvious translations. Compare, for instance, the letters found in a scene from which Mr. Rundle has quoted a line:

Yo no pude excusar el lance de anoche, porque estando esperando para hablarte, como me habías ofrecido, entró aquel caballero, y sacando la espada, fué forzoso que yo me defendiera. Avisame en qué ha parado; que, hasta asegurarme de tu peligro, no quiero hablar en mis sentimientos. Dios te guarde. (*Empeños*, I)

J'ay suivy ponctuellement le Conseil que vous m'avez donné, & quelque avantage que Dom Diegue pretend avoir eu la nuit passée, je luy ay cédé la place, plus en Amant respectueux qu'en Rival timide. Hastez-vous de me faire profiter de son malheur, comme vous me l'avez promis, & ne refusez pas de m'apprendre ce qui s'est passé après ma retraite. (B., pp 189-90)

I have followed your counsel and what ever advantage Don Diego pretends to have had in the Rancountre. Yet be assur'd, tho overpower'd by his numbers, I retreated more like a respectful Lover, than a cowardly Rival; make haste to let me profit by his misfortunes, and fail not to acquaint me with what happen'd after I withdrew. (R., pp. 45-6)

The verbal similarity between the French and English, in contrast with them and most of the Spanish, is here so striking that

³ I might also mention the use of a *camouflet*, a typically French device, employed in a play of 1670, Poisson's *Femmes coquettes*. It is referred to by Boursault, p. 22, and by Ravenscroft (p. 2) in the phrase, "when I had no more paper left to burn under my Nose." I have never seen this in a Spanish play or novel. Perhaps Mr. Rundle can find an example.

there can be no doubt. Coincidence cannot explain it, as it does the phrases cited by Mr. Rundle.

He also argues that Thomas Corneille may have imitated the Spanish novel and may not have been imitated by Boursault, but Corneille's case is different from Ravenscroft's, for he frankly indicated his sources, as the English dramatist failed to do. Now his statement that he first imitated *los Empeños* and then modified the fourth act by imitating *Casa con dos puertas* cannot be dismissed, nor is there any evidence whatsoever to support Mr. Rundle's suggestion that he had also seen the elusive novel. The only question is whether Thomas Corneille inspired Boursault. It is true that there are many passages in which both of these French authors may be translating Calderón, but there are some in which Boursault's text resembles Corneille's more closely than it does the Spanish:

en petite-monnoye il m'a bien sçu payer. (*Engagemens*, II, 5)
 il m'a payé le port en si belle monnoye.⁴ (B., p. 206)
 Bourrez-le donc tous deux. (*Engagemens*, II, 5)
 leur conseilla . . . de le bourer tous deux. (B., p. 209)⁵
 Que vos gens . . . Fassent courir le bruit que vous estes absent. (*Eng.*,
 III, 3)
 que vos gens fassent courir le bruit que vous estes party. (B., pp.
 213-4)
 Si j'ay des ennemis ils seront genereux. (*Eng.*, III, 3)
 mes ennemis . . . seront sans doute genereux. (B., p. 215)
 Ce logis n'a-t'il pas vne porte secrete? (*Eng.*, IV, 1)
 la porte secrette de ce logis. (B., p. 240)⁶
 me priuer d'un bien dont ie m'auoué indigne. (*Eng.*, v, 2)
 vous me priveriez d'un honneur dont je demeure d'accord que je suis
 indigne. (B., p. 279)
 Que ie reçoie au moins mon cōgé par sa bouche (*Eng.*, v, 3)
 je ne la quitteray point que je ne reçoive mon congé de sa propre
 bouche. (B., p. 283)

Finally, in the French play, as in Boursault, but not in Calderón, one of the heroines is engaged against her will and does not marry her first fiancé, while the other has a maid named Beatrice.⁷

⁴ In both cases *monnoye* means the blows the valet has received

⁵ In the corresponding situation *los Empeños* reads:

¿Hay mas de buscarle entrambos,
 Y darle entrambos á una?

⁶ In *Casa con dos puertas* reference is made to two doors, but not to a secret door.

⁷ She is Ines in one Spanish play; Celia in the other; Beatrice in Ravenscroft.

It seems clear that Boursault made use of Thomas Corneille, to whom he probably refers in his preface.⁸ Directed by him to Calderón, he took most of his plot from *los Empeños* and *Casa con dos puertas*, but in some instances modified his wording to agree with that of the French dramatist. As he could trace most of his intrigue and characters back to these Spanish plays, he felt justified in saying that his novel was "une Traduction Espagnole." It was well enough known in England to be translated as *Deceptio Visus*⁹ and to be dramatized by Ravenscroft, who had already imitated *le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and *Pourceaugnac*.

This explanation seems satisfactory to me. I regret that it does not seem so to Mr. Rundle. He reminds me of the nineteenth-century scholars who used to posit German sources for Old French poems, but who were never able to lay their hands on the originals. If Mr. Rundle wishes to add to our knowledge, he should search for the unknown Spanish novel in whose existence he so firmly believes, but, before he starts on his quest, it will be well for him to reflect upon the adventures of Boursault's Mandoce, who wandered through the streets of Toledo asking all those he met if they could point out to him the dwelling of a veiled lady whose face he had never seen, whose province he was unable to indicate, and whose name he did not know. When he undertakes a similar mission, may he not, like Mandoce, receive "un coup de poing qui le fit reculer plus de quatre pas"!

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THE BIRTH DATE OF LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY

One would think that a man who went to the trouble to write his autobiography would somewhere or other in it mention the date of his birth, but Lord Herbert of Cherbury was not so accommodating. He did, to be sure, tell where he was born and even the hour of the day—at Eyton in Shropshire, between twelve and one o'clock in the morning¹—but about the year, month, and day

⁸ Cf. *MLN.*, II, 524, where the passage is quoted.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 526

¹ *The Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, ed. Sidney Lee (rev. ed.; London, 1906), p. 15.

itself he was completely mum. The last two dates, however, are known from his poem "In diem Natalitum, viz. 3. Mar."² and also from a letter to him written by his cousin, Francis Newport, referring to March 3 as his birthday.³ The year has been more difficult to ascertain.

In the *Autobiography* Herbert made several statements about his approximate age at the time of various events which may be precisely dated from either his own or external evidence, but they are unfortunately inconsistent, not because Herbert was trying to confuse scholars but because he was an old man when he wrote and the events referred to all had happened a long time ago. For what they are worth, these statements may be synopsized as follows (the date in parentheses is the date of the event referred to:

- a. He was eight years old when his grandfather, Edward Herbert, died⁴ (May, 1593).⁵
- b. He was about four years older when his father, Richard, died⁶ (October, 1596).⁷
- c. He was twelve when he entered Oxford⁸ (May, 1596).⁹
- d. He was not many months older when his father died¹⁰ (see above).
- e. He was about fifteen when he was married (February 28, 1599).¹¹
- f. He was about eighteen, or between eighteen and nineteen, when he left Oxford and went with his mother to London¹² (Herbert says this was about the year 1600, just before the Earl of Essex's rising—February, 1601).¹³

The resulting birth dates are (a) 1585; (b) 1584 or, since the interval between the two deaths was not quite three and one-half years, 1585; (c) 1584; (d) 1584; (e) 1584; (f) 1582. These dates are based on the supposition that Herbert was using cardinal numbers, but if it was the ordinal that was intended, the date involved would have to be one year later.

² *The Poems of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (Oxford, 1923), p. 88.

³ H. M. C., *Tenth Report, Part IV*, p. 379.

⁴ *Autobiography*, p. 2.

⁵ *Montgomeryshire Collections*, XI (1878), 370.

⁶ *Autobiography*, p. 2.

⁷ *Montgomeryshire Collections*, XI, 370.

⁸ *Autobiography*, p. 21.

⁹ *Reg. Oxon.*, II, ii, 214.

¹⁰ *Autobiography*, p. 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22. Herbert himself supplies this date.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 43.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

The Oxford register, in the entry already cited, gives Herbert's age as fourteen at the time of matriculation. This contradicts his own statement and would make his birth fall in either 1582 or 1583, depending upon whether the age was reckoned from the last or the next birthday. This information has the advantage of being objective, although, as Andrew Clark, the editor of the register, has pointed out, the entries are all too often inaccurate.¹⁴

One other piece of evidence has been brought forward. It occurs in a letter written by Herbert to his brother Henry, dated June 14, 1643, and containing this sentence: "And let me assure you I find myself grown older in this one year than in fifty-nine years before."¹⁵ The answer to this mathematical problem is 1583.

Sir Sidney Lee, after remarking that Herbert's statements were "too self-contradictory to prove anything," decided in favor of 1583, but without giving any reason for his choice.¹⁶ Amusingly enough, he then "corrected" Herbert's statement of his age as fifteen at the time of his marriage, with a figure—seventeen—impossible unless Herbert was born in 1582.¹⁷ Later scholars have followed Lee.¹⁸

It is curious that neither Lee nor anyone else seems ever to have wondered how, if Magdalen Herbert gave birth to Edward on March 3, 1583, she could have had another child, Elizabeth, ready to be baptized on November 10 of the same year,¹⁹ unless the second

¹⁴ *Reg. Oxon.*, II, i, xxiv-xxvi.

¹⁵ Quoted in *Autobiography*, p. 149.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15, n. 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22, n. 5.

¹⁸ Cf. Harold R. Hutcheson, *Lord Herbert of Cherbury's De Religione Laici* (New Haven, 1944), p. 8, n. 6, in which particular stress is placed upon the letter cited above, and the statement is made that "there is practically no evidence compatible with his being born after 1583 or before 1581." The implication is that Herbert's own statements suggesting 1584 and 1585 are of no value. I do not understand how 1581 may be arrived at from any of the data at Hutcheson's disposal, although I am aware that this date was adopted by some of Lee's predecessors—by the Earl of Powis, for instance, in his introductory notice to Herbert's *The Expedition to the Isle of Rhé* (London, 1860) and apparently by John Churton Collins in the introduction to his edition of Herbert's *Poems* (London, 1881), though the references are indirectly made (see pp. xv and xxiv). The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, gives 1582.

¹⁹ Montgomery parish register; see *Montgomeryshire Collections*, XI, 370. Lee gives the information in the *Autobiography*, p. 14, n. 3.

baby was a decidedly premature one. Prematurity, of course, is not rare, but in the Sixteenth Century babies born very much before their time could not have had a very good chance to survive, especially if they were born in a draughty castle in November. Yet little Elizabeth did not die; she grew up, married, and had three children.²⁰ The objection that she constitutes to Herbert's being born in March, 1583, is not insurmountable, to be sure, but it is definitely not to be disregarded.

Fortunately, it is possible to clear up the whole matter. Why the clarifying was not done years ago it is hard to understand, for the evidence has been available not only in the Public Record Office, but also, and much more conveniently, since 1900 in the *Montgomeryshire Collections*, in which it is reprinted.²¹ Since Lee's two editions of the *Autobiography* antedate this volume, he may be forgiven, but no one, as far as I know, not even any writer in the *Collections* themselves, has realized that the document contained therein takes the date of Herbert's birth out of the realm of speculation and makes it a matter of fact.

The document referred to is one of the *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*. It was taken at Montgomery on December 30, 39 Elizabeth (1596), shortly after the death of Herbert's father. After listing the properties of which he was seized at the time of his death, it concludes with the statement that Edward Herbert, the heir, "was eleven years, seven months, and eleven days old on the day his father died." It is known from the parish register that Richard was buried on October 15 (see above) and this tallies neatly with Edward's birthday plus seven months and eleven days—the result is October 14. As for the year of his birth, it must be 1585.

There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the inquisition. The jury which took it was under oath to present the true facts, and would be particularly careful to get the correct age of the heir because he was a minor, a fact of great importance since he would automatically become Elizabeth's ward. Later the guardianship would be transferred to someone else on receipt of proper payment, and the sum involved would depend on the value of the inheritance and on the length of time the guardian could count on having

²⁰ *Autobiography*, p. 14.

²¹ xxxi, pp. 332-3 (of the supplement).

control of and the income from his ward's property. Hence the importance of accuracy in the inquisitions.

If Herbert was born in 1585 he was Magdalen's second child, Elizabeth being older by about a year and a half. It has always been assumed that he was the eldest, though there is really nothing to warrant the assumption. Another consequence of moving his birth date up two years is to give greater point to his anecdote about his meeting with Queen Elizabeth:

... I was ... upon my knees in the presence-chamber, when she passed by to the Chapel at Whitehall. As soon as she saw me, she stopped, and swearing, her usual oath, demanded, 'Who is this?' Everybody there present looked upon me, but no man knew me, until Sir James Croft, a pensioner, finding the Queen stayed, returned back and told who I was, and that I had married Sir William Herbert of St. Julian's daughter. The Queen hereupon looked attentively upon me, and swearing her ordinary oath, said it is pity he was married so young, and thereupon gave her hand to kiss twice, both times gently clapping me on the cheek.²²

This took place, probably, in 1601, when Herbert was only sixteen and had yet been married for two years. Perhaps one of the reasons why the scene stuck in his memory was that he too thought it a pity that he was married so young—and to a wife seven years his senior.²³

Finally, it should be noticed that Herbert's own statements about his age hold up pretty well—better than they do for 1583. As shown above, all but one of the dates arrived at from the *Autobiography* are on the near side of 1583, and the substitution of ordinals for cardinals would make the 1584's come out 1585's. The last date of the series, 1582, is still wide of the mark, as is the statement in the letter of 1643. In the latter case, the discrepancy may be due to the attractiveness of the round number, sixty. As for the Oxford register, it will just have to be wrong.

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²² *Autobiography*, p. 44.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

BENEVOLENCE, SENSIBILITY AND SENTIMENT IN
SOME EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PERIODICALS

The three closely related terms — benevolence, sensibility, and sentiment (or sentimental)—echoed throughout the eighteenth century, and modern scholarship has studied them often. Yet references to these three terms which I have come across in eighteenth-century periodicals may be of value.

BENEVOLENCE

Guardian (1713). No 126.

Spectator (1714). Nos 588, 601.

New Memoirs of Literature, II (1725), 43 — "Beneficence and Liberality."

London Magazine, I (1732), 236' — "Benevolence and Public Spirit."

" I (1732), 135 — "Lord Shaftesbury Vindicated."

" II (1733), 192 — "Benevolence and Friendship."

" XIV (1745), 218 — "Selfish and Mercenary Spirit Now Prevailing"

Museum; or the Literary and Historical Register, I (1746), 414 — "Benevolence."

London Magazine, XVI (1747), 282 — "Generosity and Benevolence."

Universal Magazine, VI (1750), 84 — "Essay on Good Nature."

" IX (1751), 257 — "Danger of Breaking the Laws of Benevolence."

" XIV (1753), 157 — "Benevolence of the Deity."

" XVIII (1756), 174 — "Hymn to Benevolence."

Critical Review, IX (1760), 4.

British Magazine, III (1762), 24 — "An Essay on Benevolence."

Visitor (1764). No. 54. "Benevolence"

Scots Magazine, XXVIII (1766), 113 — "Female Humility and Benevolence."

London Magazine, XXXIX (1770), 28, 88, 137, 202 . . . 660 — Essays on Benevolent Society Proceedings.

Critical Review, XL (1775), 263 — "The Benevolent Man."

London Magazine, XLIV (1775), 594 — review of a book, *The Benevolent Man*.

Universal Magazine, LXI (1777), 39 — "The Progress of Benevolence" — a Poem.

" LXII (1778), 95 — Verses on Benevolence.

London Magazine, XLIX (1780), 30 — "On Benevolence."

Universal Magazine, LXVII (1780), 150 — "The Pleasures of Benevolence"

" LXVIII (1781), 345 — "Benevolence recommended."

" LXIX (1781), 228 — "Selfishness and Benevolence Compared."

Universal Magazine, LXXI (1782), 304 — "Instances of Delicate Benevolence."

" LXXIX (1786), 272 — "Instances of Benevolence."

European Magazine, x (1786), 307, 466 — "Extraordinary Benevolence."

Universal Magazine, LXXX (1787), 254 — Benevolence (scale of virtues and vices).

Critical Review, LXIII (1787), 156 — "The Triumph of Benevolence" — a poem.

Analytical Review, I (1788), 343 — "On Benevolence." (A poem)

Hibernian Magazine — 1788 — p. 719 — "Benevolence."

Monthly Review, LXXXI (1789), 460 — "Man of Benevolence."

Analytical Review, XII (1792), 414 — review of sermons by P. Houghton.

Monthly Review, x (1793), 534 — Translation of an Essay on Benevolence (from German).

Critical Review, LXXXIII (1795), 296 — review of *A Dissertation on the Theory and Practice of Benevolence* — by George Dyer.

British Critic, VIII (1796), 230 — from Fawcett's *Sermons*.

Monthly Review, XXII (1797), 6 — "On Benevolence," in *Essays by a Society at Exeter*.

Gentleman's Magazine, Index to I-LVI (1786), gives only four items which have Benevolence in the title. Shaftesbury has 13 such references. From 1787-1800: 3 such items.

Similarly the Index to *The Monthly Review* through vol. LX (1784) gives 11 such items on Benevolence and 8 on Shaftesbury, where such topics appear in the title.

SENSIBILITY

This term does not appear in the title of any article or poem published in the *London Magazine*, the *Universal Magazine*, or the *Gentleman's Magazine* before 1750. The Index to the *Monthly Review* through 1784 gives only four such items.

Guardian (1713), No. 19.

Dublin Magazine, I (1762), 310 — "Sensibility" — a poem. (Notice the tremendous jump in time.)

Scots Magazine, XXXIV (1772), 619 — "Ode to Sensibility."

London Magazine, XLII (1773), 197 — "Ode to Sensibility."

Lady's Magazine, IV (1773), 251 — "Inconveniences of Sensibility."

" IX (1778), 396 — "On Sensibility."

Mirror (1779-80). Nos. 42, 43, 44 — "Story of La Roche."

Universal Magazine, LXVII (1780), 193, 229 — reprints from Donaldson's *Elements of Beauty*.

Hibernian Magazine, 1781, p. 440 — "Description of Sensibility"

Universal Magazine, LXX (1782), 98 — "Traits of Sensibility" — a poem.

" LXXI (1782), 29 — Sensibility.

Scots Magazine, XLV (1783), 660 — "Sensibility — an Irregular Ode."

Lady's Magazine, xv (1784), 20 — "Reflections on the Harmony of Sensibility and Reason."

- Scots Magazine*, XLVII (1785), 113 — "On the Sensibility of Insects."
Lounger (1785-6). Nos. 77, 90.
Universal Magazine, LXXX (1787), 255 — Sensibility.
 " LXXXI (1787), 347 — "Of Affected Sensibility."
Scots Magazine, XLIX (1787), 34, 61 — "An Essay on Sensibility" — by a Lady.
Critical Review, LXIII (1787), 389 — *Excessive Sensibility* — review of a book
 Knox, V. *Winter Evenings* (1787), II, 256 — "On Affected Sensibility."
Hibernian Magazine, 1788, p. 90 — "Of Affected Sensibility."
Analytical Review, II (1788), 88 — review of Knox's *Winter Evenings*.
 " V (1789), 356 — "On Sensibility."
Critical Review, LXVIII (1789), 444 — "An Essay on Sensibility" — a poem.
Monthly Review, LXXXI (1789), 417 — review of a poem: "An Essay on Sensibility."
Scots Magazine, LII (1790), 553 — "Hymn to Sensibility."
Universal Magazine, LXXXVI (1790), 60 — "On Unaffected Sensibility."
Analytical Review, VII (1790), 292.
 " VIII (1790), 318.
Hibernian Magazine, Pt. II (1790), 132 — "On Unaffected Sensibility."
 From Dr. Blair's third vol. of sermons.
Universal Magazine, LXXXVIII (1791), 128, 336.
The Bee (Edinburgh, 1791-3), 217 — Poem to Sensibility.
Universal Magazine, XC (1792), 227, 325 — Sensibility necessary.
Looker-On (1792), No. 62. "Modern Sensibility."
Analytical Review, XX (1794), 226.
Monthly Magazine, II (1796), 706 — "Question: Ought Sensibility to be cherished or repressed?" (*Enquirer*, No. IX)
British Critic, XIII (1799), 54 — a few lines in a poem.
Hibernian Magazine, Pt. II (1799), 172 — "The Birth of Sensibility."

SENTIMENT

- Gentleman's Magazine*, Index to Vols. I-LVI gives 4 references to titles including sentimental or sentiment. From 1787-1800: 1 item.
 Index to *Monthly Review* through 1784 gives only 5 such items.
Lady's Magazine, III (1772), 305 — "Thoughts on the Word Sentimental."
Universal Magazine, LXII (1778), 172 — "On Delicacy of Sentiment."
Mirror (1779-80). No. 101.
Universal Magazine, LXXVII (1785), 288 — "On the Difference between Romantic and Sentimental Characters."
European Magazine, IX (1786), 97 — "A Comparison between Laughing and Sentimental Comedy."
Observer (1785-90). Nos. 104 and 105. *Memoirs of a Sentimentalist*.
The Bee (Edinburgh, 1792), 201. "Essay on Delicacy of Sentiment."
Lady's Magazine, XXIII (1792), 301 — "On the Word Sentiment."
 (No reference to sentiment in titles in the *London Magazine* or *Universal Magazine* before 1750.)

The most astonishing aspect of the above three eighteenth-century lists is the extreme popularity of Benevolence in the early part of the century, as Miss Whitney has pointed out,¹ and the similar popularity of Sensibility in the later eighteenth century. Both of these terms completely eclipse the third, Sentiment, from the point of view of the interest of eighteenth-century readers. One wonders whether the above proportions would hold true after a thorough investigation.

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CHARLES READE AND THE COLLINSES

Malcolm Elwin's account of Charles Reade's literary feud with the Collinsees (Mortimer and his wife Frances) is in most essentials both correct and intelligent.¹ But unfortunately it is not quite complete, only suggesting in a general way how the controversy happened to end as it did—with Frances Collins actually dedicating one of Mortimer's posthumous works "To Charles Reade, Dramatist and Novelist. . . . 'The animosities perish: the humanities are eternal.'"

From denunciation (1873-1875) to dedication (1880)—an unusual pattern of development, and it is directly attributable to Reade's unusual personality and beliefs. What follows is the story behind the quarrel and reconciliation, as told by Frank Merivale in an article that Reade's biographers seem to have overlooked:

Just before Mortimer Collins's death, he happened in some way to run counter to the prejudices of one of the most brilliant and rugged of men of letters, with whom he was personally unacquainted. His sin brought upon his head—in the 'Athenaeum' or 'Notes and Queries,' I think—a very lava-flood of scathing denunciation from the offended Olympian. Before he had time to answer, Mortimer Collins was dead. Three years

¹ Lois Whitney, *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress* (Baltimore, 1934), pp. 21-6, 82-90, 332-33. For many suggestions—including this footnote—in developing this little article I am greatly indebted to Professor R. D. Havens of The Johns Hopkins University.

² See Malcolm Elwin, *Charles Reade* (London, 1931), pp. 74, 159-160, 244-247; and S. M. Ellis, *Wilkie Collins Le Fanu and Others* (New York, 1931), pp. 115-116. For the most complete account of the controversy, see Reade's *Trade Malice*, usually printed as an appendix to his novel *The Wandering Heir*.

later, when his widow was in trouble at Isleworth, and saw no one, her little maid refused to unlock the gate to a white-haired burly stranger. Standing outside, he shyly murmured something about "a friend of Edmund Yates." This acted like magic, as many were the packets and letters the girl had posted to that address and he was shown in.

"Mrs. Mortimer Collins, I think?"

"Yes."

"God bless you. Take this."

He thrust a roll of bank-notes into her hand, and was off in his carriage again without another word, leaving her to look blankly after him. It was a little time before she learned that her visitor was Charles Reade, and that the timely kindness was his atonement for his haste. He kept the the kindness up: and one of the first literary boarders who came to lighten Frances Collins' burdens at her Eastbourne house was Charles Reade. It was not long before his death; and it was there that I myself met him for the last time.²

Although Merivale seems to be offering first-hand knowledge, a good part of this account is obviously biased in favor of the Collinses. It is hardly fair to present Mortimer as an injured innocent, when the truth is that both he and his wife had wantonly attacked Reade (in "two pseudonymous letters"),³ charging him with the grossest sort of plagiarism in writing *The Wandering Heir*. Nor is it justifiable to say that Collins' death prevented him from answering Reade: the controversy began in 1872, and Collins lived on until July 28, 1876, "in the prime of manhood and strength." These, and other misstatements of a less flagrant nature,⁴ all seem designed to whitewash Mortimer and his wife at Reade's expense. Even Merivale's seemingly kind remark—that Reade's generosity to Frances Collins was "his atonement for his haste"—clearly implies that Reade was acknowledging the injustice of his words and actions, whereas in reality he was acknowledging nothing of the kind: he was simply putting into practice his cherished belief in Christian forgiveness.

These are serious inaccuracies. Merivale, it would seem, was not merely an apologist for the Collinses; he was relying heavily,

² Herman Merivale, "With the Majority," *Temple Bar*, LXXX (June, 1887), p. 184.

³ See Charles Reade's "Appendix to *The Wandering Heir*," Grolier ed., p. 185.

⁴ Merivale's entire version of the quarrel, as distinct from his version of the reconciliation, is inaccurate and misleading. Cf. the documentary evidence cited in Reade's "Appendix to *The Wandering Heir*."

perhaps entirely, on Frances Collins' version of the whole affair—⁵ and Frances, though ordinarily a reliable witness, apparently could not tell the whole truth when her own and her former husband's reputations were in jeopardy.

But once these partisan misrepresentations have been discounted, what remains can be accepted as reasonably accurate—including Merivale's entire description of the melodramatic part Reade played in the reconciliation. While some allowances should possibly be made for Merivale's own theatrical propensities, it is unlikely that he did any great violence to the facts in this one instance. Reade, like his "Resourceful Heroes," was Quixotic enough to play the humanitarian in exactly the way that has been described.

This sample of Reade's eccentric and extravagant kindness brings out a facet of his character that has not been sufficiently stressed. Though by nature quarrelsome and truculent, he always tried to regulate his conduct according to strict principles of Voltarean justice—and to temper these principles with the Evangelical Christianity he so constantly preached in all his novels.⁶ That he often failed to live up to these ideals goes without saying. Yet he always tried;⁷ and at times, as in the present instance, he completely conquered his pugnacity, and performed acts of charity and forgiveness that would do credit to the most righteous of his own fictional heroes.

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⁵ See Merivale, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.

⁶ See also Charles Reade, *Bible Characters* (New York, 1889), *passim*.

⁷ What Reade says about Jonah in *Bible Characters* (pp. 70-76) is in many ways a commentary on his own personality and religious beliefs. He too was inclined to reply roughly (in answer to the precepts of "the Almighty"): "I do well to be angry, even unto death." Yet if he was, to use his own term, a thoroughgoing "egotist," he was, like Jonah, a "converted egotist"—one who, "when he came to think quietly over it all . . . yielded to Divine Instruction."

THE TERM *SONNET SEQUENCE*

Of all the short verse-forms popular in many languages from the Renaissance onward, probably none has received more attention from poets, readers and critics than has the sonnet. Though composed of a group of sonnets, the sonnet sequence, however, has rarely been defined.¹ As a prosodic term it has been considered either self-explanatory or something of a paradox.

The vast majority of early sonnets in Italian, French, and English are parts of collections or cycles. The Elizabethan poet who could not write a series of sonnets about the beauties of his mistress was indeed an unworthy lover and a parsimonious sonneteer. Wordsworth, the most prolific sonneteer among the major English poets, also grouped many of his sonnets around a central theme: *The River Duddon*, *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, *Sonnets upon the Punishment of Death*. These Wordsworth called *Series*. The term *sonnet sequence*, however, seems to be a Victorian innovation. When Hall Caine was looking for a title for his anthology of sonnets which was later called *Sonnets of Three Centuries*, Rossetti wrote him a letter making several suggestions: "*A Sonnet Sequence* from Elder to Modern Work . . . would not be amiss." He then added: "Tell me if you think of using the title *A Sonnet Sequence*, as otherwise I might use it in the *House of Life*."²

Since the suggestion was not used by Hall Caine, Rossetti entitled *The House of Life* "a sonnet sequence" in the 1881 edition of his poems. From him the term was probably borrowed by Swinburne in *A Sequence of Sonnets on the Death of Robert Browning* and Wilfrid Scawen Blunt as a subtitle for three of his long verse-narratives: *A New Pilgrimage*, *Esther*, and *Natalia's Resurrection*. And thus it passed into current use among poets. Critics and editors also were quick to seize the term and apply it

¹ Mr. Houston Peterson remarks on this fact in his preface to *The Book of Sonnet Sequences* (New York, 1930). He does not, however, remark on the use of the term *sonnet sequence* nor offer any definition; but he does make pertinent comments about the variety of purposes to which sonnet groupings have been put.

² Hall Caine, *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (Boston, 1883), p. 244.

backwards in an indiscriminate sense to any and all previously written groups of sonnets. For all intents and purposes, *sonnet sequence* is now synonymous with *series* and *cycle* of sonnets.

Although one might prefer to apply the term to a specialized type of sonnet grouping, such would be unwise and far from practicable. It is obvious that Rossetti in his letter to Hall Caine conceived the term *sonnet sequence* in the loose sense of a chronological omnium-gatherum; but because it was applied to *The House of Life* instead of to Hall Caine's anthology, many of the Victorian poets used the term as applicable only to a closely unified group of sonnets. Such seems to be the theory of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt and John Addington Symonds, two of the most prolific writers of sonnet sequences among the Victorians. Blunt does not call either *The Love Sonnets of Proteus* or *In Vinculis* a sonnet sequence possibly because the sonnets are not so closely related as those in his other groups. In the preface to *Animi Figura* Symonds writes:

This book cannot claim strict unity of subject. Connecting links between its sonnet-sequences are wanting.* Yet the fact that they are the product of one mind and deal with cognate problems, gives it a certain unity of tone. . . . Many of the sequences in *Animi Figura* exhibit a departure from [the general] rule by extending a single train of thought from one sonnet to another in such a wise that the point developed in a preceding sonnet is necessary to the comprehension of its successor . . .

Thus Symonds and Blunt both seem to think of the term *sonnet sequence* in a sense of specialized unification. And by obvious devices they frequently reduce the sonnets to verse-stanzas.

On the other hand, Swinburne's *A Sequence of Sonnets on the Death of Robert Browning* can be read in almost any order. And in this same tradition W. H. Auden in a recent group of twenty sonnets called *The Quest* employs the subtitle "A Sonnet Sequence." Each of the twenty has a title of its own and is clearly understandable in its own right. But if the individual sonnets are read in the sequence suggested by the poet, many take on an added significance that may not be apparent to one who reads the sonnets at random. This unity within a larger unity is the unique feature of the sonnet sequence whether it be a narrative like Meredith's *Modern Love* and William Ellery Leonard's *Two Lives* and *A Man*

* In fact, seven of the sequences had appeared in earlier volumes, *Many Moods* and *New and Old*.

Against Time or a group of lyrics of subtly changing moods like Rossetti's *The House of Life* and Robert Bridges' *The Growth of Love*.

Aside from a general unity that the term *sequence* implies, to many poets *sonnet sequence* has indicated a sonnet-stanza while to others it has meant little more than a synonym for the older terms *cycle* and *series*. In short, much of the confusion and loose use was implicit in the manner of Rossetti's conception of the term and in its subsequent spread among the Victorian poets.

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CASAL'S *SALOMÉ*: THE MYSTERY OF THE MISSING PROPHET

In all the history of that curious nineteenth century artistic development, the *transposition d'art*, one of the most interesting literary phenomena is the series of sonnets entitled *Mi museo ideal*, by the Cuban poet, Julián del Casal. As every student of Spanish-American literature knows, Casal was inspired to write his poems by the publication, in *La Habana Elegante*, of several reproductions of the paintings of the French artist, Gustave Moreau. On the theme of Moreau's paintings, Casal composed ten sonnets: *Salomé*, *La aparición*, *Prometeo*, *Galatea*, *Elena*, *Hércules ante la Hidra*, *Vénus Anadyómena*, *Una peri*, *Júpiter y Europa*, and *Hércules y las Estinfálides*.¹

Besides being an interesting case of *transposition d'art*, these poems are a landmark in the development of the Modernist movement in Spanish America. They are one of the earliest attempts to adapt to Spanish poetry the detached, objective, impassive technique of the French Parnassian school. As such, they were a definite contribution to the renovation of literary values which characterized the epoch in America.

One of the most beautiful and most nearly perfect of these sonnets is the one entitled *Salomé*. A curious esthetic problem has

¹ Julián del Casal, *Poesías completas*, Recopilación, ensayo preliminar, bibliografía y notas de Mario Cabrera Saqui, La Habana, Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura, 1945, pp. 166-175.

been posed by Professor Alfred Coester concerning this poem. In his anthology of the Modernist movement, still, after more than twenty years, the best introduction to this phase of Spanish-American letters,² Mr. Coester comments on the poem as follows:

The Biblical account is found in Mark vi, 16-29, according to which Salome after her dance, at the instigation of her mother Herodias, asked for the head of John the Baptist. In Moreau's painting Salome is represented as faltering in the dance frightened by the apparition of a head dripping blood. This detail, despite its importance, did not interest Casal.³

One wonders why the apparition did not interest Casal. What is the mystery of the missing prophet? What esthetic criterion was involved on the poet's part? Was it a willful distortion of the subject owing to a certain aversion to this disagreeable feature of the painting? The poems have all the earmarks of being an exact and literal translation into words of the pictorial image. Why should Casal fail even to mention what must evidently be, not a detail, but the central figure, or one of two central figures upon which the interest of the painting is focused? The problem becomes doubly perplexing when one recalls Rubén Darío's statement that Moreau himself recognized his painting perfectly from the Cuban's poem.⁴

Despite the speculations raised by Mr. Coester's statement, the problem is not really one of esthetic interpretation, however. It is rather a question of the correct identification of Casal's source. At this distance from Cuba it is impossible to consult *La Habana Elegante* in order to compare the poem with the reproduction of the painting. Even in Cuba the periodical appears difficult of access and, even so, incomplete.⁵ There has recently come to the writer's hand, however, a volume which clears up the mystery. Jean Laran,

² *An Anthology of the Modernist Movement in Spanish America*, Boston, Ginn and Company, [1924].

³ P. 237, note to p. 28.

⁴ Cited by Roberto Meza Fuentes, *De Díaz Mirón a Rubén Darío*, Santiago de Chile, 1940, p. 102.

⁵ Esperanza Figueroa, in an article on Casal, makes the following statement: "Es muy probable que haya escrito para los primeros números de *La Habana Elegante*, pero la colección más completa que nos fué dable revisar, perteneciente al Doctor Julio Hernández Miyares, comienza en el año 1885." ("Apuntes sobre Julián del Casal," in *Revista Iberoamericana*, 1944 (vii, No. 14), p. 332.)

in his *Gustave Moreau*,⁶ reproduces three paintings by the French artist on the Salome theme: *Salomé*, *L'Apparition*, and *Salomé au jardin*, together with a sketch for the first, *Salomé (Esquisse)*.⁷ In addition there exist "innumerable studies" for the Salome paintings.⁸

L'Apparition and *Salomé au jardin* both contain the figure of the Prophet's severed head, and Mr. Coester's comment evidently refers to the former. *L'Apparition*, moreover, was the source of Casal's *La aparición*, in which the poet does not hesitate to describe the head dripping blood. A glance at the painting entitled simply *Salomé* (the same title used by Casal) shows unmistakably that this, not *L'Apparition*, was the Cuban's source. Moreau omitted the apparition from this painting, and Casal, as we should expect him to do, transfers the pictorial image faithfully to the printed page. Other details of the poem make this abundantly clear. Salome holds in her right hand a flower (Casal calls it a lotus) which does not appear in *L'Apparition*. The poet refers to the dancer's "veste de brocado estrellada de ardiente pedrería," an exact description of her appearance in *Salomé*, whereas in *L'Apparition* she is scantily clad. Just as telling is the feeling of the spaciousness and height of the incense-filled palace apparent in both Moreau's *Salomé* and in the first quatrain of the Cuban's sonnet, and just as clearly lacking in both *L'Apparition* and its corresponding poem.

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⁶ *L'Art de notre temps. Gustave Moreau. 48 planches hors-texte accompagnées de quarante-huit notices rédigées par Jean Laran et précédées d'une introduction de Léon Deshairs.* Paris, Librairie Centrale des Beaux-arts, n. d.

⁷ Pp. 71-78. Laran locates the originals as follows: *Salomé* in the Collection Mante, *L'Apparition* in the Luxembourg, *Salomé au jardin* in the collection of the Countess Greffulhe, and the *Salomé (Esquisse)* in the Musée Gustave Moreau.

⁸ Laran, p. 73, a propos of the reproduction of the *esquisse*, declares: "Parmi les innombrables études accumulées en vue du tableau dès 1874, il est bien difficile de faire un choix, car chacune résume d'ingénieuses et instructives recherches."

Ten years later, in 1863, when the Goncourts wrote their most important dramatic work, *Henriette Maréchal*, they were strongly under the influence of Gavarni who had become their most intimate friend. The first act of the play, *Le Bal de L'Opéra*, can be considered a series of Gavarni prints brought to life, the rapid succession of hundreds⁴ of black and white and colored lithographs.⁵

The *Préface* to the 1879 edition of *Henriette Maréchal* contains a succinct condensation of the Goncourts' attitude toward their most ambitious and daring attempt in the theater: "... dans cette pièce ressemblante à toutes les pièces du monde, il n'y a jamais eu pour nous qu'un acte original et bien personnel à nous: le Bal masqué."⁶

How did the Goncourts come to include the scene of the masked ball in their play and what was Gavarni's part in its inspiration and evolution? There are few episodes in the Goncourts' life and work which lend themselves as well as this one to a detailed analysis of literary transformation.

There are two main sources for the masked ball scene in *Henriette Maréchal*: the first is in the prints of Gavarni which we have already referred to; the second is in the visit which Edmond and Jules made with Gavarni to the Bal de l'Opéra in February 1860. The literary accounts of this visit, which the Goncourts incorporated into three of their major works, represent three progressive stages in the psychological (but not chronological) transition from reality to pure fiction. The first version is a section from the *Journal*, a straightforward account of what the three friends saw and did:

Samedi, 4 février (1860).—Gavarni vient dîner Il a fait la grande

tête, les mains dans les poches de son pantalon. Derrière lui un matelas jeté sur le pied d'un lit, avec des draps pliés."

"Among the several hundred works of Gavarni dealing with the "bal masqué," one should list at least:

Le Bal Masqué, A. & B. 347; *Les Débardeurs*, A. & B. 486-542; *L'Ecole des Pierrots*, A. & B. 1278-1281; *La Foire aux Amours*, A. & B. 1292-1301; *Pierrot*, A. & B. 2106 *Un Episode au Bal Masqué*, A. & B. 2182; *Au Bal*, A. & B. 2184; *Bal de l'Opéra*, A. & B. 2389; *Nouveaux Travestissements*, A. & B. 2509-2586; *En Débardeurs*, A. & B. 2691; *Rencontre au Bal*, A. & B. 2693, *Le Bal Masqué*, A. & B. 2703.

⁵ A similar experiment in the theater was carried out very successfully by Enrique Granados in his opera, *Goyescas*.

⁶ Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *op. cit.*, *Préface*, p. xvi.

partie d'aller au bal de l'Opéra avec nous. En arrivant, il demande une feuille de papier et y dépose de petites machines mathématiques, qui lui sont venues en route. Pour attraper l'heure du bal, nous l'emmenons voir Léotard, et, après le Cirque, nous allons prendre un grog dans un café des boulevards, où il nous parle avec une admiration enthousiaste des travaux de Biot, de ses livres de mathématiques où il n'y a pas de figures

Et le voici, montant cet escalier du bal de l'Opéra, qu'il n'a pas vu depuis quinze ans, le voici à mon bras, perdu dans cette foule, comme un roi perdu dans son royaume: lui, Gavarni, qui pourrait dire: 'Le Carnaval, c'est moi!'

Il vient jeter les yeux sur les modes nouvelles de la mascarade. Nous restons une heure à regarder, d'une loge, la danse et les masques, une heure où il semble faire une sérieuse étude du costume nouveau et presque général des danseuses: de ce costume de bébé,⁷ de cette petite robe-blouse descendant au genou, laissant voir la jambe et les hautes bottines ballantes dans l'air, et dessinant des nimbes au-dessus de la tête des danseurs. Puis quand il a tout le bal dans les yeux, je le ramène coucher chez nous. Il a eu froid en sortant du Cirque, puis la chaleur du bal l'a suffoqué. Il se traîne en marchant, il monte notre escalier lentement, et nous confie, au coin de notre feu, qu'en sortant du bal de l'Opéra, il ne pouvait mettre un pied devant l'autre.

Et il se couche, nous faisant de son lit, avant de s'endormir, de charmantes plaisanteries enfantines et qu'il sait si bien faire, sur le bal et les folies que nous aurions pu y faire⁸

The Goncourts later developed this event, which they had sought to bring about, into a "tranche" of naturalistic biography in *Gavarni, l'homme et l'œuvre*, and, still further fictionalized, into the pivotal chapter of their novel, *Charles Demailly*, in which Gavarni becomes the artist Giroust.

One cannot doubt that this constant preoccupation with the masked ball had its origin in the Goncourts' close association with Gavarni and that from his temperament, so sympathetic to their own, they drew the first act of *Henriette Maréchal*.

In the same way that one can feel the presence of Gavarni in the "dominos" and the "débardeurs" on the stage, so one can sense his personality in the dialogue of the masked ball scene. The Goncourts' imitation of the style of Gavarni's "légendes" is always original, individualistic, and the actual points of contact are rare and so ephemeral that they easily slip through one's fingers. Yet they exist and we can point out several of them. As the play begins,

⁷ The Goncourts used this costume for Scene 4 of Act I in *Henriette Maréchal*.

⁸ Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal*, I, 310.

a lady coming down the staircase at the right speaks to a masked dancer: "Oh! Monsieur, tu me chiffonnes! (Apercevant un vieux monsieur endormi sur une banquette auprès de l'escalier) Gendarme! arrêtez monsieur: il dort!"⁹

Then there is a "Masque, en postillon, arrivant à cheval sur une banquette,"¹⁰ who is reminiscent of Gavarni's "postillon" in *Les Débardeurs*, VIII:

. . . Dans un couloir au bal de l'Opéra, un débardeur, son chapeau à la main, se moquant d'un homme frêle et mal bâti, costumé en postillon et vu de dos à gauche, donnant le bras à une grande femme ayant un loup sur le visage; sur le mur à droite, écrit directement: Premières Loges.¹¹

The most effective scene in the first act is the fifth one in which the light touch of Jules de Goncourt, his poetic languor, his tender nostalgia, and his sympathetic humor, are subtly blended:

Un Monsieur, en habit noir et en cravate blanche à la galerie du balcon: ' . . . Savez-vous de quoi vous me faites l'effet d'ici, mes enfants? d'un magasin de rubans dans une hotte de chiffonier, sauf le respect que je vous dois! Vous avez l'air d'un feu d'artifice dans un ruisseau, parole d'honneur! Ah ça! Pierrots que vous êtes, vous êtes encore pas mal serins! Comment! vous êtes la fleur de Paris, et voilà comme vous représentez le peuple le plus spirituel de la terre, la gaieté française, le vin de champagne! Mais saperlotte! ayez au moins l'air de vous amuser! Dites des bêtises . . . des bêtises qui ont déjà servi . . . ça ne fait rien . . . (Se penchant vers une femme à côté de lui.) On ne demande pas du neuf ici, n'est-ce pas, Madame?¹² — Allons! un peu de train! Vous n'avez plus que jusqu'à demain matin, malheureux! A six heures le carnaval¹³ est enfoncé, le carême vous remet la main sur le collet, et il pleut de la neige sur les gens trop gris! Un an, mes petits biches, un an avant de me revoir!¹⁴

Certain of the purists among the Goncourt's friends never ap-

⁹ Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *op. cit.*, p. 34. There is perhaps a connection with Gavarni's *Ecole des Pierrots*, VII: "Le Sommeil de l'innocence": ". . . dans un bal, un pierrot assis et dormant profondément, son masque relevé sur le front, des lunettes sur le nez; près de lui, à droite, une femme en canotier." — A. & B. 1769.

¹⁰ Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹¹ A. & B. 493.

¹² One is reminded once more of Gavarni's *Carnaval*, XXIII: "Qu'est-ce que tu peux venir chercher par ici, philosophe? — Je ramasse toutes vos vieilles blagues d'amour, mes colombes: on en refait du neuf." — A. & B. 1046.

¹³ There are fifty lithographs in Gavarni's series "Le Carnaval"; A. & B. 1024-1068; 1705-1708; 2223.

¹⁴ Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

proved of the popular element in Gavarni's "légendes"; among them was Flaubert who wrote to George Sand in December 1870: ". . . Je donnerais toutes les légendes de Gavarni pour certaines expressions et coupes des maîtres comme 'l'ombre était nuptiale, auguste et solennelle,' de Victor Hugo."¹⁵ But others, like Théophile Gautier, who wrote the Prologue for *Henriette Maréchal*, and Alphonse Daudet were extremely enthusiastic. It was Daudet who first recognized the Goncourts' contribution (and Gavarni's share in it) to a new conception of drama that was vaguely beginning to take shape:

. . . Et ce premier acte au bal de l'Opéra, cette foule, ces masques blaguant et hurlant, ces poursuites, ces engueulades, ce parti pris de réalité et de vie, ironique et réel comme un Gavarni, n'était-ce pas, quinze ans avant que le mot 'naturalisme' fût inventé, le naturalisme au théâtre?¹⁶

On the other hand, the first act of *Henriette Maréchal* is in many ways not realistic drama: ". . . pas si réelle qu'on a bien voulu dire . . .", as Edmond de Goncourt himself says in the preface. It is, rather, a delightful bit of poetic fantasy, an escape into the Gavarni-created whirl of Carnaval gayety. No critic has transferred into more poignant and more evocative words its evanescent spirit than the distinguished Uruguayan author, Victor Pérez Petit, in his superlative study on the Goncourts:

No hay en toda la obra ese sello característico y firme del naturalismo; el asunto está tratado *poéticamente*, sin asomos de copia, de reproducción de la realidad, con ligeros esbozos, con perfiles esfumados de acuarela, con relieves, morbideces e irisaciones artísticas dignas del ensueño de un poeta; y en cuanto a los personajes, cabe hacer notar que más que seres humanos parecen seres espirituales, aéreos, poéticos, vestidos de nieblas o de resplandores, y fabricados 'con lo falso y con lo sublime.' El primer acto es una verdadera fantasmagoría, un cuadro deslumbrador, cuya vida es vida de ensueño, ligera, vaporosa, cuajada de puntitos de oro y de escintilaciones de estrella. Rueda silente, encantador, como una nube preñada de auroras. Y no hay más.¹⁷

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¹⁵ Gustave Flaubert, *Correspondance*, Paris, Librairie de France, 1924, III, 629.

¹⁶ Alphonse Daudet, *Souvenirs d'un Homme de Lettres*, Paris, Marpon et Flammarion, 1888, p. 150.

¹⁷ Victor Pérez Petit, *Las Tres Catedrales del Naturalismo*, Montevideo, 1943, p. 251. (Obras completas, vol. v.)

MALLARMÉ AND BRYANT

Poe was not the only American poet to attract the attention of French writers of the nineteenth century. Whitman was widely read toward the close of the century; even Longfellow was known. It was pointed out long since that a sonnet of Baudelaire, *Le Guignon*, contains an easily recognizable imitation of certain familiar lines of *A Psalm of Life*. Heretofore, however, evidence to show that William Cullen Bryant was known to French poets has been lacking. It is possible, nevertheless, that Stéphane Mallarmé borrowed one of his strikingly beautiful images from the author of *Thanatopsis*.

One of Mallarmé's early poems, "Las de l'amer repos où ma paresse offense," ends with a series of images of great distinction, dazzling yet delicate. Among the finest is this in the last verse:

Non loin de trois grand cils d'émeraude, roseaux . . .

Now comparisons of eyes to streams, pools or lakes are quite common in poetry, but the use of the detail given here: the association of eyelashes to reeds by water's brink apparently needed a nineteenth-century poet, with his awareness of the beauties of wild nature. Bryant compared eyelashes to reeds in the fourth stanza of "Oh fairest of the rural maids":

Thine eyes are springs in whose serene
And silent waters heaven is seen;
Their lashes are the herbs that look
On their young figures in the brook . . .

The connection here would seem very slight, very inconclusive, were it not for the fact that Mallarmé had already used the same image, but in more extended form, in a poem written two years earlier. "Las de l'amer repos" appeared in the *Parnasse contemporain* of 1866. According to Dr. Bonniot, Mallarmé's son-in-law, an early and much less obscure version of the obscure sonnet *Le Pitre châtié* (which was not published until 1887) had been written in 1864.¹ In this version, the first two verses are as follows:

¹ See *Revue de France* of April 1929, where the early version is given. It was found, dated 1864, in a notebook of Mallarmé's in Dr. Bonniot's possession.

Pour ses yeux—pour nager dans ces lacs, dont les quais
Sont plantés de beaux cils qu'un matin bleu pénètre . . .

One might conjecture that Mallarmé, having used in a published poem, "Las de l'amer repos," the image of eyelashes as reeds, decided, when revising *Le Pitre châtié*, that once was enough. In any case the elaborate image of the first two verses of the early *Pitre châtié* was reduced to two words: "Yeux, lacs. . ."

Is the similarity in imagery that we have noted merely coincidental or can we allege that Mallarmé was definitely inspired by Bryant? If we could demonstrate that the French symbolist had read and appreciated the work of the American poet, we could make such an allegation with some confidence. Unfortunately, we have no evidence to that effect. It is true that Mallarmé studied to prepare himself to teach English, but it is hardly likely that Bryant would have been one of the authors in his program. It is possible, through Poe, however, to establish an admittedly somewhat tenuous connection between Mallarmé and Bryant.

It is well-known that from the age of twenty on Mallarmé's admiration for Poe was great and constant. The autobiographical sketch that he wrote for Verlaine at the time of *Les Poètes maudits* (1884) stated that at the age of twenty he learned English simply "pour mieux lire Poe."² Would his interest in Poe have included Poe's critical essays and reviews? One might well imagine that Mallarmé would have been curious to see what were Poe's opinions about other American poets. He would have discovered that Poe judged Bryant with some severity, but that he admired one poem of Bryant's very highly. That poem was "Oh fairest of the rural maids."

Poe wrote three critical estimates of Bryant's poetry: the first in 1837 in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the second in 1840 in *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*, and the third in 1846 in *Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book*. In all three of these articles "Oh fairest of the rural maids" is given high praise; in the first the poem is quoted in its entirety, and the first two verses of the stanza quoted above are singled out for special praise. Only the third of these studies, however, was reprinted before 1864,³ hence

² See E. Noulet, *L'Œuvre poétique de Stéphane Mallarmé*, Paris, 1940, p. 9.

³ In the third volume of the Griswold edition (the volume entitled "The Literati"): New York, 1850, pp. 178-88.

it is likely that only this third study would have been available to Mallarmé. Here is the statement he would have found there with regard to the poem in question:

"Oh, Fairest of the Rural Maids!" will strike every poet as the truest poem written by Bryant. It is richly ideal.⁴

It is not hard to picture the young Mallarmé, impressed by Poe's praise and agreeing wholeheartedly with Poe's conception of what a true poem was, seeking out a volume of Bryant's poems, and reading and being moved by a poem well calculated to appeal to a young poet and a young lover.⁵

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CHATEAUBRIAND DID NOT MEET WASHINGTON

It has been generally supposed, in the absence of proof to the contrary, that Chateaubriand's account of his interview with Washington, in the *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, is an authentic report. However, in the recent Bicentennial Edition of the Writings of George Washington, xxxi (1939), 355, appears the following letter from Washington to Charles Armand Tuffin:

Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1791. Dear Sir: I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 22d of March last. Being indisposed on the day when Monsieur de Combours called to deliver your letter I did not see him, and I understood that he set off for Niagara on the next day.

Unless, then, we suppose that Washington forgot his meeting with young Chateaubriand, or that, for some mysterious diplomatic reason, he lied about it, we must accept that Chateaubriand's vivid account of his conversation with the great man was a total fabrication.

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⁴ *Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, New York, 1902 (Monticello Edition), xiii, 134

⁵ It should be pointed out that Mallarmé got married in England in the spring of 1863, about the time he might have been reading Poe and Bryant. It was at about this period that he wrote the ethereal, gentle, sweetly-sentimental *Apparition*, not too different in tone from "Oh fairest of the rural maids."

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON MME DE VILLEDIEU

This note is intended to offer addenda and corrections to bibliographical information furnished by two scholarly works on Mme de Villedieu: Emile Magne, *Madame de Villedieu (Hortense Des Jardins) 1632-1692*, Paris, 1907 and Bruce Archer Morrisette, *The Life and Works of Marie-Catherine Desjardins (Mme de Villedieu) 1632-1683*, Saint Louis, 1947.

Two years after 11 of Mlle Desjardin's poems had appeared in the *Recueil* of Sercy in 1660, Barbin published her first *Recueil de poésies*, containing 6 of the Sercy edition. Magne and Morrisette list an edition by Barbin in 1664 augmented by 6 poems, and another in the same year by Quinet, under the title, *Œuvres de Mlle Desjardins*, containing, in addition to the poems of the second Barbin edition, *le Carrousel de Mgr le Dauphin*, *Manlius* and *Nitétis* (found in the Library of Congress as well as in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothèque de Versailles). One must add another edition, made the same year by Sercy, under the title, *Recueil de Poesies de Mademoiselle Desjardins. Augmenté de plusieurs Pieces & Lettres en cette dernière Edition . . . Avec Privilège du Roy* (copy at Universities of Iowa and Minnesota). It was composed of 7 letters, in prose and verse, several madrigaux and sonnets, 5 eclogues and 2 elegies. Curiously enough, the *privilege* indicates that Barbin, having received it Feb. 5, 1662, "en avait fait part" to Charles de Sercy and to Gabriel Quinet. One hardly sees the efficacy of a *privilege* which allows 3 competing editions in the same year! Barbin was, of course, not averse to publishing when a *privilege* no longer belonged to him. Likewise both Barbin and Ribou printed the *Nouveau Recueil de quelques Pieces Galantes* (Ribou spelling) in 1669, the *privilege* granted to Barbin for *les Lettres en forme de Relations* being reproduced by Ribou. The Ribou edition, not listed by Magne, is found in the University of Minnesota. The same sort of thing happened with the play, *Manlius*. The *privilege* was issued to Barbin Sept. 28, 1662, and he published an edition that year, yet he ceded his rights to Gabriel Quinet and he in turn to Guillaume de Luyne; this latter published the play the same year (not listed by Magne, copy at Harvard University). The reverse occurred with *Nitétis*, printed

by Quinet in 1664 (really 1663, the *achevé* being Dec. 19), a copy of which is found at the University of Iowa; Barbin published it also in 1664, Quinet having "fait part du privilège à Claude Barbin." A copy of the rare play, *le Favory*, Paris, Thomas Iolly, 1665, is owned by the Williams College Library. Various editions of the *Récit en prose et en vers de la Farce des précieuses* are found in libraries of this country (Harvard, Boston, City of New York, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Library of Congress).

The edition of *le Jaloux par force . . . Ensemble la Chambre de Iustice de l'Amour; Avec la Revuë des Troupes d'Amour*, purported to have been made by Pierre Bon-temps at Fribourch (*sic*) in 1668, is evidently a *contrefaçon*, the Elzevierien sphere being imitated on the title page.¹ It was printed possibly in Paris or in Holland. Only the last title is certainly by our author, as it is signed "Des Iardins" (copy in Harvard Library). An English prose translation of the first, under the title, *The Husband forc'd to be Jealous . . .* appeared in London the same year (University of Minnesota, where it is ascribed to Mme de Villedieu). Morrisette considers Donneau de Visé its author (*op. cit.*, p. 65).

The edition by Dominique Desclassan (*sic*, misspelled by Magne and Morrisette) in Toulouse in 1702 of *les Annales galantes. Par Me de Ville-Dieu, . . . avec permission* (not given!), found in the Library of Congress, offers an interesting problem. It begins with a *dédicace* to Monseigneur de Lionne, which is not in the edition of 1700 at The Hague (copy of this last at Harvard), and which declares that de Lionne does not know the author!² The avant-propos, however, is identical in the two, except for 3 minor details and 2 typographical errors; the omission of a line in the Hague edition makes a *contre-sens*. In the *table des matières*, the division into *parties* is different. The interesting thing is the text; in the Toulouse edition, it has no connection with the *table*, and is in fact the 7 stories of *les Amours des grands hommes*, as indeed is indicated by the running title, thus constituting an edition of this work not before listed and testifying to its popularity in the provinces, another edition having appeared in Lyons in 1696. It

¹ For the authentic Elzevierien spheres, see Gustaf Berghman, *Etudes sur la bibliographie elzevierienne . . .*, Stockholm, 1885.

² "Ce n'est point un Auteur fameux qui prend la liberté de vous presenter cet Ouvrage . . . Je ne vous diray point, Monseigneur, qui est l'Auteur de cette Mascarade . . ."

is followed in the same volume by *Portrait des foiblesses humaines. Par Me de Ville-Dieu. A Toulouse, chés Dominique Desclassan, seul Imprimeur Juré de l'Université. M.DCCII. Avec Permission* (permission not given). Although there is a new title-page, the pagination is continuous (p. 341-433), this being likewise an unlisted edition of this work.³ Was Desclassan playing on the success 2 years earlier of *les Annales galantes*, or was he avoiding copyright difficulties, his *permission* undoubtedly being mythical, when he furnished a false title-page to his printing of *les Amours des grands hommes* and neglected entirely to include on it the second work contained in the volume? At any rate, let us not question his integrity, as he was none less than the "seul Imprimeur juré de l'Université de Toulouse." Besides indicating the *laisser-aller* of printers of his day, his edition proves again Mme de Villedieu's popularity outside of Paris. Without being aware of this combination edition, Morrisette keenly noted the close relationship in style, technique and conception of the two works, *le Portrait* appearing almost as a sequel to *les Amours*.

The date of the *édition princeps* of *les Désordres de l'amour* is important because of its relations to *la Princesse de Clèves*. Morrisette is in error in stating (p. 101, n. 52) that Magne's bibliography gives 1676 as its date. In fact, he gives 1670, but after further research he averred in a conversation with Miss Dorothy Dallas⁴ that he was then convinced that the edition of 1675, chez Barbin, in 4 volumes, of which he possessed the third, is the original. Desclassan made an edition in Toulouse in 1702 (copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale), and a copy of the English translation of the last story, printed in 1677 in London, entitled, *The Disorders of Love . . .*, is to be had at Harvard Library.

Morrisette mentions a copy of the *rarissime Anaxandre*, Ribou, 1667 in the Library of Congress; there is also one in the University of Iowa, bound with other works of Villedieu. Magne was unable in 1907 to determine the first edition of *le Portefeuille*. Morrisette places it late in 1674 or in 1675, thanks to a reference in *le Portefeuille* itself (*Œuvres*, t. II, p. 63), as news of the day, to

³ It appears identical to the spurious edition of Amsterdam of 1686 (Library of Congress, Toinet Collection), except for the omission of the last paragraph, where one reads: "Mais passons à nôtre seconde partie."

⁴ Cf. her work, *le Roman français de 1660 à 1680*, Paris, 1932, p. 189, n. 1.

Chapelain's death, which occurred Feb. 22, 1674.⁵ In the same sentence one reads that "Mlle Marin épousa hier votre aimable parent." Evidently both events were strictly contemporary; this would indicate the publication early in 1674, rather than late in 1674 or in 1675. Morrisette presumes that Mme de Villedieu did not write the promised sequel to *les Galanteries grenadines* because the novel did not please the public (p. 176). It seems rather a trick of her feminine capriciousness, which often led her to begin a new work instead of fulfilling the promise to complete an unfinished one. In fact *les Galanteries grenadines* enjoyed 3 editions in quick succession. Magne lists the Barbin edition of 1673 as the first, but Barbin really produced it the preceding year (copy at the Library of Congress). The inevitable *contrefaçon* appeared also in 1673, marked Bruxelles (édition Elzevier Willems), and a fourth came out 38 years later in Lyons. All of this is indicative of a very considerable popularity. Mme de Villedieu's competition in the Moorish field mentioned by Morrisette came 2 and 11 years after the first appearance of *les Galanteries grenadines*, and may even be indicative of the latter's vogue. Twice Morrisette seems to have misread Magne (p. 161, n. 22 and p. 169), where he presumes that Barbin printed an edition of *les Amours des grands hommes* in 1671 and one of *les Exilés de la cour d'Auguste* in 1675; in both cases it is a question of an Elzevierien edition "Sur la copie à Paris chez Cl. Barbin."

Morrisette regretted not having access to the separate edition of *Carmente*, Barbin, 1668, one of her rare novels to run through only one edition, containing an interesting *avis* not reproduced in the collected works. There is however a copy in Cornell University, and it is most intriguing, because of manuscript notes which fill the *feuilles de garde* of the 2 volumes. Their author traces Mme de Villedieu's life, speaks of her 2 marriages, of her flirtations, cites and refutes Voltaire's criticism of her literary merits in his *Siècle de Louis XIV*,⁶ admiring especially *Manlius* and certain poetry. He points out the fact that Simas is an imitation of La Fontaine's *Faucon*, another link between the two writers which, I believe, has not been mentioned before. The dramatic circumstances surrounding the death of Palans he calls "un des plus beaux traits qu'on

⁵ Morrisette, *op. cit.*, p. 132, n. 43 and p. 133.

⁶ This places the writing of these manuscript notes after 1751.

voye Dans les romans." He finds the reference to Homer and the *Iliad* a "furieux anachronisme," as Evandre and Carmante lived 60 years after the Trojan War: "On voit par la que le roman est l'ouvrage D'une femme qui ne s'inquiétait guerre (*sic*) de la chronologie." In the second volume, he finds other anachronismes, notably (2^e partie, livre 1), Archimède, who lived 1000 years after the action of the story, and he complains that *les Exilez* is not finished: "il en faudrait encore au moins autant pour terminer l'ouvrage." He blames the author because the fate of Myris, aunt of Cyparisse, is left uncertain: "C'est . . . une faute, car il faut qu'on sache le sort De tous les personnages dont on a fait mention Dans le cours de l'ouvrage." He points out an inconsistency when Timoleon, who had accompanied the queen to the hamlet of Lagée, without leaving her, is found the next day in the king's suite as he comes to rejoin the queen: "fautes d'attention de l'auteur qui travaillait à la hâte ne prenant pas la peine de revoir & de corriger ses nombreuses productions." All these commentaries, with numerous corrections of typographical errors in the text, testify to the very careful perusal by at least one reader, probably of the following century, of one of the least successful of Mme de Villedieu's novels. These manuscript notes mention an edition of *les Désordres de l'amour* not known to bibliographers, in 4 parties and 2 volumes, published in Lyons, in 1686 (the last figure difficult to decipher). A carefully established *table des matières* is written in another hand.

Finally, it would require long, patient research to settle definitely the question of authorship of 6 or 7 works which are frequently assigned to Mme de Villedieu. For example, Morrisette discredits entirely the attribution of *les Nouvelles chinoises* to "Mlle de Villedieu," as indicated on its title-page in the Baritel edition of 1712 at Lyons (copy at Harvard Labrary, acquired in 1944), but his arguments lose all their weight when we observe that this is not, as he supposes, the first edition.⁷ In fact, the title-page contains also the notation, "Augmentez (*sic*) en cette edition." It has the marks of an early work, being a collection of lively adventures recounted with great verve. A persistent search for its first printing, not to be found at the Bibliothèque Nationale nor listed by Emile Magne, might settle definitely the question of authorship. In general the problem with Mme de Villedieu is complicated by the fact that her style does not distinguish her unquestionably from

⁷ Morrisette, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-9.

other secondary contemporary writers, and because publishers had the annoying habit of printing anonymously in the same volume works by various authors. That several novels were attributed to her indicates her popularity as does the increasingly large number of editions, legitimate and spurious, of her known productions which we have discovered in Paris, in the provinces, in Holland and Belgium, and in English translation in London.

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MADAME DE VILLEDIEU AND THE ACADEMY OF THE RICOVRATI

In his scholarly work on Mme de Villedieu, Bruce Morrisette raises the question as to whether this French writer was really invited to become a member of the Italian Academy of the Ricovrati.¹ He reproduces information furnished to Emile Magne² in letters dated Dec. 6 and Dec. 11, 1906 from the then secretary of the Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti of Padua (an outgrowth of the Ricovrati), wherein "la Signora des Houlières de Chate" and two other French women were listed in the *Giornale dell' Accademia* as members of the Ricovrati on Sept. 14, 1684, the word *de Chate* having been added by another, but contemporary, hand. M. de Châte, as we know, was Mme de Villedieu's last husband. Morrisette also quotes Vertron,³ who referred to Mlle Desjardins as a deceased member of the Ricovrati, and alludes to an article by the writer of this present note,⁴ who gave, without documentary evidence, March 15, 1688, as the date of reception of Mme Deshoulières into the Ricovrati. In the face of puzzling inconsistencies of names and dates, Morrisette is unable to draw conclusions.

¹ *The Life and Works of Marie-Catherine Desjardins (Mme de Villedieu) 1632-1683*, Saint Louis, 1947, p. 20 and n. 70.

² Emile Magne, *Madame de Villedieu (Hortense Des Jardins) 1632-1692*, Paris, 1907, pp. 402-4.

³ Vertron, *la Nouvelle Pandore, ou les femmes illustres du siècle de Louis-le-Grand*, Paris, 1698, 2 vol., t. II, art. *la Chate*.

⁴ *Mme Deshoulières jugée par ses contemporains* (*Romanic Review*, Oct.-Dec., 1934, p. 371).

Other evidence can be produced, which throws light on the question, if it does not solve it. In the first place, the date of Mme Deshoulières's election is determined by Vertron. He reproduces in Italian (t. I, pp. 175-6) her letters patent, dated March 15, 1688, that is, five years after Mme de Villedieu's death. "Notre illustre Corrine," as Vertron dubbed her, was also honored by membership in the Academy of Arles, the oldest and most important of the French provincial academies, the only one to have right to the title of *royale* and the only one considered as a daughter of the French Academy. In their letters patent to her, dated May 28, 1689,⁵ the Academy of Arles confessed that by making her the first woman academician in France, they were following the example of the Italian academies. Guyonnet de Vertron, historiographer of the king, was well informed on matters pertaining to this body, since he himself had been one of its members since 1680⁶ and had indeed very early been made its *chancelier perpétuel*.⁷ Also we learn that as early as 1681, Vertron was interested in the material which was to make up his *Nouvelle Pandore* seventeen years later. In January of that year he proposed to give a discourse before the Academy of Arles, "où il montrera la supériorité des dames."⁸ When we discover that he himself was a member of the Ricovrati, having been elected in 1688,⁹ his testimony in regard to "feue Mme de Villedieu" seems convincing.

Yet the entry by the Ricovrati secretary is false both as to names and to date, indicating that it was probably made very late; furthermore, one of the other two names on the list is erroneous: Anna Le Ferme (for Febvre) d'Acier. That the records were imperfectly kept we know, as the secretary in 1906 was unable to find any letters patent or letters of acceptance, though Mme Deshoulières's letters patent did exist. If Vertron got his information from this secretary, which he used fifteen years later, it has little weight. As Mme de Villedieu was scarcely known in the literary world by the name of Mme de Châte, I wonder whether the Italian secretary confused her with Mlle Lhéritier, whose complete name is Lhéritier de Villandon, *Villandon* and *Villedieu* offering great resemblances. The

⁵ Reproduced by Vertron, *op. cit.*, I, 176-9.

⁶ See *Mercure galant*, mai 1680, pp. 266-271; also by author of this article, *Information Furnished by the Mercure galant on the French Provincial Academies in the Seventeenth Century* (PMLA, June, 1935, pp. 445-6, 461).

⁷ *Mercure*, avril 1681, pp. 212-221.

⁸ *Mercure*, jan. 1681, pp. 220-230.

⁹ *Mercure*, juillet 1688, p. 244.

noted author of *l'Adroite princesse* was elected to the Ricovrati in 1698.¹⁰ After twice receiving the prize for "bouts-rimés" of the Academy of the Lanternistes in Toulouse, she was elected to their membership also, the only French woman thus honored since Mme Deshoulières at Arles.¹¹ The *Mercure* of August, 1685 (pp. 296-301) announces the election to the Ricovrati of Saint-Aignan, protector of Arles, member of the French Academy, and associated also with the Academies of Soisson and Angers, forming yet another link between Arles and the Ricovrati. His election, three years after Mme de Villedieu's death, is the earliest which has come to my attention.

I have found no other mention of Mme de Villedieu in connection with the Ricovrati. In the February issue of the *Mercure* of 1694 (pp. 188-9), Magnin, of the Academy of Arles, who brightened up many pages of the *Mercure* with his facile poetry, furnished *devises* for the then living French women members of the Ricovrati: Mlle de Scudéry, Mme Dacier, Mme de Saliez (or Saliés) Vigièrre of Albi,¹² Mme Deshoulières. The *Mercure* of June, 1698 (pp. 90-1), announcing Mlle Lhéritier's election, mentioned also "feue l'admirable Madame des Houlières," "l'incomparable Mlle de Scudéry," and "quelques Dames sçavantes du siècle." If the equally "admirable" and "incomparable" Mme de Villedieu had been a member, was she not worthy of mention in the *Mercure's* pages? Unfortunately the complete files of the *Mercure galant* are not available in this country; a perusal month by month with this question in mind, might solve the problem definitely, or at least offer negative evidence. At any rate, it is interesting to note the frequent links between Italian and French people and societies and particularly to remark the interchange between the Ricovrati and the outstanding French provincial academy.

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¹⁰ *Mercure*, juin 1698, p. 91; also, *Journal des sçavans*, déc. 1734, p. 833, and *Dossiers blues*, 394, of the Dépt. des manuscrits, Bibliothèque Nationale, art. *Lhéritier*, no. 3, dated mars 1734. These last 2 put her election in 1697, probably erroneously.

¹¹ *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans*, nov. 1696, pp. 130-1.

¹² We find this poet-novelist also associated with the Academy of Arles, where she competed for a prize (a portrait of Louis XIV) and received second place for her poem. (*Mercure*, sept. 1685, pp. 240-4).

REVIEWS

Hispano-Arabic Poetry and Its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours. By A. R. NYKL. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Co., 1946. Pp. xxvii + 416. \$10.00.

Most Spanish scholars in their ignorance of Arabic can only possess one half of the soul of Spain, the country in which East and West have met, the vital slumber of the East, the restless energy of the West. The author says: "The present book is a brief condensation of my studies, in an attempt to present, for the first time in English, the whole field of the Hispano-Arabic poetry in a comprehensive form, together with an objective discussion of the contacts between the Hispano-Arabic love poetry and that of the first Aquitanian troubadours." The book would not have been possible without the ampler and more careful edition of Arabic texts during recent years and for many of these Dr Nykl is himself responsible. He deplores the fact that in the twentieth century "social and economic struggles of the gasoline era have brought about a good deal of confusion and diletantism, fanciful interpretations and distortions tinged with curious ideologies, empty rhetoric and speculations devoid of sound knowledge."

This book of four hundred closely packed pages is the result of profound learning, and much painful research, but, as is always the case when the author's learning is complete, the way is made clear and easy for the reader, who is led lightly through the maze of historical and literary influences. A sensitive love of poetry adds to the charm, and the numerous translations are the work of a poet. The historical sketch with which the book opens bristles with what to those who do not know Arabic must seem outlandish names (often a single name occupies a whole line or more of print); yet it is crowded with vivid detail and retains a fresh and human interest throughout. Thus we read of "the blonde and blue-eyed but elderly Basque lady" whom Ibn Abī 'Āmir loved, and of 'Abd-ar-Rahmān who "was entirely given to pleasures and preferred wine to prayer." These incidental revelations are the privilege of great learning and remind one of the concrete and familiar touches that enliven the treatises of the mystics.

With a copious accompaniment of poems translated with sympathetic intimacy into rhythmic prose, we have here the biographies of two hundred Arab poets of Spain, some universally celebrated, others less well known or introduced here for the first time: the witty Al-Ġazāl (pages 24-27), brilliant Ibn-Hām (28-30), whose poetry "would deserve an exhaustive study"; Ibn-Ḥazm, "more famous as a philosopher of religion than as poet and statesman"

(73-103); Ibn Zaidūn, "representative of the purest traditional Classical Arab style" (106-121); King Al-Mu'taḍid, who combined pleasure with ambition and "withstood the burning of the candle at both ends until the age of fifty-seven lunar years" (129-133); his son Al-Mu'tamid, the boy governor of Silves, "the most outstanding representative of the Arab-Andalusian poets of the second half of the XIth century," who would rather be a camel-driver in Morocco than a swineherd in Castille (134-154); Ibn 'Ammār, a poet of genius but a perfidious statesman, who met his death at the hands of Al-Mu'tamid when the latter, in a sudden fury, "seized an axe, given to him by Alfonso VI as a present and killed his former friend by repeated blows" (154-163); Ibn Quzmān, "the most conspicuous exponent of the art of composing *zajals* in the spoken Arabic of Al-Andalus" (266-301); Abū Ga'far, "the most original poet of this (the Almohad) period" (317-324); the Granadine Ibn Zamrak (Zemrek, Zomrok or Zumruk), a poet with "a great artistry of words and polished expressions" (366-368).

"Nothing," says Dr Nykl, "can destroy the indelible mark of Hispano-Arabic poetry on the soul of Spain, especially southern Spain, so long as Spain remains herself, proud and not enslaved by her enemies and false friends." The characteristics of this poetry are not easier to analyze than those of any other poetry. Alternately light and profound, "at times subtle like air and at times compact like a rock," it is by turns romantic and satirical, ingenious and commonplace; its themes may be those of war or religion, a comfortable Epicureanism or a fatalistic Stoicism. These poets of Cordoba (with its half a million inhabitants, three thousand mosques, one hundred and thirteen thousand houses, three hundred bath-houses and twenty-eight suburbs), Seville, Granada, Murcia, Badajoz, Valencia, and other Andalusian cities lament the passing swiftness of life or the sorrows and passion of love (but with little of the self-pity to be found in the poets of the Greek Anthology); they show a pride in cities and a love of Nature (excluding its wilder glories), but are not afraid of humble subjects such as a bookbinding or a candle (*sujet de genre*); they can be guilty of the high-flown phrase and the familiar play on words and can combine Oriental, Biblical imagery and the gnomic wisdom of the East.

Scholars will turn with especial interest to the discussion of the elegy of Valencia (pages 303-308) and to the essential chapter VII: "Relations between the Hispano-Arabic poetry and that of the first Aquitanian troubadours." Dr Nykl is a firm believer in the influence of the Muslim poetry on the medieval poetry of the Peninsula. The Mediterranean was itself a connecting link. If on its shores the shy Iberian could mingle with Phoenician and Greek, why should this linking path, as Dr Nykl calls it, not likewise bring together Muslim and Provençal? There was of course a close connection between the Provençal poetry and that of the Galician-Portuguese Cancioneros, in which the very word *saüdade* is derived

from the Arabic *saudāwī* (a different meaning from that of *ḥuzn*, the word for 'sadness'): it has nothing to do with Latin "salus" or "solitudo"; the derivative form must be *soidade*, just as *sotar* came from "saltare" and *oir* from "audire." "The harsh Portevin dialect," writes Dr Nykl, "could hardly have appealed to people whose character pulled them toward the South," but "Undoubtedly there existed forms of popular poetry since the days of the cave-dwellers of Altamira and Aurignac, of which something may still linger in the Basque Provinces." The efforts of the Basque improvisers may be very spirited and interesting but are almost always lacking in any poetical quality and that not from decadence but owing to a natural poetical incapacity of the race. On the other hand in Provence "too much learning replaced the freshness of feeling and the novelty of joyful melodies. Old Provençal poetry gradually died of excessive codification and *trobar clus*." Over-elaboration and esotericism are the bane of highly 'cultured' societies. The influence of Muslim poetry has been denied on the ground that Christians would not understand or imitate the ways of their deadly enemies, but, as Dr Nykl remarks, "no more efficient practice has ever been devised than to combat the enemy with his own weapons and methods." It may be doubted, however, whether the truer reason of influence was not the remarkable toleration which prevailed in the Middle Ages, a toleration unknown to the modern world.

The Greeks were often the common ancestors of the Provençal and Arabic poets, but it was in music that these poetries discovered their kinship. "My experience," says Dr Nykl, "is that, especially in lyric poetry, melody comes invariably first, even in cases when the composition does not begin with putting down notes in the well-known Beethoven fashion." The motion of rowing or threshing or rocking a cradle or leaping to keep off the cold was undoubtedly the origin of the metre of the earliest popular lyrics. Undoubtedly, also, the origin of the fascinating parallelistic lyrics of the Galician-Portuguese medieval song-books was liturgical, the rhythm of them came out to the market-places from the churches, and thus were combined the two indispensable conditions of great literature, the popular and the religious element, soil and soul. It is equally clear, of course, that the parallelistic rhythm was of Biblical and therefore Oriental derivation. Dr Nykl quotes examples of the Galician-Portuguese poetry from the "*Cancioneiro da Ajuda*," which excludes the parallelistic lyrics, but he is willing to accept the common liturgical origin: "I should not be averse from the belief that the first training of the Troubadours was dependent on Church music, hence, as Beck suggests, on the Gregorian chant. But, after all, Christianity is an Oriental, Graeco-Hebrew product and Church music came to Aquitania also from the East."

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The Life and Works of Marie-Catherine Desjardins (Mme de Villedieu) 1632-1683. By BRUCE ARCHER MORRISSETTE. Saint Louis: Washington University Studies, 1947. Pp. xi + 210.

This scholarly study shows its author to be an expert research worker, and, in spite of copious footnotes and the erudite tone, is lively and very readable. The physical aspect of the book, which contains a minimum of typographical errors,¹ is pleasing. While recognizing a heavy debt to H. Carrington Lancaster in the treatment of Mme de Villedieu's three plays, and to Emile Magne, that expert in the "chasse à l'inédit," for rich bibliographical information, Morrisette is the first to attempt to assign a definitive place to Mme de Villedieu in French literary history. Diligent research has enabled him to correct some errors in Magne's *Madame de Villedieu*;² furthermore, his chief emphasis is on her works, while the latter was interested in reconstructing her life. In regard to her life, Morrisette rectifies the date of her death, and raises several questions which he is unable to solve. In some cases, as in the question of her membership in the Italian Academy of the Ricovrati (p. 20), further investigation could be made.³

The importance of Mme de Villedieu in the development of the historical novel is clearly defined, although it may be a dangerous generalization to note (p. 92) that only two precursors (Rosset and the sieur de Grenaille) may be found for the novel or the *nouvelle* based on history or on contemporary events. (See abundant examples in Jean-Pierre Camus, who, as an ecclesiast, justified his writ-

¹ The following have come to my attention: p. 13, n. 50, *Ces commissions sont aisée (aisées)*; p. 20, l. 1, *Real Academia* (for *Reale Accademia*); p. 20, l. 15, *spora* (for *sopra*); p. 38, l. 6, *evot* (*avoit*); p. 58, l. 17, *un (une) seule parole*; p. 75, n. 31, *amitie* (*amitié*); p. 83, n. 3, *Magne . . . p. 415 (414)*; p. 92, l. 18, *autants* (*autant*); p. 92, n. 25, *que (qui) se rencontrent*; p. 123, l. 24, *his* (*her*) *innocence*; p. 126, l. 18, *hospitalite* (*hospitalité*); p. 143, l. 32, *a* (*à*) *son retour*. The *Recueil* mentioned on p. 124, l. 6 is the *Nouveau Recueil de quelques vers*, chez Ribou. There is the minor matter of capitalization: best usage requires small letters for titles of nobility (*duc*, etc.) and capitals for *Le* or *La* as part of a proper name (*abbé de La Porte*, *Mlle de La Roche*, etc.).

² Relying on Loret, *Lettre du 6 octobre 1666*, Morrisette notes an error on the part of Magne regarding the date of death of Saint-Aignan's son, but Magne quotes an equally reliable source, Fr. Colletet, *la Muse coquette*, 1665. As Mme de Villedieu spoke of two sons dead in her *Élégie sur la mort de M. le Comte de Sery*, I presume that Colletet and Loret spoke of two different deaths, the second son having assumed the title of "comte de Sery" after the death of the eldest. Mme de Villedieu spoke of a third son still living, whom they will guide "vers l'immortalité."

³ Confusing testimony seems to be given regarding M. de Villedieu's relations with Marie-Catherine. On p. 7, one reads that "they were separated from time to time before Villedieu's death," and on p. 9 that a "semi-permanent separation took place sometime in 1664," and that Villedieu died in 1667, or shortly thereafter. However, on p. 8, n. 26, is found a reference to Ravaissou, editor of the *Archives de la Bastille*, who gives the year of his death as 1669.

ing of novels because they were actually true stories of real people.) In the discussion of her *Annales galantes*, direct proof of her use of historical sources is given for the first time. A clear résumé of the question of the *aveu* in the *Désordres de l'amour* and in *la Princesse de Clèves* leads to no conclusion, but more important than that question is the demonstration that, far from being a startlingly new production, *la Princesse de Clèves* is in reality the culmination of many tendencies and that it may well owe a "sizable debt" to *les Désordres* (p. 112). What Mme de Villedieu owes to the *précieux* novel is found to be a matter of style and technique rather than of specific borrowings. Traces of realism are found in her best productions, with a trend away from the *précieux* to that psychology of love which was to constitute her most valuable contribution to the novel. (See especially *le Journal amoureux*, *les Annales galantes*, and *les Désordres de l'amour*.) The legend that the *Mémoires de la vie de Henriette-Sylvie de Molière* are autobiographical is successfully exploded. A good summary of her contribution to the *nouvelles de mœurs* is given (p. 138). Morrisette is tireless in comparing and contrasting his author with her contemporaries in the same field, thus "placing" her in her period, but years of concentrated study have not led him to attach undue importance to her as a writer.

As one of the most delicate problems with which one has to deal in the case of secondary XVIIIth century writers is that of authorship, one would wish a more convincing demonstration of the unauthenticity of 6 or 7 works which have frequently been attributed to Mme de Villedieu (cf. pp. 16, 58, 65, 115). For example (p. 126, n. 30) the "contemporary" evidence that Vaumorière was the author of *le Comte de Dunois* (*Journal des sçavans*, 17 déc. 1703) came 32 years after its publication, which is ample time for error. *Astérie, ou Tamerlan* and *le Journal amoureux d'Espagne* are listed by Morrisette as two works (p. 115), but as one by Magne (p. 418).

The second most troublesome question is that of number and dates of editions. While Morrisette corrects certain errors of Magne, he frequently creates new ones or lacks completeness and occasionally misinterprets Magne. As the question is too lengthy to discuss here, one example will suffice. Among the editions of *les Amours des grands hommes* (p. 161) copied from Magne's bibliography, is given a second Barbin edition in Paris, 1671, but Magne really lists an Elzévierien *contrefaçon* "Sur la copie à Paris chez Cl. Barbin, 1671." It would have been useful to list the works of Mme de Villedieu which are available in libraries of this country.

One who has wandered through the maze of Mme de Villedieu's plots, cannot fail to admire the clarity and sprightliness of Morrisette's résumés, which are a valuable part of this work for the casual reader, and one is not surprised if he occasionally makes an error.⁴

⁴ On p. 94, Morrisette thus summarizes Part v, 1, of *les Annales galantes*:

Among very minor matters, one is surprised to find *jadis* and *certain* (p. 33) listed as archaic; Morrisette does not see in the fables either of Mme de Villedieu or of La Fontaine "disguised pieces of social criticism"; n. 4, p. 139, on the letter of Le Pays anticipates the reference on p. 140. Is not the *Jardin des Simples* (p. 135) the *Jardin du Roi* of the XVIIth century, which was originally a garden of medicinal herbs, now the *Jardin des plantes*? A carrousel of the king in 1662 (p. 6) is the famous carrousel immortalized for the populace by the Place du carrousel of the Louvre and for the bibliophile by Charles Perrault's sumptuously illustrated *Courses de testes et de bagues* (1670). Finally it seems idle to compare the use of the word *journal* (p. 84) in the *Journal des sçavans* and in Mme de Villedieu's *Journal amoureux*.

However, these small inadvertencies scarcely detract from this most scholarly contribution to the study of a writer who had a hand in shaping an important, though secondary, literary *genre* of the XVIIth century.

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The Well Wrought Urn. Studies in the Structure of Poetry. By CLEANTH BROOKS. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1947. 270 pages. \$3.50.

This book practices literary criticism in its purest form: it scrutinizes individual works of art and strenuously excludes irrelevancies. It minimizes (naturally, it does not completely rule out) the importance of biography, historical scholarship, morality, and society, in order to concentrate on the finished work of art. To avoid critical relativism, it proceeds to apply certain general principles: that poetry speaks the language of paradox and irony; that since a poem objectifies a complex situation, its most natural form is dramatic; that form and content are basically inseparable and that paraphrase is consequently heretical; that the most fruitful discussion of a poem lies in the close analysis of its structure; and that metaphysically the structure of a good poem is a pattern of resolutions, balances and harmonizations, dramatically or symbolically presented.

Jean Le Beau, emperor of Greece, has married a princess to whom he had made passionate love, and then becomes indifferent to her. The real plot: Emanuel, son of emperor Calot-Jean of Greece, becomes indifferent to his fiancée, the Infanta. When his father courts her, Emanuel's love is rekindled and hers for him revives when the father casts the son in prison and marries her by force. Emanuel kills his father on the throne, thus "donnant le coup funeste à la ruine de ce florissant Empire" (p. 287). Here, as is usual with Mme de Villedieu, a political crisis depends on a love intrigue. The summaries of Part VI, 1 (which according to its author marks the beginning of the divisions in the kingdom of Castille) and of Part VII, 2 are incorrect and incomplete.

These assumptions are clear and sharp. Applied to well-known poems by Donne, Shakespeare, Milton, Herrick, Pope, Gray, Wordsworth, Keats, Tennyson, and Yeats, they prove more than unrooted theories: they work. The analyses accomplish what we hope from all good criticism: they deepen our understanding and increase our delight in that infinitely and delicately complex creation, an individual poem. All lovers of poetry owe a debt to Mr. Brooks and to the whole group of skilful critics since the time of Eliot and Richards for affording the world of literature more light.

Since I am grateful to Mr. Brooks for stating his principles so clearly and sharply, and even more grateful to him for taking them out of the realm of aesthetics and putting them into useful play, there is little left to be done in a short review except to raise one or two questions concerning the principles themselves. Grant them, and the practice is impeccable.

The most serious question springs from Mr. Brooks's answer to his statement: "If the Humanities are to endure, they must . . . [accept] the burden of making normative judgments." Agreed. But what makes these normative judgments acceptable? An academy? A religious or political creed? A scientific approach? None of these satisfies either Mr. Brooks or myself. Yet his solution is to work toward universal judgments based on a metaphysical answer regarding the nature of poetry. "A poem . . . is to be judged . . . by its character as drama—by its coherence, sensitivity, depth, richness, and tough-mindedness." Such a pronouncement may neatén pure literary criticism. I do not think the solution will save the humanities: it is too much occupied with establishing an invariable esthetic pattern. And as for the other half of the sentence, "A poem is to be judged, not by the truth or falsity as such, of the idea which it incorporates"—it seems to me desperate. The humanities will *not* endure if they are limited to the pure and distinctive mode of art. How does Mr. Brooks test, for instance, the "depth" of a poem if not by moral values based on human experience? In establishing norms, then, I would differ from Mr. Brooks in giving greater emphasis to moral truth, to tradition and past cultures (in criticism and taste), and to a poet's life—which most significantly means his other literary productions—as necessary parts of our estimate of a poem, even if it is to be understood *tout pur*.

Is not Mr. Brooks's conception of a poem as a symbolic dramatic structure too limited to pass as a universal judgment that will be fair to *all* poems? (And a judgment does imply justice.) He pleads for a formal Platonic pattern which will allow us "to approach a poem by Donne in the same general terms through which we approach a poem by Keats." This is the persuasive wording of a clever counsel-for-the-defense; for actually what he does, for eight out of his ten poets, is best described in another sentence: "The intervening poems were to be read as one has learned to read Donne and the moderns." Donne and Yeats, therefore, furnish the approach

to Gray and Tennyson. Either the norm is not sufficiently universal; or, quite flatly, the ages which did not respond to Donne were incapable of producing good poetry.

It is at least arguable that sympathy will enable a reader to approach understanding even more closely than a universal rule, no matter how comprehensively it is framed. More power may be given to "Westminster Bridge" by closely reading *The Prelude* than by finding in it some of the dominant traits of Donne's "Canonization." And, at least in the instances of the poems by Wordsworth, Yeats, and Tennyson, a greater depth of meaning would be possible in the poems themselves if Mr. Brooks had allowed himself to consider the individuals who wrote the poems.

Mr. Brooks's method, in less skilful hands, always runs the risk of making the game of analysis the final reward.¹ This is not a criticism of this book, however, since Mr. Brooks through I. A. Richards understands Coleridgean "organic form"; it is a rueful prediction that followers of Mr. Brooks may take the joy of poetry away from the people in favor of chess games played by ingenious specialists who delight in multiplying distinctions and answering, or inventing, the Sphinx's riddles.

To use Yeats's great metaphors in his poem "Among School Children" which Mr. Brooks analyzes so successfully, the "great-rooted chestnut tree" of poetry is neither its root, its blossom, nor its bole. Yet the consideration of a poem as self-contained is an attempt to consider a separate blossom. If we are truly to appreciate any one flower, we must be conscious of the tree and the ground it grows in. "How can we know the dancer from the dance?" Mr. Brooks would have us forget the dancer.

The convincing demolition of "The Heresy of Paraphrase" should demolish also *any* heresy of abstraction. If it does, then form cannot be considered separately any more successfully than content, not even if the form is held to be the universal metaphysical mode of poetry. Mr. Brooks's insistence upon complexity, which depends upon his conception of poetry as drama, with its corollary emphases upon irony, paradox, and ambiguity, sometimes leads him to neglect intensity—that intensity which, we used to be told, allows a noble nature to treat with simplicity or with severity a serious subject.

¹ To take a minute example of the way in which the analytical method, disregarding history, may go wrong. In the book Mr. Brooks dissects a sentence I wrote some time ago concerning one of his papers: "Mr. Brooks is determined to find all things original, spare, and strange in any set of verses before he will accord them the name of poetry." He analyzes each of the three adjectives as if this sentence, like his ideal poem, existed in itself. Yet the impression which the sentence was intended to convey was at once more allusive and more unified than such analysis. It depended for its full meaning on something outside itself—the "original, spare, strange" of Gerard Manley Hopkins' "Pied Beauty." But perhaps Mr. Brooks will accuse me here of falling into the intentional heresy.

Mr. Brooks makes all his readers conscious of irony in everything. Perhaps the most delighting irony in this book is that the case for irony in poetry is argued with such an unironical seriousness and certainty and singleness of purpose.

A tessellation of important sentences from this book—matters well expressed and never said too often—would fill a whole review. I limit myself to four short quotations: "The unifying principle of the organization which is the poem is an attitude or complex of attitudes. . . . The poem . . . is a simulacrum of reality . . . by *being* an experience rather than any mere statement about experience or any mere abstraction from experience. . . . The dimension in which the poem moves is not one which excludes ideas, but one which does include attitudes. . . . A poem does not *state* ideas but rather *tests* ideas."

In sum, Mr. Brooks's method shows what criticism at its best may do to fortify art. Applied to poets and poems whose underlying assumptions accord with Mr. Brooks's, it is wholly excellent. But there remain other forms of poetry than those that exploit the intellectually complex, dramatic, and ironic. To supplement this admirable critical study, someone should write us that much needed book on the neglected field of the lyric.

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Jonathan Swift in Texas: An exhibition of printed books at the University of Texas, October 19—December 31, 1945. Described by AUTREY NELL WILEY. Pp. 48. [no date—no place.]

The bicentenary of Swift's death, 19th October 1945, has been the occasion of the organization of some exhibitions, of which that at Texas University stands out as one of the best and most important, not only because it has revealed to some extent the hitherto-little-known presence there of some very rich Swift material, but also because it has given rise to the description of its exhibits by Professor A. N. Wiley, whose clever treatise *Jonathan Swift, 1667-1745*, written in a pleasantly readable style, may be enjoyed with the greatest interest and pleasure.

After an introduction in which we are told that the treasures were on view in ten large cases in the exhibit room of the Rare Book Collections, and that the material principally came from the Wrenn, Aitken, and Stark collections, and Professor R. H. Griffith's private library, we are in eight chapters presented with a faithful narrative of what the ten cases contained. All Swift's great masterpieces were there, besides a host of his smaller pamphlets, among

them several rare ones. The great merit of Professor Wiley's work is that she has not given us a catalogue in the ordinary sense of the word, nor even what the French call a "catalogue raisonné," but a connected story, covering the whole field of Swift's literary activities, ranging from his first appearance in print, in *The Supplement To the Fifth Volume Of The Athenian Gazette*, 1691, to the notice of his death, in the *Dublin Courant* of 19th Oct. 1745, containing his *Verses on the Death* by way of elegy. Another advantage is that "Swiftiana," answers to his own effusions, either by friends or enemies, are also recorded, whenever the occasion presents itself. No catalogue, in whatever shape, could have made us better acquainted with the first editions of the best works of Swift's fruitful pen, and visitors to the exhibition must have found it a clear and safe guide. Aside from a few insignificant misprints, the work is singularly free from errors.

I may be excused for selecting some items of special importance in connection with my own work for the preparation of a second edition of my *Bibliography of Swift*. There is in the first place, on page 6, a hint at the existence of two editions of *A Discourse Of The Contests and Dissensions In Athens and Rome*, 1701, which important discovery is now in course of being examined; further news about it may be expected in the near future. Pages 20, 21 and 30 reveal the presence in the Wrenn and Aitken collections of the rare Dublin reprint of *The Virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod*, 1710, of the scarce first edition of *A Letter of Thanks From My Lord W——n*, 1712, and of a copy of the second edition of *A Modest Proposal For preventing the Children, &c.*, 1730. Pages 30-32 give a comprehensive summary of the various editions of *Cadenus and Vanessa*, 1726, whose sequence remains a question awaiting solution. Pages 36-7 record a unique copy of *A Proposal For An Act of Parliament To Pay Off the Debt Of The Nation*, 1732, to be found in the Aitken collection. Page 42 mentions a copy of *A Libel On Dr. D——ny*, 1730, with not three, but only two titles on the title page. I now have record of three such copies: the Wrenn Collection, the Library of Congress, and Chapin Library. Pages 47-8 speak of two more annotated copies of the *Verses On The Death of Dr. S——*, 1739, both in the Aitken collection.

If I am not mistaken, this is Professor Wiley's first appearance in the field of Swiftian scholarship, and it is to be hoped she may not leave it after this first attempt. At any rate she may be called heartily welcome and congratulated on her success.

BRIEF MENTION

The Augustan Reprint Society. Series One: Essays on Wit. No. 1. SIR RICHARD BLACKMORE's *Essay upon Wit* (1716) and JOSEPH ADDISON's *Freeholder*, No. 45 (1716) With an Introduction by RICHARD C. BOYS. (Ann Arbor, 1946); No. 2. *Essay on Wit* (1748), RICHARD FLECKNOE's *Of one that Zany's the Good Companion* and *Of a bold abusive Wit* (2d. ed., 1665), JOSEPH WARTON, *The Adventurer*, Nos. 127 and 133 (1754), *Of Wit* (*Weekly Register*, 1732) With an Introduction to the Series on Wit by EDWARD N. HOOKER (Ann Arbor, 1946). Series Two: Essays on Poetry and Language. No. 1. SAMUEL COBB's *Discourse on Criticism and of Poetry from Poems on Several Occasions* (1707) With an Introduction by LOUIS I. BREDVOLD (Ann Arbor, 1946). Series Three: Essays on the Stage. No. 1. *A Letter to A. H. Esq; Concerning the Stage* (1698) and *The Occasional Paper*: No. IX (1698) With an Introduction by H. T. SWEDENBERG, JR. (Ann Arbor, 1946).

It is a great service to have fugitive and rare items like those listed above as the first output of this welcome "Society" made available in highly convenient and inexpensive form. (Each pamphlet sells for seventy-five cents or less.) It is much to be desired that these reproductions in facsimile meet with such a demand as they deserve and such as will enable the editors to go forward rapidly. In workmanship these products of the offset process are excellent. The introductions are both illuminating and learned—though in one case the typescript contains obvious errors that should have been corrected. To this reviewer the multiplication of hardly categorical "series" seems a survival of Teutonic pedantry. Since in the long run the facsimiles must stand or fall as individual items, the separate "series" serve no valuable purpose. On the other hand, the facsimiles do serve an admirable purpose, and it is to be hoped they continue in the admirable fashion in which they have begun.

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CORRESPONDENCE

BERNARD THE MONK: NOTA AMPLIFICATA. With Professor Hamilton's welcome "postscript"¹ to my note on Bernard the monk I find myself, naturally, in general agreement. But my footnote² on the Latin gloss which appears in some manuscripts of Chaucer's *LGW* (*Bernardus monachus non uidit omnia*) does not oppose "the opinion expressed by Skeat and by Robinson that Chaucer was merely repeating a proverb"; rather, after summarizing the opinions of recent scholars, the note merely questions the priority and the dissemination of the "proverb" and asserts: "Tatlock is undoubtedly right (*MLN* XLVI, 21) in labeling the gloss 'an adage of small currency'." Until someone finds evidence that the Latin dictum existed before Chaucer wrote *LGW* 16, Tatlock's statement will have to stand. As far as I am aware, the saying is found no earlier than the late glosses on *LGW*; its occurrences in the *Lexicon Universale* (1677) or Francis Thynne (as early as 1578) or Cowper's letter of 1792 are unfortunately too late to prove anything. Thynne's references to it may reflect little more than his familiarity with the Chaucer manuscripts. Hence my suspicion that the saying may have been of English rather than Continental origin and circulation. It would not be surprising, however, to come upon it in some Latin text antedating Chaucer. Even then, a single citation would still warrant Tatlock's assumption that it was "an adage of small currency."

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¹ *MLN* 62 (March, 1947), 190 f.

² *MLN* 60 (Jan., 1946), 44, n. 29.

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THE FREUDIAN READING OF *THE TURN* OF *THE SCREW*

The Freudian reading of Henry James' *The Turn of the Screw*, which has had some currency in recent decades, does violence not only to the story but also to the Preface, which, like the story, demands scrupulous attention. The Freudian reading was first given public expression by Edna Kenton in 1924; her view is that the ghosts and the attendant horrors are imagined by the neurotic governess, "trying to harmonize her own disharmonies by creating discords outside herself."¹ Miss Kenton, however, adduces almost no evidence to sustain her interpretation, but simply enjoys a gracefully gleeful revel in the conviction that James, by permitting the ghosts to seem real, has utterly fooled all the other readers of the story. She is sure that this is so because of James's prefatory remark upon his intention "to catch those not easily caught";² but all James is doing in the passage quoted from is relishing—and deservedly, we may say—the success, with adult audiences, of what he modestly calls a "fairy-tale pure and simple";³ he is talking about nothing more—as if this is not enough—than his having evoked the willing suspension of disbelief in those who by situation and experience might be supposed to be more than ordinarily skeptical. His tone is simply not that of one who has proudly hoaxed the credulous; it is that of one meditating upon an aesthetic problem. He points out, shrewdly, that the way to create

¹ "Henry James to the Ruminant Reader, *The Arts*, vi (1924), 254.

² *Loc. cit.*, pp. 248, 251. The passage Miss Kenton quotes appears in *The Novels and Tales of Henry James*, New York Edition (1922), xii, xviii. Subsequent references to preface and story are to this volume.

³ P. xvi.

belief in "portentous evil" is to present an undefined evil to the reader's imagination.⁴ Miss Kenton, most oddly, considers this choice of method a validation of her own definition of the evil.⁵ The dispassionate judge must conclude: *non sequitur*.

A decade or so later Edmund Wilson sets out to provide what we might call the scholarly foundation for the airy castle of Miss Kenton's intuitions: in an essay entitled "The Ambiguity of Henry James" he sets forth an astonishingly *unambiguous* exegesis of *The Turn of the Screw*.⁶ Wilson also misreads the preface—most conspicuously in the explanation, essential to his own case, that James, when he says he has given the governess "authority," means "the relentless English 'authority' which enables her to put over on inferiors even purposes which are totally deluded. . . ." ⁷ It must be said unequivocally: James *means nothing of the kind*. In the context ⁸ he is talking merely about technical problems of composition, and what he is saying is, to use the trite terms of the rhetoric book, that he is telling the story entirely from the governess's point of view. What is involved, too, is his general theory that the raw materials of the ghost story, to be effective, must be presented through a recording and interpreting consciousness; prodigies "keep all their character, . . . by looming through some other history—the indispensable history of somebody's *normal* [the italics are James's] relation to something." ⁹ Once again, then, the word *authority* has brought about, in an unwary liberal, an emotional spasm which has resulted in a kind of hysterical blindness. James explains his inability to characterize the governess fully: it was enough of an aesthetic task to present the "young woman's keeping crystalline her record of so many intense anomalies and obscurities—by which I don't of course mean her explanation of them, a different matter; . . ." ¹⁰ In the last clause James is merely, as a part of the statement of the technical problem, distinguishing two phases of the material presented through the governess—the phenomena she had observed, and her commentary

⁴ Pp. xx-xxii.

⁵ Pp. 254-55.

⁶ *The Triple Thinkers* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), pp. 122 ff.

⁷ P. 131.

⁸ Pp. xviii-xix.

⁹ The issue is discussed at length in the preface to *The Altar of the Dead, Novels and Tales*, ed. cit., xvii, xvii ff. The sentence quoted is on p. xix.

¹⁰ P. xix.

upon them. Yet Wilson supposes that James is here giving it away that the governess has hallucinations!¹¹ Wilson then continues with a general conclusion about the story that runs counter to a major statement of the preface—a statement which Wilson simply ignores. He insists that the story is “primarily intended as a characterization of the governess: . . .”¹² James says flatly, “. . . I saw no way, . . . to exhibit her in relations other than those; one of which, precisely, would have been her relation to her own nature.”¹³ Besides, James makes this statement even more unequivocally in a letter to H. G. Wells in 1898:

Of course I had, about my young woman, to take a very sharp line. The grotesque business I had to make her picture and the childish psychology I had to make her trace and present, were for me at least, a very difficult job, in which absolute lucidity and logic, a singleness of effect, were imperative. Therefore I had to rule out subjective complications of her own—play of tone etc.; and keep her impersonal save for the most obvious and indispensable little note of neatness, firmness and courage—without which she wouldn’t have had her data.¹⁴

Here James not only explicitly states that the governess is not his subject but also gives his word for it that the phenomena to which she plays the part of recording consciousness are objective.

Wilson says he knew an actual case of a governess who frightened parents and children because of her psychological difficulties.¹⁵ But James writes, in both Preface and letter, of a story he heard about the ghosts of “bad” servants which appeared in an effort to “get hold of” young children.¹⁶ We must decide whether James is writing about what he heard about or what Wilson heard about. Indeed, the sly Freudian readers of the Preface—who ignore the letters entirely—seem to miss its whole tone and import: James speaks continually of the ghosts as if they are objective manifestations, and there is no sign whatever of a knowing wink to the rationalists.¹⁷ He is concerned almost entirely with defining his

¹¹ P. 130.

¹² P. 131.

¹³ P. xix.

¹⁴ Percy Lubbock, ed., *The Letters of Henry James* (New York: Scribner, 1920), I, 299.

¹⁵ P. 131.

¹⁶ P. xv. In 1898 he wrote Arthur C. Benson an account of the original telling of the story to him by Arthur’s father, Archbishop Benson (*Letters*, I, 278-280).

¹⁷ What happens in the story is exactly described by Graham Greene’s

technical problems and with observing, almost gaily, how satisfactorily they have been met.

The Freudians misread the internal evidence almost as valiantly as they do the external. In the story, of course, there are passages that it is possible to read ambivalently; but the determining unambiguous passages from which the critic might work are so plentiful that it seems hardly good critical strategy to use the ambiguous ones as points of departure, to treat them as if they were unambiguous, and to roughride over the inmitigable difficulties that then arise. We cannot examine all the passages to which Wilson does violence, but a consideration of several of them will show how wobbly his case is.

Wilson supposes the governess to be seeing ghosts because she is in a psychopathic state originating in a repressed passion for the master.¹⁸ In view of the terrible outcome of the story, we should at best have to suspect the fallacy of insufficient cause. But the cause does not exist at all: the governess's feelings for the master are never repressed: they are wholly in the open and are joyously talked about: even in the opening section¹⁹ which precedes Chapter 1, we are told that she is in love with him. There is no faint trace of the initial situation necessary to produce the distortion of personality upon which Wilson's analysis depends. But Wilson does compel us to consider one point: why does James emphasize the governess's fascinated devotion to the master? For an important technical reason: it is the only way of motivating—although it is probably not quite successful—the governess's stubborn refusal to take the logical step of over-riding the master's irresponsible wish not to be bothered and of calling him in.²⁰ The master's presence

shrewd general remark on James: "James believed in the supernatural, but he saw evil as an equal force with good," in *The English Novelists: A Survey of the Novel by Twenty Contemporary Novelists*, ed. Derek Verschoyle (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1936), p. 245.

¹⁸ P. 122.

¹⁹ Pp. 150 ff. Cf. also the outright admission of Chapter 1 (p. 162); and the clear implications of the phrase "in the right quarter" (p. 199) and of the governess's self-analysis at the end of Chapter 12 (pp. 239-240). She can even be laughingly, not tensely, ironic about the uncle's inattentiveness to her (p. 287).

²⁰ See Chapters 12 and 13. James's honesty with his reader appears in his presenting so fully the governess's unwillingness to call the uncle. In order to strengthen our impression of the uncle's power to fascinate, James

would change the situation and the focus and thus the whole story which James had planned. His absence is a datum: James wrote to Dr. Louis Waldstein in 1898, "But ah, the exposure indeed, the helpless plasticity of childhood that isn't dear or sacred to *somebody*. That *was* my little tragedy— . . ." ²¹ It is possible to argue that James's strategy is faulty; indeed, that he himself sensed the weakness of the governess's not calling the master is suggested by the retrospective irony with which he makes her comment upon her rash assumption of adequacy to the situation.²² But a technical procedure should not be mistaken for a psychopathological clue.

When the governess describes the ghost to Mrs. Grose, Mrs. Grose identifies it with Quint, the dead valet, whom the governess had never so much as heard of; and Mrs. Grose gives him—and later Miss Jessel—a character which is entirely consistent with what the governess has already inferred about the moral quality and intentions of the ghost.²³ There can be no firmer dramatic evidence of the objectivity of the apparition, and Wilson acknowledges the difficulty: but in order to sustain his contention that the hallucination grows out of the repressed passion for the uncle, he advances the incredible hypothesis that the governess has got master and man

even suggests that Mrs. Grose has felt that power: *she* too had not informed him of former goings-on at Bly (p. 261). Compare a further comment of hers (p. 162).

²¹ *Letters*, I, 297.

²² There is a consistent ironic undertone. It is unmistakable in such phrases as "I was wonderful" (p. 172), "I brought the thing out handsomely" (p. 277), "—oh I was grand!—" (p. 297), and "But I was infatuated—I was blind with victory, . . ." (p. 306). Compare also the open acknowledgments in Chapter 16 (pp. 260-261). The story might have been developed as the tragedy of the teacher-protector, whose flaw is excessive confidence in his own abilities. The tragic quality of the governess, as well as several other points which I have made, is also suggested in *The New Invitation to Learning*, ed. Mark Van Doren (New York: New Home Library, 1944), pp. 223-35. Although the participants in the discussion—Katherine Anne Porter, Allen Tate, and Mark Van Doren—condemn the Freudian interpretation, they still believe that the evil is working *through* the governess. This seems to me to come uncomfortably close to the Freudian version.

²³ Chapters 5, 6, and 7. The breakdown of the Wilson theory at this point has already been discussed by A. J. A. Waldo, "Mr. Edmund Wilson and 'The Turn of the Screw,'" *MLN*, 331-334 (May, 1947).

confused—which is inconsistent with her obviously having a sharp eye for distinctions—and that Quint and the uncle may look alike.²⁴ Even at his most unsubtle, James would hardly be found thus trafficking in coincidence. But if he were, it can hardly be supposed that Mrs. Grose, who in such matters is very observant, would not at some time comment upon the strange resemblance of master and man.

Like Miss Kenton, Wilson infers the unreality of the ghosts from the fact that *only* the governess acknowledges seeing them; he does not stop to consider that this fact may be wholly explicable in aesthetic terms. Of course Mrs. Grose does not see the ghosts: she is the good but slow-witted woman who sees only the obvious in life—for instance, the sexual irregularity of Quint and Miss Jessel—but does not unassisted detect the subtler manifestations of evil. She is the plain domestic type who is the foil for the sensitive, acute governess—Cassandra-like in the insight which outspeeds the perceptions of those about her—whose ideal function is to penetrate and shape the soul. James's fondness for allegorical names is commonplace knowledge: Mrs. Grose is not called Mrs. *Grose* for nothing²⁵ (just as the governess is not the governess for nothing: the narrator exhibits the ideal function of the tutorial type). But as, little by little, the tangible evidence, such as that of Flora's language, corroborates the racing intuitions of the governess, Mrs. Grose comes to grasp the main points of the issue as it is seen totally by the governess and to share her understanding of the moral atmosphere. The acceptance by Mrs. Grose is unimpeachable substantiation. We ought to observe here, also, how carefully the governess records all the initial doubts felt by Mrs. Grose in each new crisis—doubts which at times shake her belief in her own mental soundness.²⁶ This is one of James's ways of establishing the reliability of the governess.

As for the children's appearing not to see the apparitions: this is one of the author's finest artistic strokes. James says that he wants to evoke a sense of evil: one of his basic ways of doing it is the suggestion, by means of the symbolic refusal to acknowledge

²⁴ Pp. 125-26.

²⁵ "But she was a magnificent monument to the blessing of a want of imagination, . . ." (p. 230).

²⁶ Note pp. 168-69, 204, 230-231, 278 (" . . . so I was neither cruel nor mad"), 280-81, 290-91.

the ghosts, of a sinisterly mature concealment of evil. But almost as if to guard against the mistaking of the denial of the ghosts for the non-existence of the ghosts, James takes care to buttress our sense of the reality of evil from another direction: he gives us the objective fact of the dismissal of Miles from school—a dismissal which is unexplained and which is absolutely final.²⁷ This dismissal Wilson, in plain defiance of the text, must attempt to put aside as of no consequence; of such a situation he says, indeed frivolously, that the governess “colors [it], on no evidence at all, with a significance somehow sinister.”²⁸ James invests the letter from the school with further significance by the fact that, despite her real shock, which is elaborated later, Mrs. Grose finds a private meaning in the dismissal—“She gave me a look that I remarked at the moment; then, visibly, with a quick blankness, seemed to try to take it back”;²⁹ so, unless we are to repudiate the governess’s testimony entirely, the letter gains dramatic value through what it intimates to Mrs. Grose. Further, Wilson cannot deal with the fact that at the end of the final scene Miles, without hearing them spoken by anyone else, speaks the names of Miss Jessel and Quint and indicates his belief that they may be present. Again in plain defiance of the text Wilson says that Miles has managed to see Flora before her departure and thus to find out what the governess is thinking about.³⁰ Wilson says they met; James clearly indicates that they did not. But even if they had met, their meeting would not help Wilson especially. From Flora Miles might have learned the name “Miss Jessel”; but his spontaneous bursting forth with “Peter Quint” would still have to be explained.

Wilson admits that one point is inexplicable: the “gust of frozen air” felt by the governess when, at Miles’s bedside, her effort to break down his moral resistance to her is interrupted by his shriek, a shaking of the room, and sudden darkness.³¹ Despite her feeling a strong blast, no window is open. Wilson takes literally Miles’s statement that he turned out the light and suggests that the motive is shame at having to tell about his disgrace at school. But, for one thing, Miles *does not tell* about his disgrace, and, more important, his turning out the light of his own accord is absolutely

²⁷ Pp. 165-66.

²⁹ P. 165.

²⁸ P. 123.

³⁰ P. 129.

³¹ Pp. 127-28. The scene discussed is at the end of Chapter 17.

incompatible with the theory that the governess is unbalanced. If she is unbalanced we must assume, at this stage of the story, that the children sense her disorder and are humoring her and treating her very carefully, not engaging in violent pranks that might be expected to be dangerously aggravating.

There are still other parts of the story that, on the Freudian hypothesis, are wholly inexplicable. First, as we have seen, is the fact that Mrs. Grose always comes into agreement with the governess—an agreement that is especially forceful because it usually follows upon doubt and hesitation.³² Further—and this is a very large point—the Freudian hypothesis fails completely to deal with the conduct of the children. In the first place, their night-time escapades³³ are, for an eight- and a ten-year-old, virtually beyond the bounds of physical possibility. Wilson says blandly that the children “are able to give plausible explanations of their behavior”;³⁴ but the fact is that children of that age simply are not wide awake, imaginatively alert, and capable of strategic maneuvering in the middle of the night. The fact that they are earnestly and imperturbably plotting in the middle of the night, and that they are sophisticatedly evasive in their gay response to questioning, is one of James’s subtlest ways of suggesting moral disorder. What Wilson takes to be their “plausibility” is an index of their corruption. Second, the children’s daytime conduct makes sense only in the light of the ostensible meaning of the story—the entertainment of the governess by one of them while the other escapes, Flora’s difficult solitary trip on the final Sunday afternoon, her crossing the pond in a boat and hiding the boat apparently unaided (“All alone—that child?” exclaims Mrs. Grose),³⁵ her majestically non-committal manner when she is found strangely alone at a considerable distance from the house.³⁶ Wilson simply ignores all these matters—ignores them as facts, and of course as the brilliant

³² The corroborative value of Mrs. Grose’s information on the past and of her establishing of connections between past and present cannot be questioned at all in terms of the theory of ambiguity. To dispose of her evidence, the psychological critic must impugn the veracity of the governess from beginning to end. But such a method would completely dissolve the story by leaving us no dependable facts for investigation. Moreover, it would ignore the sense in which James gives the governess “authority.”

³³ Chapter 10.

³⁵ P. 275.

³⁴ P. 126.

³⁶ Chapters 18, 19, and 20.

dramatic symbols they are of something unchildlike and inexplicably wrong. Third, there is the vulgarity of Flora's language after the governess has openly asked her about Miss Jessel—important evidence which can be intended only to show a temporarily concealed deterioration of character coming at last to the surface. Notably, too, it is Mrs. Grose who tells about this language and who, what is more, initiates the subject: "horrors," she calls what she has heard, showing no sign of suggestive pressure from the governess.³⁷ Further, the whole manner of the children is incompatible with their being terrified and perverted by the "authority" of the governess. What is inescapable in them, despite the admirable subtlety with which all this is conveyed, is precisely their freedom, their skill in spending their time as they wish without open challenges, their marvelously disciplined catering to the governess—or appearing to do so—while doing exactly what they please. After Flora's departure what the governess especially feels is the slenderness of her personal, and the disappearance of her official, hold upon the boy.³⁸ At no time do the children show any sign of unwillingness, compulsion, or fright—except in the final scene, in which Miles's fright, it seems logical to suppose, proceeds from the causes which the story says it does. In fact, James emphasizes strongly the falseness of Flora's apparent fear of the governess at the end by giving her a "grand manner about it" and having her ask "every three minutes" whether the governess is coming in and express a desire "never again to so much as look at you."³⁹ These are signs of artifice, not fright; they indicate self-conscious acting, righteous indignation strategically adopted, the truculence of the guilty person who still seeks loopholes.

Such evidence suggests that a great deal of unnecessary mystery has been made of the apparent ambiguity of the story. Actually, most of it is a by-product of James's method: his indirection; his refusal, in his fear of anti-climax, to define the evil; his rigid adherence to point of view; his refusal—amused, perhaps?—to break that point of view for a reassuring comment on those uncomfortable characters, the apparitions. This theory seems to come very close to James's own view of the ambiguity, upon which, it con-

³⁷ P. 289.

³⁸ See especially paragraph two of Chapter 22 (pp. 294-95).

³⁹ Pp. 286-87.

veniently happens, he commented in the year of the story's appearance.⁴⁰ The disturbing ghosts, of course, are to be taken as symbolic,⁴¹ a fact which the modern critic might easily grasp if he did not have to wrestle with another problem peculiarly uncongenial to modernity—the drama of salvation. The retreat into abnormal psychology is virtually predictable.

There is a final irony, however: if he does not break the chosen point of view, James at least does not adopt it until his main story is under way. At the start, then, we see behind the curtain and find important objective evidence for use in interpreting the governess's narrative. Now Miss Kenton, with considerable amusement at less observant readers, has discovered what she calls "the submerged and disregarded foreword,"⁴² and what she has got from it is that the governess is in love with the master. Hence her whole interpretation. But had Miss Kenton herself read the foreword more observantly, she would have found the evidence that makes her interpretation untenable. For this initial section tells us what the governess was like some years later.

The governess, Wilson assures us,⁴³ "has literally frightened him [Miles] to death": the neurotic approaches criminal insanity. For such an individual, only the gravest kind of prognosis could be made. We might expect progressive deterioration, perhaps pathetic, perhaps horrible. We might barely conceive of a "cure," but we could hardly expect that it would obliterate all traces of the earlier disastrous tensions. What, then, does happen to the governess who at twenty is supposedly in so terrible a neurotic state? The prologue tells us explicitly: at the age of thirty or so she is still a spinster, still a governess, and therefore still heir, we may assume,

⁴⁰ To F. W. H. Myers, one of the founders of the Society for Psychical Research, James writes that he cannot give "any coherent account of my small inventions 'after the fact.' . . . The one thing and another that are questionable and ambiguous in them I mostly take to be conditions of their having got themselves pushed through at all" (*Letters*, I, 300).

⁴¹ In *The Supernatural in the Writings of Henry James* (Unpublished Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1939), Benjamin Carroll acutely discusses the use of the symbolic ghost as a general practice of James, and the kind of "authority" which James gives to his narrators—the authority of the observing and recording consciousness which is central in his method.

⁴² P. 251.

⁴³ P. 130.

in the words of Philip Rahv, a "fallacy of rationalism";⁴⁷ for the story has a very serious point indeed. *The Turn*, F. O. Matthiessen says, illustrates James's "extraordinary command of his own kind of darkness, . . . the darkness of moral evil."⁴⁸ The darkness is not obvious: Miss Kenton has fittingly laughed some of the simpler didacticisms out of court. How it is to be defined is another problem, at least part of the answer to which may be found in James's extraordinarily suggestive use of language.

In a subsequent *obiter dictum* on *The Turn of the Screw* Wilson seems to hedge somewhat and to modify the rigor of his earlier pronouncement.⁴⁹ Thus he suggests the flexibility which makes him, at his best, a very good critic. But his capacity for doctrinaire inflexibility deserves a word because it tells us something about the intellectual climate in which he works. In that climate there is so strong a suspicion of the kind of elements that are central in *The Turn of the Screw*—salvation, the supernatural, evil as an absolute—that the critic ripened in the climate runs into a mental block: he is compelled to find a "scientific" way around these irrationalities; and in doing so he is likely to lose sight of the proper imaginative values. We run again into the familiar clash between scientific and imaginative truth. This is not to say that scientific truth may not collaborate with, subserve, and even throw light upon imaginative truth; but it is to say that the scientific prepossession may seriously impede the imaginative insight. Wilson, for instance, is downright embarrassing in his occasional paeans, in *The New Yorker*, to books about animals, which, he goes out of his way to tell us, with James Harvey Robinson assurance, will really throw light upon the human, i. e., the spiritual, situation. Even in Wilson's formal critical essays the psychologist is likely to defeat the aesthetician. In "Dickens: The Two Scrooges" Wilson's literary judgments tend to tag along behind the operations

⁴⁷ *The Great Short Novels of Henry James* (New York: Dial, 1944), p. 624. Mr. Rahv also makes the excellent point that the Freudian interpretation is so commonplace as to make the story less than interesting, that it "reduces the intention to a minimum."

⁴⁸ *Henry James: The Major Phase* (New York: Oxford, 1944), p. 94. For a series of similar comments see the already quoted essay by Graham Greene in *The English Novelists*, pp. 231-46 *passim*.

⁴⁹ *The New Yorker*, May 27, 1944, p. 69.

(and these are often shrewd enough) of the psychoanalyst.⁵⁰ But some watchful spirit—the opponent, we may assume, of Quint and Miss Jessel—saw to it that Wilson, in sending into the world the volume containing the Dickens essay, took its title from, and gave its final pages to, his essay on the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles. Of Sophocles we know so little that there is no opening for the psychologist; Wilson sticks to the drama itself; and his explication of it is masterly.⁵¹

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THE FIFTH GOSPEL

(As projected in the novel, *The Legend of Thomas Didymus*, by James Freeman Clarke).

In 1881, Dr. James Freeman Clarke, prominent New England minister, lecturer and author, published his novel, *The Legend of Thomas Didymus, The Jewish Sceptic*. This is written as a biographical account by the Apostle Thomas who describes the conditions in the Holy Land during the early part of the first century; the character and activities of Christ; and his own life and development. In this last respect the novel differs most from the Gospels of the other disciples, for it is Thomas, rather than Jesus, who is the principal figure.

Clarke's main sources are readily apparent. The original inspiration for his work was probably DeWette's novel, *Theodore, or the Sceptic's Conversion*, which Clarke had translated, in 1841, for George Ripley's *Specimens of Foreign Literature*.¹ Both *Thomas Didymus* and *Theodore* are "Entwickelungsromane." They treat the moral and spiritual development of a young man who was raised

⁵⁰ *The Wound and the Bow: Seven Studies in Literature* (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin, 1941), pp. 1-104. The same psychological materials, while given due emphasis, are somewhat more firmly disciplined in Dame Una Pope-Hennessy's *Charles Dickens* (New York: Howell, Soskin, 1946).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 272 ff.

¹ The translation of *Theodore* was begun in 1836 and the first part of the novel appeared serially in *The Western Messenger* from 1836 to 1839. The completed translation became the tenth and eleventh volumes of the Ripley series.

in a conservative, religious atmosphere but loses the faith of his parents when his intellectual horizon is broadened by travel and study. Through further development, however, complicated and hastened by a serious love affair, he loses his doubts and uncertainties and achieves a sound religious philosophy. Both novels present a detailed description of the social and religious background of the milieu in which the action transpires.

In his treatment of Christ, Clarke was greatly influenced by Karl Hase's *Leben Jesu*, which he also translated and published in 1860.² In his book, Hase strove to present an open-minded rational view of Jesus and, although his narrative is sympathetic, the scientific, analytical attitude is always present. "Reverence for the character of Jesus," wrote Clarke concerning *Leben Jesu*, "is combined with a cool sifting of all of the Gospel statements concerning him."³ Through the eyes of his Jewish sceptic, Clarke sketches Christ essentially as Hase does, and in the same unprejudiced manner. In respect to the New Testament accounts there were in America two groups, representing two extremes; those who accepted the Gospel stories literally; and those who, unable to accept all of the miraculous events narrated by the disciples, refused to believe in any of them. Philosophically Clarke believed in miracles, but, as a critic, he examined each one separately, admitting most of them as genuine supernatural phenomena, but rejecting some because of insufficient evidence. This, too, was the attitude of Hase.

The chief interest of *Thomas Didymus*, however, is not intrinsic, but due rather to the circumstances under which it was to have been published. The discovery five years ago of the original preface revealed the fact that Clarke had originally intended to publish the work anonymously as a translation through the German of a recently unearthed Syriac manuscript, with the suggestion that this was perhaps an authentic Gospel written by the disciple, Thomas. Such a publication would undoubtedly have created a sensation throughout America and, since the deceptive idea was very cleverly presented in the preface and well-executed in the story itself, probably would have found wide-spread credence, at least temporarily.

² Karl Hase, *The Life of Jesus*. Translated from the German by James Freeman Clarke (Boston: Wather, Wise, 1860).

³ *Ibid.*, Preface.

Tracing the work to Clarke only would have made it seem the more authentic, since he was known as a translator and had never previously written a novel. In addition, Clarke was so highly respected that there would have been little or no suspicion of his integrity in the matter until the story had been completely investigated. Fortunately for his reputation, if not for the sale of the book, Clarke decided against the hoax and published the narrative as his own work. His first intention, however, is revealed in the original, hitherto unpublished preface to *The Legend of Thomas Didymus, The Jewish Sceptic*.⁴

Preface

by the American Editor

The remarkable book, now for the first time offered to the American Reader, purports to be a translation through the German from a Syriac Ms. found among the remnants of the Christians of St. Thomas, in Malabar. The story is that a certain German traveller on that coast, on penetrating into the interior, encountered a small community apparently Hindoos, and in dress & appearance as well as language, resembling the military caste, to which they seemed to belong. He had occasion to remain near them, pursuing some archeological studies in a Jama ruin, and might never have discovered their real character, had he not one day saved from death one of their children who had fallen into a tank among these ruins, while at play. The gratitude of the father brought him nearer to his benefactor, and he then learned that this little community considered themselves Christians—though having no sympathy with Roman Catholics or Protestants. Herr Schleicher at last came to the conclusion that they were the remains of an old Nestorian body, who had taken refuge in this retirement & concealment at the time of the cruel persecutions by the Portuguese when they established their Inquisition at Goa. The narrative goes on to say that, seeing the interest taken by Herr Schleicher in antiquities, the Hindoo brought to him one day a Mss. roll in an ancient language, which he said had been long in the possession of the community, and was regarded as a kind of talisman, though none of them were able to read it. Herr Schleicher obtained leave to copy it, and occupied several months in so doing; a most difficult task, as many passages were wholly or partially obliterated, and as he was utterly ignorant of the characters,

⁴ On the cover containing the manuscript of the preface is written, "Original preface to Thomas Didymus (not printed)." The manuscript, together with a great deal of other Clarke material, was found by the author in a storeroom at the home of Clarke's grandson, Mr. James F. Clarke, of Boston. The Clarke papers will soon be turned over to the Harvard College Library.

though perceiving that they belonged to the Semetic family of languages. On his return to Germany he submitted his copy to a learned professor, who discovered that it was written in a peculiar form of Syriac—and the present translation is the result.

This is the statement. Of course it has been severely criticised, and the whole story disbelieved. The arguments against the truth of this narrative are numerous, of which the principal are as follows.

1. It is admitted that the language of the copy is one affiliated to the ancient Syriac—but it is argued that no other writing of that exact character exists, and no Mss. of such extreme antiquity—and that it is highly improbable that it could have been preserved so long amid the social storms and revolutions which have swept over India.

2. It is argued still more forcibly that the whole style, both of the thoughts and expressions, is essentially modern. It seems like a rather poor attempt to imitate the Bible simplicity of style. The character of Miriam especially, and the feeling of Thomas toward her, are said to be wholly unlike anything known to antiquity.

3. It is not likely that the Apostle Thomas could have been so well acquainted with Greek literature, or have been so well-educated a man as he appears in this Mss.

4. The whole story seems more like a modern romance than an ancient biography. Certain anachronisms and mistakes in proper names have also been pointed out by the critics. The Christology of the book is also stated to be that of modern Rationalism, or Rational-Spiritualism; and not that of the New Testament. Hence it is contended that this book is probably a rather clever attempt of a modern writer to put himself into the position of the Apostle, and to see Christ from his standpoint.

To these arguments, the defenders of the genuineness of the book reply as follows—

1. The generation which has seen the ancient papyri and monuments of Egypt decyphered; which has been enabled for the first time to read the arrow-headed inscriptions of Cyrus and Xerxes; which has dug up a whole library of literature buried for three-thousand years at Nineveh; which has rediscovered ancient Troy, and Argos, and has brought to light the very crowns and bracelets worn by Agamemnon and Clytemnestra; has no right to be too sceptical in regard to the possibility of further discoveries. There are many Mss. in European libraries taken from Egyptian tombs, which were written fifteen-hundred or two-thousand years before the time of St. Thomas. It is well known that in A. D. 1625 some Chinese laborers disinterred a marble tablet, near the city Si-ngau-fou, covered with unknown characters, tracings from which were sent to Europe, and found to be a Nestorian Inscription in ancient Syriac, and to have been deposited by Nestorian Christians, A. D. 781. That another writing in this same language should have existed in India, is not too extraordinary for belief. That it should have remained unknown so long is not unlikely,

when we remember that the oldest Mss. of the New Testament known to exist (written in the fourth century), was only discovered a few years ago by Tischendorff in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai; a place which had been repeatedly searched in vain by European scholars, and by Tischendorff himself several years before.

Here the preface breaks off, leaving the three remaining arguments against the validity of the manuscript still to be countered. Whether Clarke suddenly realized the hopelessness of the deception and did not complete the preface, or whether it was completed and the concluding pages were lost, I could not discover. Although the circumstances surrounding the production of most of Clarke's works are revealed in his correspondence, agenda lists for his secretary, or other private papers, I was unable to find the slightest mention of *Thomas Didymus*. This, of course, is not surprising considering the necessity of secrecy attending the project. Clarke's reasons for considering such a hoax, however, can readily be surmised from statements in his theological works. He believed in the general truth of the Gospel accounts but he also believed that inaccuracies had been introduced by the writers or subsequent copyists as a result of confusing fact and legend. These implausible, and sometimes conflicting bits of legend made the Bible story particularly vulnerable to the pitiless, scientific scrutiny of its foes. Clarke apparently sought to strengthen the simple, and perhaps superstitious account of Christ's life as presented in the first four Gospels by adding a fifth, the keenly analytical record of the sceptic, Thomas.

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ZOLA'S ESTHETIC APPROACH AND THE COURTESAN

As is commonly known, it was never Zola's intention or purpose to emphasize the vulgar or pornographic for sensationalism. In point of fact, when Busnach¹ had adapted for the stage his *Nana*,²

¹ William Busnach was Zola's favorite adapter. He first dramatized the latter's *L'Assommoir* in 1879. Some of the other works by Zola that were adapted for the stage by him are *Pot-Bouille* (1883) and *Le Ventre de Paris* (1887).

² Produced at the Ambigu-Comique (1881).

published in 1880, Zola decried not only the apparent immoral motivation but in addition the fact that among the "first-nighters" who had come to see reproduced on the boards erotic scenes—"des ordures"³—taken from his novel, were "filles sur le retour, souteneurs en gants blancs, hommes de plaisir et hommes de finance tombés au trottoir parisien,"⁴ all of whom were, he writes, "devant leur propre pourriture."⁵

The oft-repeated belief that gives credence to the fallacious theory that Zola wanted to feed the appetites of the sensual is easily refuted by Zola's concepts of the *obscene* as well as of the *chaste* in literature. Obscene literature, says Zola, is "la littérature d'imagination libertine, qui *invente des ordures pour le plaisir*,⁶ et sans aucun but d'enquête exacte," adding that "Nos analyses ne sauraient être obscènes, du moment où elles sont scientifiques et où elles apportent un document."⁷ With the same thought process, Zola finds it therefore difficult to comprehend why the study of sex "dans ses vérités physiologiques, nous soit interdite comme une ordure presque infamante."⁸

If, therefore, the subject of *Nana*, which, treated by Zola in the novel, does depict the low, coarse and sensational by showing the love-life and intimacies of a courtesan, it is only because Zola is consciously applying some of his naturalistic theories, especially those pertaining to the deterministic influences of heredity and environment, in the quest for *Truth*.

With regard to his fetish for *Truth* and the scientific approach, he finds that only the naturalists "reprennent l'étude de la nature aux sources mêmes," adding that they "remplacent l'homme métaphysique par l'homme physiologique, et ne le séparent plus du milieu qui le détermine."⁹

In a word, Zola claims that "l'esprit scientifique porté dans toutes nos connaissances, est l'agent même du dix-neuvième siècle."¹⁰ Indeed, in his *Le Roman Expérimental* (1880), Zola expresses the general theory of Naturalism and sees its triumph

³ Emile Zola, *Une Campagne* (1880-1881), Paris, Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1913, p. 152.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Italics mine.

⁷ *Documents Littéraires*, ed. Maurice Le Blond, Paris, 1927, p. 312.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁹ *Une Campagne*, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

in the novel¹¹ which had emphasized local color, detail, observation rather than imagination, facts rather than truths. As a matter of fact, the scientific and experimental theories of heredity were applied by Zola himself in his huge *Rougon-Macquart* series, the first volume of which appeared in 1871.

However, perceiving that these Naturalistic tendencies triumphed in the novel but not in the theater, Zola, in his *Le Naturalisme au Théâtre*,¹² which appeared in 1881, formulated theories which would also bring the theater into line with Naturalism. In this work Zola declares:¹³ "Il me semble impossible que nos sciences, notre nouvelle méthode d'analyse, notre roman, notre peinture, aient marché dans un sens nettement réaliste, et que notre théâtre reste seul, immobile, figé dans les traditions." Hence he believes it is necessary to find "une formule nouvelle, transformer le drame," since "chaque époque a sa formule."¹⁴ This is especially necessary, says Zola, in view of the fact that the novel has already paved the way for the theater and since, furthermore, the public is now ripe for truth. Thus, the "new formula" would involve for the theater "l'étude de l'homme,"¹⁵ not as an abstract type but as an individual considered as "réel, avec son sang et ses muscles," dependent upon "les milieux où naissent, vivent et meurent les personnages."¹⁶ The real or naturalistic drama for Zola, then, would be "la bataille de la vie," in which human beings, "soumis aux faits," are inevitably found also "produisant les faits."¹⁷

Thus, in an article entitled "La Fille au Théâtre," written for *Le Figaro* on January 12, 1881,¹⁸ Zola justly points out in a brief historical discussion that, beginning with Hugo's *Marion Delorme*, in which the heroine was not studied "dans son tempérament personnel et dans son action propre, faite par le milieu et agissant sur ce milieu," and in which she was simply "un type généralisé" or "une idée," dramatists had all been concerned with demonstrating

¹¹ Many of the novels of the Goncourt brothers, such as *Sœur Philomène* (1861), *Renée Mauperin* (1864), and *Germinie Lacerteux* (1865), show the preference of these authors for the exceptional and the pathological as well as an interest in low-life.

¹² Nouvelle Edition, Paris, Eugène Fasquelle, 1923.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

¹⁸ This article is also to be found as a separate chapter in *Une Campagne*, *op. cit.*

the thesis that "la fille . . . est un ange, ou elle est un démon." The thesis or point of view is what is of primary importance to these dramatists, says Zola, "au lieu d'interroger d'abord la réalité des faits et d'accepter les documents." In no case, therefore, prior to his contemporaries does Zola see a "peinture vraie de la courtisane."¹⁹ For further corroboration of this theory, Zola refers to a statement made by Dumas *fils* to the effect that "jamais le public ne tolérera une femme ayant deux amants à la fois, ou passant de l'un à l'autre."²⁰ This, according to Zola, "rend la peinture de la fille impossible," and explains why no one "ne nous a montré la fille dans son rôle de fille" and also that "ils ne nous donnent que le passé de la fille."²¹

And since, moreover, Zola believes that now the public is "mûr pour la vérité," why not, he goes on to suggest, recognize the fact that "presque toujours, elle [la fille moderne] se présente comme une force inconsciente" and not as *typical* of either Marion Delorme, Marguerite Gautier, Marco or Olympe.²²

In other words, if the courtesan "corrompt et désorganise," it is not, declares Zola, "comme une traîtresse de mélodrame, mais comme un ferment de pourriture, que la société dépose elle-même et qu'elle laisse ensuite germer et grandir." In more concrete terms, "le milieu fait la fille, qui plus tard, par une action réflexe, gâte le milieu." And therein, furthermore, according to Zola, is to be

¹⁹ Yet, it should be pointed out in all fairness that the dramatists did treat the *cocotte* throughout the period of the Second Empire and beyond it in complete frankness, showing her as a type that mixes with the wealthy and whose main interest is money. She is, in a word, depicted as a professional courtesan. In this connection see my study, *The 'Courtisane' in the French Theatre from Hugo to Becque (1831-1885)* (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Extra vol. XXII), The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1947.

²⁰ *Une Campagne*, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

²¹ *Ibid.* The significance of this becomes all the clearer in the statement made by Zola in the Preface he had written for Busnach's dramatic adaptation of his *Nana* and which can also be found in his *Une Campagne*, *op. cit.*, p. 155: "Malgré toutes les concessions, la pièce restera le premier essai de la fille vraie au théâtre. Et je parle de la fille dans son rôle de fille, avec le débraillé de sa vie, le galop de ses amants, ses coups de cœur et ses cruautés, son inconscience des catastrophes qu'elle détermine à chaque pas."

²² "*La Fille au Théâtre*," *loc. cit.*

found "tout le problème scientifique de la prostitution."²³ Hence, applying the dramatic implications of the above theories, Zola claims that "notre comédie moderne meurt d'honnêteté,"²⁴ and advocates a completely frank and true depiction on the stage of all themes, even though it be, or rather *because* it is, a question of a vice: "Ce que je demande plus énergiquement encore, c'est que, lorsqu'on vient clouer un vice à la scène, on l'y cloue carrément, fortement, sans l'enguirlander de tous les poncifs des vertus consolantes."²⁵

In urging the authors to expose the existing vices without regard to the sensibilities of some, Zola, the high priest of the Naturalistic school, feels that it would be "lâche de reculer devant certains problèmes sous le prétexte qu'ils sont troublants."²⁶ Rather Zola sees in the depiction of the shocking a clinical means of checking the unwholesome and unsalutary for society. It is this aspect, too, which constitutes a Zolaesque *morale* as a naturalistic credo as well as a positive, constructive correction of conditions that are evil.

Indeed, Zola views "la morale" as "la connaissance exacte des faits,"²⁷ claiming that the idealistic approach to reality presupposes "qu'il est nécessaire de mentir pour être moral," while the naturalists "affirment qu'on ne saurait être moral en dehors du vrai."²⁸ What, according to Zola, is the rôle and purpose of "la morale moderne" can be summarized as follows: "Notre morale est celle que Claude Bernard a si nettement définie: 'La morale moderne recherche les causes, veut les expliquer et agir sur elles; elle veut, en un mot, dominer le bien et le mal, faire naître l'un et le développer, lutter avec l'autre pour l'extirper et le détruire.'" ²⁹

The province of the author, then, according to Zola, would be to seek out the causes of the social evils, to delve into the anatomy of social classes as well as of individuals in order to explain the

²³ *Ibid.* The importance of the *milieu* as a determining factor in the life of the individual is basic in Balzac, whose lineal descendant Zola liked to consider himself.

²⁴ *Nos Auteurs Dramatiques*, Nouvelle Edition, Paris, Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1923, p. 108.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

²⁶ "La Fille au Théâtre," *loc. cit.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Le Roman Expérimental*, ed. Maurice Le Blond, Paris, 1927, p. 105.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

existing abnormalities that are produced in society and man, while it would be within the realm of the legislators, since, presumably, they have profited from the documentation, "à faire naître le bien et à le développer, à lutter avec le mal, pour l'extirper et le détruire."³⁰ To the author, according to this line of reasoning, is delegated a motivation which contains a moral virtue, which is not to be found "dans les mots, mais dans les faits."³¹

In the particular case of the *filles*, then, it should be the task and end of the author to be able to say: "Voilà une vraie fille, voilà comment elle pousse et comment elle fonctionne ensuite, voilà des faits établis par l'observation et l'expérience; désormais, puisque l'expérience nous rend maîtres des faits, c'est à nous de les empêcher de se produire: assainissons les faubourgs, supprimons scientifiquement les filles."³²

Almost like a religious refrain, Zola repeats over and over again the *morale* of *Truth*. In general terms, he asks that a dramatic work "ait la haute moralité du vrai, soit la leçon terrible d'une enquête sincère" and that the dramatist go to the very source of science—to the study of nature and to the anatomy of man—"dans un procès-verbal exact, d'autant plus original et puissant, que personne encore n'a osé le risquer sur les planches."³³

In presenting the *filles* on the stage, Zola would similarly have the dramatists extend the analysis "à toutes les causes physiques et sociales" that have predetermined her and also show the double influence "sur les faits et des faits sur les personnages."³⁴

The serious purposefulness of having a play bring out the social and human phenomena as examples of a deterministic philosophy in each individual indicates as well that Zola does not see in the

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Documents Littéraires*, ed. Maurice Le Blond, Paris, 1927, p. 311.

³³ *Le Roman Experimental*, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122. Speaking of the way in which a naturalist ought to treat the subject of *la fille* in the novel, Zola expresses essentially the same thought: "Il la montrera déterminée par l'hérédité et par le milieu; si elle glisse à la débauche, c'est qu'elle y a été poussée par l'ivrognerie des parents et par les promiscuités des faubourgs. Puis, l'auteur, en la suivant pas à pas, en l'analysant dans ses vêtements, dans sa demeure, dans les hommes qui l'approchent, montrera son rôle social, établira nettement de quelle façon elle désorganise et détruit." Only then, adds Zola, could the author say "Voilà une vraie fille, . . . voilà des faits établis par l'observation et l'expérience." (*Documents Littéraires*, *op. cit.*, p. 311.)

depiction of *la fille* either a sensational feast for the eyes or a provocation of morbid, illicit love desires; as such, gayety or light-heartedness are not expected to be found in such a play. Referring to *Nana*, the novel, and to the public's indignation at seeing "les filles graves," Zola in disgust alludes to those chroniclers and dramatists who mingle "dans le monde des actrices et des filles," and who protest "en souriant que ma Nana n'existait point." To them, says Zola, "cette débauche était plus gaie, plus spirituelle, moins enfoncée dans le drame de la chair."³⁵ Indeed, Zola's high intentions cannot be doubted, and this is why he seems particularly concerned with the problem of *la fille*. As a matter of fact, Zola shows public concern over this question: "On s'est beaucoup occupé des filles, dans ces derniers temps. J'ai moi-même fait un article, et à ce propos on m'a écrit un grand nombre de lettres."³⁶ Therefore, *la fille* to Zola is not to be treated as an abstract question but as a living reality—an unfortunate commentary on society. Not only does Zola lay the blame for the career of *la fille* on both her *milieu* and her heredity, but, when referring to the conditions of the working class whence springs the venal woman, he says: "Ce serait toute la condition sociale d'une classe à refaire."³⁷

That is why it is especially important, says Zola, to treat the subject of *la fille* realistically, honestly, on the stage, not necessarily by transporting to the stage certain impossible scenes but rather by giving the facts, by showing the individual as the product of her heredity and environment which, from the dramatic point of view, would obviate the use of declamation, long tirades, "des grands mots et des grands sentiments."³⁸ This is especially significant for the theater, "fatalement la dernière forteresse de la convention."³⁹

With this approach to the subject of *la fille* as well as to all sordid themes, Zola definitely implies that it is not the fault of the dramatist if such situations do exist; it is society's. The dramatist's

³⁵ *Documents Littéraires*, op. cit., p. 305.

³⁶ *Une Campagne*, op. cit., p. 157.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

³⁸ *Le Roman Expérimental*, op. cit., p. 116.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

task, as Zola views it, is to image life as he sees it. Thus, it can be seen that Zola, in his extremely realistic objectives, had a chaste, moral motivation which, in his concept of the courtesan, exemplifies a Naturalistic credo.

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ROLAND v 337

It has been clear for some time that the celebrated poem is not the work of a primitive collectivity, at least in its extant redactions. On every hand are evidences of clerical learning, classical reminiscences, biblical influences and even liturgy. The present passage involves, not an accepted ecclesiastical rite, but an act of court protocol rendered comprehensible in the light of liturgical procedure.

Specifically it is a question of the meaning we can attach to *cungied* in the verse indicated. The glossary of Jenkins' edition contents itself with the translation 'leave, leave taking'; that of Bédier dismisses the matter even more summarily with 'congé.' The connotations are a good deal richer. An attempt is here made to specify what these are.

This is the situation: Ganelon has been chosen ambassador to the court of Marsile. Angered at the peers of Charlemagne, notably those close to Roland, he launches his defiance at them and announces vengeance, whereat, in haste to carry out his diabolical project, he asks of the emperor: "Dunez mei le *cungied*." Charles replies with the words "Al Jhesu e al mien," accompanying them with the sign of the cross. The text phrases his gesture: "De sa main destre l'ad asols e seignet."

Jenkins comments, in two footnotes, firstly, that etiquette in the middle ages was rigorous, the *congé*, requested by the subordinate and granted by the superior being a necessary part of any formal leave-taking. A second note adds that, since the superior is in this case a "priest-king," the manner of dismissing the ambassador could take on ecclesiastical features.

One may demur on two counts: 1) Does Charles make this gesture because he is of priestly character or is this priestly char-

acter attributed to him by the modern reader because he makes a gesture resembling an ecclesiastical rite? It is to be noted that elsewhere, i. e. v. 2177 of the same poem, where the *cong  * is given *in extremis*, the function is logically taken over by Archbishop Turpin. This leads to the second question: 2) Is this an ordinary leave-taking from a royal court or is not the situation a special one? It may well be that protocol was a part of mediaeval life in the upper reaches of society; it will be the more specialized if the circumstances call for additional solemnity. This is the primary factor, that we have here a solemn mission to the Saracen, one designed to end a seven years' war waged in defense of the faith. The farewell is thus of extraordinary nature and should be so considered. From what we know of the times and of the portrait which the *chanson* affords us of the emperor, the religious elements will be prominent on such an occasion. It is therefore natural that these should be given due consideration, all the more so that, as will be seen, the two points of view, religious and lay, were difficult indeed to keep apart in that period.

Specifically, formal types of leave-taking are found largely in the monastic life, particularly where missions or errands of some moment are concerned. I know of such customs in the Marianist Order and among the Dominicans.¹ The most elaborate ceremonial I have located which is available in print² and which has the most bearing on the problem is the type known as *Itinerarium*, specifically here entitled *Benedictio Fratrum Missionarium ad Missiones Exteras Profiscentium*, the footnote to which significantly reads: *De Benedictione et Impositione Crucis Profiscentibus in Subsidium et Defensionem Fidei Christianae*. The order of the rite is as follows: Firstly it is emphasized that the Abbot may set the hour as he desires, but the place should be a church or chapel. To that location the procession, arranged according to a definite plan, directs itself. The Abbot recites the antiphon "Veni, Sancte Spiritus"; after the responses, there is a prayer in which appears the following: "emitte lucem tuam in hos servos tuos (hunc

¹ My informants here are, respectively, Fr. E. J. Weber, S. M., Dayton, O., and Sister M. Amelia, O. P., St. Mary's of the Springs, Columbus, O.

² Cf. the *Ritua   Monasticum*, Typis Abbatiae Sanctis Joannis Baptistae, Collegeville, Minn., p. 756. I owe the reference to Rev. E. D. MacCormack, O. S. B., St. Vincent Archabbey, Latrobe Pa.

servum tuum), qua inflammati (inflammatu), gentes tenebris obcaecatos illuminet et ad lumen indeficiens perducant (perducant).” After the sermon, the brothers who are setting forth come into the sanctuary and kneel before the altar, the choir singing various hymns, among which, again significantly, the *Praedium Certaminis*. The crosses carried by the missionaries are blessed, this portion being terminated by a prayer in which appears this sentence: “. . . et contra omnes diabolicas fraudes virtutem eis (ei) tuas defensiones impendas . . .” In the *Oratio et Benedictio Finalis* we find the prayer beginning: “Protector noster, aspice, Deus; et propugnatores tuos (propugnatorum [*sic*] tuum) a paganorum defende periculis,” the whole concluding with a benediction very much like that indicated for other orders.

Certain similarities to the errand of Ganelon may be pointed out: 1) There is a “missio” (e. g. to the Saracen) in which perforce a religious element is present. 2) Notwithstanding, the religious character is different from other ceremonies, in the *Itinerarium*, in that no rigid observance, either of time of the day or of the year is insisted on, simply that an appropriate place be set. This is primarily a farewell and a benediction. Such is the essential nature, *mutatis mutandis*, of the leave-taking of Ganelon. 3) In both cases, a battle in defense of the faith is the central theme. 4) This battle is fraught with difficulties, and the fear of diabolic machinations calculated to defeat the purpose of the mission is never absent; compare the prayer of the *Itinerarium* and the gloomy forecasts of the *Roland*.

What shall we say, now, concerning the use of *asols*? The *Itinerarium* says nothing of absolution. The *Roland* ceremony is exceedingly sketchy from any liturgical point of view. No “absolve te” is uttered, and that is not surprising in the presence of the Archbishop of Rheims, who might conceivably have found such a usurpation of his functions little to his liking. The editors of the *Chanson* have chosen to take the word literally. Bédier translates ‘il l’a absous’; Bertoni, ‘l’ha assolto e benedetto’; so, too, Gautier and Jenkins, the latter in the vocabulary. It would seem, likewise, that the conjunction with *seigniet* confirms the judgment of these editors.³ Yet even this testimony is inconclusive. *Asols* is

³ Cf. *Rol.* v. 2957: *Sis unt asols e seigniez de part Deu*, referring to abbots and bishops. A similar juxtaposition involves a chaplain in an

capable of freer interpretation. So short a dictionary as Godefroy-Salmon-Bonnard records meanings as diverse as 'affranchir, délivrer, décharger, tenir quitte.' Du Cange (*Glossarium*) speaks of an "absolutionem discedendi" rendered 'licentiam, facultatem discedendi.' He attracts our attention to a message in Theophanes Confessor's *Chronographia*, where ἀπελύσαμεν and its variant ἀποστείλαμεν are rendered by *absolvimus* in the Latin version of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, as follows: Hunc nos baptizantes ad propriam *absolvimus* regionem.⁴ Now ἀπολύω is rendered in classical Greek 'to set free, release, acquit, discharge' (Liddell and Scott). A variant is ἀποστέλλω which, remarks the editor, in his index, "haud raro in codd. confunditur" and which must be interpreted 'to send away, despatch,' i. e. on mission. Classic Latin *absolvo* can mean 'to set free, dismiss, release, acquit' (Harper). Therefore it is not surprising to see Theophanes (p. 324, l. 24) write: καὶ τούτους ὅπλίσας πάντας ἀπέλυσεν ἐνωθῆναι τῷ στρατῷ τοῦ Παζάτου, . . . which is translated by Anast. (II, p. 202, ll. 25-6): et hos armatos cunctos *direxit* exercitui uniendos Rhazati . . . ; or (313, 4): ἔλην στρατιωτῶν ἀπέλυσε φυλάττειν πρὸς αὐτὸν . . . translated: alam militum ad custodiendas *misit* clausuras. Thus Charles merely accompanies his "dismissal" with a blessing, but without necessarily administering absolution, as indeed occurs in the Itinerarium.

The expression "Al Jhesu e al mien," accompanying the act, seems, coming as it does from a layman, a trifle strong. Turpin makes no objection, however, and the public is apparently not shocked. The answer doubtless lies in the mediaeval conception of Regnum and Sacerdotium, the dual hierarchy founded on authority derived from God, hence sacred in both branches.⁵ That the line of demarcation was indistinct is to be taken for granted, as suggested above. Paulinus of Aquileia expresses, with reference to Charlemagne himself, the following wish: Sit dominus et pater,

example from *Le livre des miracles de N. D. de Chartres*, v. 1855 (Tobler-Lommatzsch).

⁴ *Theophanis Chronographia* recensuit Carolus de Boor, Lipsiae (Teubner, 1883). The index is such that I cannot locate the passage but there are other parallels that meet the specifications; cf. below. Vol. II contains Anastasius' *Chronographia Tripertita*.

⁵ K. Heisig, *Geschichtsmetaphysik d. Rolandsliedes*, in *ZRP*, LV (1935), 71-88.

sit rex et sacerdos! A word of caution is in order, before we place an interpretation on this passage, as shown by the following citations: Melchisedek noster rex atque sacerdos (reference being to Childebert I), or: Hac unctione tante religionis gratiam sortitur, ut exempla Aaron in Dei servitio debeat imitari.⁶ It is clear that we are confronted by the Old Testament theocratic ideal carried over to a "propugnator" of the Church Militant, to whom, in consequence, visions are attributed and even the gift of prayer so efficacious as to stop the sun, as did Joshua. To bring into consideration, on the other hand, the fact that the emperor hears Mass with regularity or gives his blessing to the troops is entirely beside the point.⁷ From all these attributes to such a priestly function as the administration of the sacrament of Absolution in the presence of the Archbishop of Rheims the distance is considerable! Even the chronicler of Chlotar I spoke of the leader of the Franks as "quasi-sacerdos" and no more (Heisig, p. 71). Thus the appellation of Heisig "Priester-König" must not be taken literally. The fact remains that, in the mind of the cleric who wrote the *Roland*, enough of the ancient priest-king idea could have carried over for him to imagine at the court of the Franks a ceremonial vaguely suggestive of an itinerarium in that it is a farewell before a mission, or for that same poet to imagine a gesture of dismissal which the vagueness of *asoldre* allows him to designate by that term.

To conclude:

1. There is no question of "etiquette" in the general sense that Jenkins would attribute to the term, in his edition. The connotation is specific.

2. As corollary to 1, it is to be noted that Ganelon asks, not for a *congé* but for *the congé*, thus referring to a ceremony the character of which was clear to him and to those about him.

3. Since this is a "missio," the leave-taking is comparable, though in the nature of the case not identical, with a monastic Itinerarium.

4. As corollary to 3, it is to be noted that this is a lesser rite

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

⁷ The Brazilian slave owner gave his "benção" to his dependents and likewise exercised a kind of patriarchal surveillance over religious practices. Heisig is here quite confused.

liturgically, but, in so far as it approaches the religious, it is a ceremony of great solemnity from the lay viewpoint.

5. Royalty, endowed even to-day with certain charismatic powers, may take over a ceremony of this kind, with adaptations dictated by the circumstances. This is especially true of Charlemagne, comparable as he was to the Priest King of the Old Testament in the eyes of contemporaries and successors. The word *asols* does not have to indicate Absolution, however, and it is not within his power to administer the sacrament. It is a question here of a dismissal ceremony with the appropriate paternal blessing.

Clearly the more a lay ceremonial approaches the religious rite, the situation in this poem becomes more dramatic. In such a moment of grave responsibility, feudal quarrels, which are at the same time family quarrels in the *maisniée*, strike a particularly jarring note. We know that Ganelon is no fool. Psychologically he is about as complex a being as we are likely to find in the OF epic. Too sensitive not to realize that his personal hatreds border on the blasphemous, he is unnerved in this charged atmosphere, and so, as he is about to accept the glove, it falls from his hands, to the dismay of the Franks. If such an interpretation be accepted, this moment of farewell is a moment of rare poignancy.

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RACINE AVAIT-IL LU ENNIUS?

Dès le début de sa première préface d'*Andromaque*, Racine déclare nettement que "tout le sujet de cette tragédie" vient de quelques vers du troisième livre de l'*Enéide*. Dans cette même préface, il mentionne encore *les Troyennes* de Sénèque et le deuxième livre de l'*Enéide*, dont le récit notamment de la prise du palais de Priam lui avait visiblement servi de palette pour tracer la fresque prestigieuse de la "nuit éternelle" de Troie dont les tableaux successifs colorent la toile de fond de sa tragédie. Quelques-unes de ses

⁸ Besides those mentioned previously, I have a real debt to Professor H. Hatzfeld, Catholic University of America, and to Dom Anselm Strittmatter, O. S. B., St. Anselm's Priory, Washington, D. C., for many suggestions.

images, d'autre part, lui sont venues directement d'Homère et de l'Euripide des *Troyennes*, d'*Hécube* et naturellement d'*Andromaque* dont il dit quelques mots dans sa préface. A cela il semble qu'il faille ajouter plusieurs vers de l'*Andromaque captive* d'Ennius, tragédie aujourd'hui perdue dont Cicéron cite quelques rares fragments dans ses *Tusculanes*.

La plupart des tragédies d'Ennius,—*Achille*, *Alexandre*, *la Rançon d'Hector*, *Hécube*, etc.,—traitaient de sujets homériques empruntés à Euripide. *Andromaque captive* ne fait pas exception et Ennius certes y devait beaucoup au dramaturge athénien. Voici les vers de cette tragédie que Cicéron nous rapporte :

Ex opibus summis opis egens, Hector, tuae . . .
 Quid petam praesidi aut exequar? quoue nunc
 Auxilio exili aut fugae freta sim?
 Arce et urbe orba sum. Quo accidam? quo applicem?
 Cui nec arae patriae domi stant, fractae et disiectae iacent,
 Fana flamma deflagrata, tosti alti stant parietes
 Deformati atque abiecte crispa . . .
 O pater, o patria, o Priami domus,
 Saeptum altisono cardine templum!
 Vidi ego te adstante ope barbarica
 Tectis caelatis, laqueatis,
 Auro, ebore instructam regifice . . .¹
 Haec omnia uidi inflammari,
 Priamo ui uitam euitari,
 Iouis aram sanguine turpari . . .²
 Vidi, uidere quod me passa aegerrume,
 Hectorem curru quadriiugo raptarier . . .³

Quelques détails, tels ceux sur la splendeur orientale du palais troyen, semblent être du cru du poète latin et Virgile ne les oubliera pas quand il combinera la double imitation d'Euripide et d'Ennius :

Quinquaginta illi thalami, spes tanta nepotum,
 Barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi
 Procubuerunt.⁴

Les vers de Racine qui, pensons-nous, doivent être rapprochés de ceux d'Ennius, sont bien connus :

¹ *Tusculanes*, III, xix, 44. Deux des ces vers se trouvent également cités *ibid.*, I, xxxv, 85.

² *Ibid.*, III, xix, 45. Ces vers se trouvent également cités *ibid.*, I, xxv, 85; et le premier *ibid.*, III, xxii, 53.

³ *Ibid.*, I, xlv, 105.

⁴ *Enéide*, II, 503-505.

Allons sur son tombeau consulter mon époux.

(III, viii, 1048)

Je ne vois que des tours que là cendre a couvertes.

(I, ii, 201)

Non vous n'espérez plus de nous revoir encor,
Sacrés murs, que n'a pu conserver mon Hector!

(I, iv, 335-336)

O cendres d'un époux! ô Troyens! ô mon père!

(III, viii, 1045)

J'ai vu mon père mort et nos murs embrasés;
J'ai vu trancher les jours de ma famille entière,
Et mon époux sanglant traîné sur la poussière

(III, vi, 929-930)

Dois-je oublier Hector privé de funérailles,
Et traîné sans honneur autour de nos murailles?
Dois-je oublier son père à mes pieds renversé,
Ensanglantant l'autel qu'il tenait embrassé?

(III, viii, 993-996)

Il ne s'agit là sans doute que de poncifs qui se trouvaient un peu partout. Le tableau de Priam égorgé au pied de l'autel est un lieu commun des poètes aussi bien que des céramistes. Il vient, non pas d'Homère car Priam vit encore au dernier vers de l'*Iliade*, mais des tragiques grecs. L'Andromaque d'Euripide soupirait déjà:

καὶ τὸν φυτουργὸν Πριάμον οὐκ ἄλλων πάρα
κλύουσ' ἔκλαυσα, τοῖσδε δ' εἶδον ὄμμασιν
αὐτῇ κατασφαγέντ' ἐφ' ἐρκείῳ πυρᾷ.⁵

Depuis Euripide, chacun avait repris ce tableau, Virgile:

Vidi Hecubam centumque nurus Priamumque per aras
Sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacrauerat ignes.⁶

Ovide:

Exiguumque senis Priami Iouis ara cruorem
Combiberat.⁷

Sénèque:

⁵ *Troyennes*, 481-483: "Et Priam, l'ancêtre, ce n'est pas sur le rapport d'un autre que je l'ai pleuré; mais, de mes propres yeux, je l'ai vu massacré près du feu de l'autel domestique." Cf. également: "Sur les marches de l'autel de Zeus domestique, Priam est tombé mort" (*ibid.*, 16-17); et le passage suivant: "Priam lui-même, auprès de l'autel bâti par le dieu, tomba massacré par le fils meurtrier d'Achille" (*Hécube*, 23-24).

⁶ *Enéide*, II, 501-502.

⁷ *Métamorphoses*, XII, 409-410.

Vidi execrandum regiae caedis nefas
 Ipsasque ad aras maius admissum scelus
 Aeacidis armis, cum ferox, scaeva manu
 Coma reflectens regium torta caput,
 Alto nefandum uulneri ferrum abdidit;
 Quod penitus actum cum recepisset libens,
 Ensis senili siccus e iugulo redit.^a

et d'autres encore. Evidemment, le tableau de Virgile vient partiellement d'Ennius, et celui d'Ennius partiellement d'Euripide. Celui d'Ovide est déjà une sorte de jeu d'esprit plus alexandrin, et celui de Sénèque, dans son réalisme anatomique, est d'une brutalité que, dans sa préface, Racine déclare lui-même excessive. Quant au récit de Virgile, il le connaissait fort bien et il ne l'oubliera pas lorsqu'il écrira *Phèdre* et qu' Aricie pleurant

Six frères . . . Quel espoir d'une illustre maison,

(II, I, 424)

fera écho au *spes tanta nepotum* de l'*Enéide*. Mais Racine connaissait fort bien aussi les *Tusculanes* et, en 1662, il y avait renvoyé à trois reprises dans ses *Remarques sur les Olympiques de Pindare* et ses *Remarques sur l'Odyssée d'Homère*.

D'autre part, le désarroi d'Andromaque, *opis egens, Hector, tuae*, qui ne sait où se tourner, est évidemment le même exactement qui mène l'héroïne de Racine sur son tombeau consulter son époux. Enfin, le vers de Racine

O cendres d'un époux! ô Troyens! ô mon père,

est bien, dans son mouvement, l'écho du vers d'Ennius

O pater, o patria, o Priami domus.

Il est impossible de douter que Racine ait connu ces vers d'Ennius qui arrachaient déjà à Cicéron ce commentaire admiratif qui rencontrait sans doute l'assentiment de Racine: "O poetam egregium! . . . Praeclarum carmen! Est enim et rebus et uerbis et modis lugubre."^a

^a *Troyennes*, 44-50. Racine se souvint des vers d'Ovide et de Sénèque quand il mit dans la bouche d'Hermione les vers suivants, reprochant ses crimes à Pyrrhus:

Tandis que dans son sein votre bras enfoncé
 Cherche un reste de sang que l'âge avait glacé.

(IV, V, 1335-1336)

^a *Tusculanes*, III, XIX, 44-45.

Mais ce qui nous paraît surtout intéressant dans ce rapprochement, c'est d'ajouter un nouvel élément au faisceau poétique qui, depuis l'antiquité, convergeait sur la vaste mémoire de Racine; c'est d'illustrer par un nouvel exemple le procédé inconscient de création poétique caractéristique de Racine. Dans son esprit, le sac de Troie était un tableau composite où se confondaient les apports de plusieurs poètes grecs et latins. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que le *j'ai vu* de la tragédie française, s'il est bien à la fois l' *εἶδον* d'Euripide et le *vidi* d'Ennius, de Virgile et de Sénèque, est avant tout celui de Racine lui-même qui, à travers la lentille magique des poètes antiques, *voyait* réellement la scène tragique, condition nécessaire pour nous la faire voir. Les vers de Racine sont, pourrait-on dire, la "résultante" de tous ceux que l'antiquité avait déposés en lui. La personnalité poétique de Racine se manifeste ici par un triple procédé de décantation, de réfraction et de récréation; de décantation en tant qu'il élimine spontanément tel élément de Sénèque trop brutal, trop choquant; de réfraction en ce que, par exemple, la flamme sacrée qui brûle dans les tableaux d'Euripide et de Virgile n'existe plus chez Racine, comme, du reste, chez Ennius; de récréation enfin en ce que nul travail de "fiches" sur les différents textes que nous avons cités n'aurait jamais fait surgir les alexandrins d'*Andromaque*. De même encore, les personnages de sa tragédie, Racine le déclare lui-même dans une phrase significative de sa première préface, "sont si fameux dans l'antiquité que, pour peu qu'on la connaisse, on verra bien que je les ai rendus tels que les anciens poètes nous les ont donnés." Et c'est finalement grâce à l'anonymat qu'expriment ces mots que les personnages d'*Andromaque* peuvent réaliser le paradoxe d'être à la fois ceux d'Homère, d'Euripide, d'Ennius, de Virgile, de Sénèque, et de demeurer aussi et surtout ceux de Racine.

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THE BEGINNING OF VOLTAIRE'S *POÈME SUR LE DÉSASTRE DE LISBONNE*

In the standard Moland edition of Voltaire's *Œuvres complètes*, the first two lines of his vigorous *Poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne* (1756) read as follows:

O malheureux mortels! ô terre déplorable!
O de tous les mortels assemblage effroyable! ¹

The same text is found also in the preceding Beuchot edition ² on which Moland is to a considerable degree based.

Why this surprising repetition of "mortels" in two successive lines? Emphasis can hardly be the reason since, on reflection, we find the meaning of "this frightful assemblage of all mortals" much less clear and much less precise than at first sight might be thought. It is certainly unlikely that Voltaire, the apostle of clarity, would have repeated this key word except deliberately and with full knowledge of exactly what he meant. Moreover, during the full three months of heated discussion and careful revision which transpired from the beginning of December, 1755, the date of the earliest draft,³ to the publication of the first wholly authorized edition in March of 1756,⁴ the author had ample time to weigh thoughtfully each word of this short, but important poem of only two hundred thirty-four lines. The beginning would naturally attract his very particular attention. What, then, is the explanation of this anomalous reading?

The answer is provided by a letter of Voltaire's secretary, Colini, to Dupont under date of March 20, 1756. In this letter, the writer quotes the first lines of the poem as follows:

O malheureux mortels! ô terre déplorable!
O de tous les fléaux assemblage effroyable! ⁵

With this substitution of the expressive "fléaux" for the repetitious use of "mortels," the meaning becomes at once crystal-clear. Here is "le mot juste," the word which from the very beginning introduces the central idea of "scourges," of *disaster*, as indicated by the title, the word which Voltaire actually wrote.

¹ Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Louis Moland, Paris, Garnier, 1877-85, 52 vols., IX (1877), 470.

² Voltaire, *Œuvres*, ed. by Beuchot, Paris, 1828-40, 72 vols., XII (1833), 191. For this information on the Beuchot reading, I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Otis Fellows of Columbia University.

³ Voltaire, Letter to Gabriel Cramer of Dec. 4, 1755, pub. in *R.R.*, XXXI (1940), 342-43, and n. 9. Cf. *MLN*, LVI (1941), 423, p. 7.

⁴ Georges Ascoli, Voltaire, *Poèmes philosophiques*, mimeographed edition, Paris, Centre de documentation universitaire [1935?], p. 186.

⁵ Moland, XXXIX, 10.

The accuracy of Colini's testimony is confirmed by Georges Ascoli, citing the early texts of late 1755 and the winter of 1756. Indeed, Voltaire in the first draft wrote "malheurs," to which in the end he preferred the stronger "fléaux," but with no essential change of meaning.⁶ Ascoli did not, however, point out the significant Beuchot and Moland errors, which have naturally tended to be repeated in most later reprintings of the poem.⁷

When we turn now to Kehl, that final synthesis of eighteenth-century editions of Voltaire, we also find the reading "fléaux,"⁸ thus confirming the evidence of Colini and Ascoli.

Evidently, a copyist or printer working for Beuchot inadvertently repeated "mortels," an error all the more natural since the second occurrence of the word falls directly under the first. Moland, following Beuchot instead of Kehl, continued the faulty reading. Because the passage, in spite of everything against it, did seem to make a kind of sense, the mistake easily went unnoticed and has persisted.

One of the first and most essential problems of literary study is to provide a text which accurately reproduces the author's thought. The above example offers a small, but significant case in point. Until the true reading is restored, the very beginning of Voltaire's poem appears careless in style and hazy in meaning. No sound interpretation is possible until we are sure of our text.

The passage in Beuchot and Moland should therefore be corrected in subsequent printings and studies to coincide with the thoroughly satisfactory eighteenth-century versions:

O malheureux mortels! ô terre déplorable!
O de tous les fléaux assemblage effroyable!

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⁶ Georges Ascoli, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁷ But not in the *Œuvres choisies de Voltaire*, ed. by Georges Bengesco, 10 vols., Paris, 1877-92, VI (*Poésies*, 1889), p. 136. Bengesco followed, not Kehl, but the text of the edition of 1775, "dite encadrée," published during the lifetime and under the direction of Voltaire (cf. *ibid.*, I, p. 5). For this information, I am again indebted to Dr. Otis Fellows, as also for the fact that the correct reading appears likewise in the *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, Armand-Aubrée, XI (1829), 107.

⁸ Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes*, De l'Imprimerie de la Société littéraire-typographique [Kehl], XII (1784 and 1785), 117.

THE IDENTITY OF PONTUS DE TYARD'S "CURIEUX"

In the *Discours philosophiques*¹ of Pontus de Tyard, dialogues in which the poet turned philosopher treats a myriad of subjects with uncommon breadth of spirit and originality, perhaps the most important speaker is "Le Curieux," who appears as a bold advocate of reason and the experimental method, faced with opponents who uphold traditional beliefs and systems of thought. Le Curieux takes part in four of the discourses: the *Solitaire Second*, the *Premier Curieux* and *Second Curieux*, and *Mantice*.² In the first, where Pontus, as the "Solitaire," discusses music with his lady, "Pasithée," Le Curieux joins in the conversation, expressing great admiration for the learning of Pontus; in the other three, pitted against the theologian Hieromnime,³ and Mantice the astrologer,⁴ he is shown attacking the opinions of his conservative adversaries with telling effect and vigor. It is apparent, moreover, that on all important points, Le Curieux and Pontus de Tyard are in agreement.⁵

The dialogues, according to the author, represent actual discussions which he claims to have reproduced from memory, relating as closely as possible the arguments and opinions of each debater.⁶ Each is given a pseudonym; of Le Curieux, Pontus says merely: "De ce nom je veux masquer un gentilhomme, mien parent, diligent amateur de toutes disciplines."⁷

The phrase "mien parent" suggests that Le Curieux was the

¹ Paris, Langelier, 1587.

² First editions of these works, published by Jean de Tournes at Lyons, appeared in 1552, 1557, and 1558 respectively.

³ ". . . homme remply de pieté, & diligent observateur de la religion," *Discours philosophiques*, f. 338 r°.

⁴ "Amy mien excellent en ceste profession, le nom duquel je cele sous cetui," *Mantice, ou Discours de la Verité de divination par astrologie*, Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1558, p. 5. I cannot agree with R. J. Clements' suggestion that "Mantice" is Mellin de Saint-Gelays (cf. *Critical Theory and Practice of the Pléiade*, Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. 221-222). But Professor Clements promises an article on the subject.

⁵ Cf. my article, "Pontus de Tyard and the Science of His Age," *RR*, xxxviii, 17.

⁶ *Mantice*, Lyon, 1558, pp. 6-7.

⁷ *Discours philosophiques*, f. 97 v°.

poet, Guillaume des Autels, who was a frequent visitor to the castle of Bissy, and a relative as well as a protégé of Pontus de Tyard.⁸ Des Autels was the son of Fiacre Des Autels, seigneur of Vernoble, and Anne de la Vesvre; his maternal grandmother was Anne de Tyard, wife of Jacques de la Vesvre. In an ode addressed to Pontus, Des Autels speaks of their relationship and communion of interests:

Nostre grand similitude
D'affection & d'estude,
Et ton superbe Bissy
Approche si pres d'ici,
Qu'il peut voir la reverance
Qui lui fait ma demeurence,
Et denature la loi
Qui d'une mesme semente
A produit & toi & moi.

He then refers to "Estienne ton aieul pere/ D'Anne mere de ma mere."⁹ Pontus, in turn, writes warmly of "mon jeune Des Autels,"¹⁰ defending him against his critics.¹¹

Further indication that Des Autels is Le Curieux may be found in the long liminary poem he wrote for the first edition of *Mantice*.¹² Here he summarizes the prose works of Pontus, declaring them as great as "ceux dont la Grece savante/ s'esmerveille, & de ceux

⁸ Cf. Gaspard Pontus de Thiard: *Histoire de Pontus de Thyard de Bissy, suivie de la genealogie de cette maison, et de la relation de la campagne de 1664 en Hongrie*, Neuchatel, 1784, pp. 9-11: "Il recevoit dans ce chateau (Bissy) les visites des savans & des Poetes qui vivoient alors en Bourgogne. Celui de tous qu'il aimoit le mieux, étoit un jeune gentilhomme son parent, appellé Guillaume Desautels, seigneur de Vernoble."

⁹ Cited *ibid.*

¹⁰ *Œuvres poétiques de Pontus de Tyard*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, Lemerre, 1875, p. 125.

¹¹

. . . Desautelz,
Qui ha en ses premiers ans
Fait preuve tant honorée
De sa plume enamorée:
Et qui le tort ha remiz
Au front de ses ennemis . . .

Ibid. Cf. also pp. 67, 112 and 140.

¹² Pp. vi-ix. The same poem appears in Latin and French versions. Chamard (*Histoire de la Pléiade*, III, 152, n. 3) calls these "deux poèmes de Guillaume des Autels, l'un en latin, l'autre en français."

desquelz Romme se vante." In the last half of the poem, he praises Pontus for dealing such an effective blow at astrology:

Or toy le plus savant de tous les Socratiques,
Le grave & bon conseil d'Eudoxe tu pratiques:
Delivrant d'esperance, & de peur noz esprits,
Et de tout ce de sot, que nous avons appris,
Du Chaldaïque abus . . .

In conclusion, he writes:

Voire qu'en tes escrits moymesme je pren vie:
Ce qu'aussi hautement scet bien dire l'envie,
Qui se plaint que ton nom fait mon nom, & ainsi
Je le dy, toutefois j'ay quelque esprit aussi.
Que hardiment ma France un jour d'avoir s'assure
Honneur par mon estude, & qu'avec grande usure
Je rendray au Lycee orné de livres bons,
Et à l'Academie ombrageuse, leurs dons.

Here Des Autels alludes to the rôle he plays in the various prose works of Pontus, and while admitting that (as jealous folk allege) he owes his reputation to his appearance there,¹³ promises a work of his own, which like his master's will be worthy of Plato.

In typical fashion, Des Autels provides a final clue in the last line of his sonnet concluding the *Solitaire Second* and addressed to his learned companions in conversation:

La vicieuse ignorance vulgaire,
De la vertu l'ennemie dentée,
Creve à ceste heure ardemment dépitée,
Voyant si clair ton honneur, Solitaire:
Mais toy, à qui rien mortel ne peut plaire,
Belle, sçavante, & sage Pasithée
Ry, en voyant la gloire au Ciel portée
De ta vertu, plus que le Midy claire.
O deux esprits nez de celeste race,
Qu'à bon droit est ce siecle glorieux
Qui s'enrichit des biens de vostre grace!
Ne sçay comment ja desja furieux
Vous me rendez, de suivre vostre trace
(Mais pournéant hélas) trop curieux.¹⁴

Thus Guillaume des Autels, as "Le Curieux," followed Pontus

¹³ It is reasonable to suppose that members of the circle of poets and scholars that frequented Bissy knew the real names of the various figures in the *Discours*.

¹⁴ *Discours philosophiques*, f. 132 v°.

de Tyard in the study of philosophy, whereby, as he said, "à l'imitation des anciens, nous nettoions & polissons noz entendemens, & . . . en discourant par disputes & divers argumens, nous puisons la congnoissance certaine de la Nature des choses."¹⁵

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SOME SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE SECOND
EDITION OF MANUEL GÁLVEZ'
MIÉRCOLES SANTO

Strongly influenced by the naturalistic school of literature, Manuel Gálvez is nonetheless a good Catholic. With these two facts in mind, the student of his novelistic work is ever interested to discover to what extent the author's characters are either defeated by their heredity and environment or saved by some inner strength, freedom of will, or faith. Nowhere in Gálvez' writings is the conflict between the flesh and the spirit more dramatic than in the novel, *Miércoles Santo*.

Padre Eudósio Solanas is a great fat man who nearly suffocates in the close confinement of the confessional in the late-summer heat of a Holy Wednesday in Buenos Aires. The pure life of the spirit which he seeks to lead is made difficult by the needs of his overflowing humanity which cannot help but long now and then for the creature comforts and warm affection which a home and family of his own would have afforded him. Furthermore, despite the austerity of his life, his body will not let him forget altogether the lusts of the flesh. These he is in habit of extinguishing with blows from the disciplinary lash. Padre Eudósio had had but one experience with sexual temptation and the love of woman in his youth. This incident he had striven to forget but as he listened to the constant procession of sinners, he could not keep his mind free of the old experience. The reader is acutely aware that this man, as he counsels and absolves his visitors, is himself human and tempted like as they. Father Eudósio feels that on this terrible day of confessions the Devil is persecuting him with special efforts. He is sure of this when a man presents himself who is tempted by the same doubts as the Padre himself with regard to the virgin birth of Christ. While Eudósio meditates, the man disappears, which leads the good father to believe that he has been talking with Satan himself. Thinking that his physical and spiritual condition are certainly not of the

¹⁵ *Mantice*, Lyon, 1558, p. 7.

best, Eudósio resolves to consult first a doctor and then his own personal confessor.

Thus far the two editions of the novel are identical, but from this point on the edition of 1930¹ proceeds as follows:

Eudósio goes to see the doctor who finds nothing wrong with him, pats him on the back and sends him away. His confessor is a matter-of-fact Jesuit who is inclined to scout the personal appearance of the Devil to Eudósio. The obese curate then returns to his confessional to resume the struggle. As the day wears on, his body becomes more and more tired and his spirit more troubled. The climax is reached when the very woman who tempted him as a girl comes to make confession. Not recognizing the churchman, she speaks of her love for the young seminarist and of how his rejection of her had caused her to hate all priests. For a time she had been a Protestant. Now she wishes to confess and return to the fold. As the woman dwells on the details of their former experience, Eudósio strives to fight down the flood of lascivious thoughts induced by the woman's words. When she confesses that were she to meet the man again, she no doubt would try once more to win his love, Eudósio feels himself overcome by the Evil One. Praying desperately to the Virgin, he lurches out of the confessional. For a moment he thinks himself saved as he stands suddenly alone in the silent church. Then, there before him is the man of the morning, the man whom he suspected of being the Devil. As he watches, the figure of the man becomes tremendous. His bat wings reach the vaulted ceiling. Uttering a strangled cry, Eudósio slumps dead on the church floor.

It is odd that the author of *Nacha Regules* should make his novel end so abruptly and pessimistically. What was the physical cause of death, a mere mental conflict? Why is this Christian man allowed to fall into the clutches of Satan. This ending is neither good naturalism nor good Christianity and from either point of view it is forced and unsatisfying.

But the second edition,² instead of ending with these two lines:

De la garganta del Padre Solanas salió un grito hecho pedazos y su cuerpo se derrumbó.³

ends thus:

De la garganta del Padre Solanas salió, hecha pedazos, una invocación a María. El monstruo desapareció. La Virgen sonrió con dulzura al sacerdote. Pero al mismo tiempo, Solanas sintió como si toda su sangre afuyese a su cabeza. En una niebla de su inteligencia, recordó las recomendaciones del

¹ Manuel Gálvez. *Miércoles Santo*. Buenos Aires. Librería y Editorial "La Facultad" Juan Roldán y Cía. 1930.

² Manuel Gálvez: *Miércoles Santo*. Buenos Aires. Editorial Tor. 1942.

³ Ed. "La Facultad," p. 199.

médico. Golpes violentos martillaban su cabeza, parecían hincharle las venas. Y de pronto, las piernas le faltaron y su cuerpo se derumbó sin vida.⁴

One's first impression is that Gálvez has merely given us a happier and more Christian ending. Faith triumphs over the lusts of the flesh. But no, let us look back now at the Padre's interview with the doctor, which formerly ended thus:

Y rió clamorosamente, palmeando al sacerdote.
Solanas se dirigió a su iglesia. Allí se arrodilló y pidió al Señor que . . .⁵

But in the edition of 1942, note what the author has inserted:

Y rió clamorosamente, palmeando al sacerdote.
Antes de que Solanas terminase de vestirse, el médico quiso tomarle la tensión arterial. El sacerdote, que ignoraba lo que fuese aquello, vió perplejo subir y bajar la columnita de mercurio.

—¡Muy alta!

—Y eso, ¿qué significa?

Solanas advirtió una contrariedad en el rostro del médico.

—Significa, Padre, que usted debe meterse en cama en seguida, no comer durante unos días, tomar hoy mismo un buen purgante y, naturalmente, no hacer ningún esfuerzo físico ni intelectual. Y llame cuanto antes a un clínico. Créame, Padre, que la cosa es seria.

El sacerdote se despidió, pensando en que hasta después de la Semana Santa no podría ocuparse de su salud. Ni tenía derecho para hacerlo, ni, por otra parte, creía estar enfermo de otra cosa que de los nervios, aunque en este punto el especialista acababa de tranquilizarle. Dios lo necesitaba. En fin, si sentía algunas molestias físicas, él las atribuía a su obesidad.

Solanas se dirigió a su iglesia. Allá, sin acordarse de las recomendaciones del médico, se arrodilló y pidió al Señor que . . .⁶

Thus, there is now a good physical reason for the death of Father Solanas. By the addition of a few skilful paragraphs Manuel Gálvez has accomplished the paradox of making his novel at once more naturalistic and more Christian—more naturalistic in that high blood pressure now explains both his physical distress and his sudden death, more Christian in that we are assured of God's mercy for His would-be loyal follower, Padre Eudocio Solanas.

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⁴ Ed. Tor, p. 190.

⁵ Ed. "La Facultad," p. 118.

⁶ Ed. Tor, p. 114.

ÉTÉ 1532

On va répétant que l'été 1532 fut exceptionnellement chaud.¹ M. Abel Lefranc² parle de 'sécheresse mémorable.' Il ajoute que les mois 'brûlants' de l'été 1532 durent être pénibles à supporter à Lyon, 'ville de tout temps réputée pour ses chaleurs excessives.' Dois-je dire que je ne sache pas que les chaleurs soient plus 'excessives' à Lyon que dans la plupart des villes de France? Mais ce qui importe, c'est d'examiner les documents auxquels M. Abel Lefranc fait appel pour pouvoir assurer que 'cette mémorable année 1532 [. . .] fut marquée par une chaleur insolite et continue dont on garda le souvenir en France.' C'est la *Chronique parisienne de Pierre Driart, chambrier de Saint-Victor (1522-1535)*³ qui est, d'abord, invoquée. Qu'y lisons-nous? Que le mois de mai 1532 fut 'moult chault, et plus qu'il n'estoit memoire de nul vivant avoir esté auparavant.'⁴ Qu'en juin, 'le vin fut à grand marché, veu que les vignes quasy partout avoient esté toutes quasy gelées.'⁵ Mais Pierre Driart ne parle pas du tout du temps qu'il a fait, ni en juillet, ni en août. Ce n'est que pour le mois de septembre, et à la fin de la chronique de ce mois, qu'il est noté ceci: 'Il fut fort beau temps durant lesdictes vendenges comme il n'avoit faict beau l'aoust precedent, et fut l'esté long, car, depuis le premier jour du moys de may jusques au jour de Toussains ensuivans, il fit fort chault et beau temps et si eust on de la pluye par fois assez, de sorte . . .'⁶ Où M. Abel Lefranc trouve-t-il un témoignage qui lui permette de parler de 'la grande sécheresse' de 1532? Quels textes doit-on alléguer pour pouvoir affirmer: 'Jamais l'été n'avait été si long ni si brûlant'? M. Abel Lefranc fait appel à Jean Bouchet dont je

¹ Cf. *The portable Rabelais*, sel . . . by Samuel Putnam (New York, 1946), p. 24: 'it was the great summer drought of 1532 that gave Rabelais the idea for his *Pantagruel*.'

² Rabelais, *Oeuvres* . . . (Paris, 1922) III, pp. xxv et xxvi.

³ *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, XXXII (1895), 67-178.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 158.—C'est une allusion aux gelées du 18 avril (cf. *ibid.*, p. 156).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 159. En note, l'éditeur indique qu'il manque sans doute une ligne dont le sens se reconstitue aisément.'

peux consulter les *Annales d'Aquitaine*.⁷ Mais M. Lefranc rapporte seulement que les 'astrologiens' dirent que les fièvres 'procédaient des "trop extrêmes et furieuses chaleurs" de cette période.' En conclusion, je dois dire que je n'ai jamais trouvé d'allusion,⁸ dans les textes du XVI^e siècle, à la 'sécheresse mémorable' de 1532.⁹

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LE MIRACLE JUIF

The expression is associated with the author of the *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*. In the introductory section to his *Prière sur l'Acropole* Renan writes:

L'impression que me fit Athènes est de beaucoup la plus forte que j'aie jamais ressentie. . . Jusque-là, j'avais cru que la perfection n'est pas de ce monde; une seule chose me paraissait se rapprocher de l'absolu. Depuis longtemps, je ne croyais plus au miracle, dans le sens propre du mot; cependant la destinée unique du peuple juif, aboutissant à Jésus et au christianisme, m'apparaissait comme quelque chose de tout à fait à part. Or voici qu'à côté du *miracle juif* venait se placer pour moi le miracle grec. . .

In their little edition of the *Prière* (Manchester Univ. Press, 1934, p. 41) Messrs. E. Vinaver and T. B. L. Webster indicated that some of the descriptive material on the Parthenon "is strangely reminiscent of Chateaubriand's description of the Parthenon in his *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*." They also pointed out that there is agreement in the ideas of the two writers with regard

⁷ *Les Annales d'Aquitaine* . . . par Iean Bouchet, édit. dernière et nouvelle (Poitiers, 1644), p. 469: 'extremes et furieuses chaleurs, qui firent és mois de May et Iuin.'

⁸ Au contraire, j'ai relevé un passage où il est déclaré, vers 1534, que, depuis quelques années, les étés étaient si froids qu'on ne les distinguait guère des hivers (Cf. J. Larnac, *Louise Labé* [Paris, 1934]).—Le mois de janvier 1533 fut moins froid que de coutume; il fut 'bien doux et beau' (Cf. *Chronique parisienne* . . . p. 161).

⁹ Cf. Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, éd. crit. p. V. L. Saulnier (Paris, 1946), p. xiii: 'la grande sécheresse . . . 1532 . . .'.—P.-L. Larcher, *Le parfum de Combray* (Paris, 1945), p. 63: 'L'extrême sécheresse qui désola la Beauce en 1552' [*sic*].

to the harmony of Greek art in contrast with the barbarous monuments of Italy and France. Mlle A. Poirier (*Les idées artistiques de C.*, p. 270) was likewise struck by the resemblances in the two works, and evidence of Renan being inspired by the *Itinéraire* can be gathered from M. J. Pommier's *Ernest Renan: Travaux de jeunesse* (Paris, 1931, p. 203). It seems very likely, therefore, that the stimulus for the creation and use of the expression by Renan comes from one of the most sympathetic and beautiful pages that Chateaubriand ever wrote about any people. At any rate it is worth while calling attention to it for it is as significant today as it was yesterday:

Tandis que la nouvelle Jérusalem sort ainsi du désert, brillante de clarté, jetez les yeux entre la montagne de Sion et le Temple; voyez cet autre petit peuple qui vit séparé du reste des habitants de la cité. Objet particulier de tous les mépris, il baisse la tête sans se plaindre; il souffre toutes les avanies sans demander justice; il se laisse accabler de coups sans soupirer; on lui demande sa tête: il la présente au cimetière. Si quelque membre de cette société proscrite vient à mourir, son compagnon ira, pendant la nuit, l'enterrer furtivement dans la vallée de Josaphat, à l'ombre du temple de Salomon. Pénétrez dans la demeure de ce peuple, vous le trouverez dans une affreuse misère, faisant lire un livre mystérieux à des enfants qui, à leur tour, le feront lire à leurs enfants. Ce qu'il faisoit il y a cinq mille ans, ce peuple le fait encore. Il a assisté dix-sept fois à la ruine de Jérusalem, et rien ne peut le décourager; rien ne peut l'empêcher de tourner ses regards vers Sion. Quand on voit les Juifs dispersés sur la terre, selon la parole de Dieu, on est surpris sans doute: mais, pour être frappé d'un étonnement surnaturel, il faut les retrouver à Jérusalem; il faut voir ces légitimes maîtres de la Judée esclaves et étrangers dans leur propre pays; il faut les voir attendant, sous toutes les oppressions, un roi qui doit les délivrer. Ecrasés par la Croix qui les condamne, et qui est plantée sur leurs têtes, cachés près du temple dont il ne reste pas pierre sur pierre, ils demeurent dans leur déplorable aveuglement. Les Perses, les Grecs, les Romains ont disparu de la terre; et un petit peuple, dont l'origine précéda celle de ces grands peuples, existe encore sans mélange dans les décombres de sa patrie. Si quelque chose, parmi les nations, porte le caractère *du miracle*, nous pensons que ce caractère est ici. Et qu'y a-t-il de plus merveilleux, même aux yeux du philosophe, que cette rencontre de l'antique et de la nouvelle Jérusalem au pied du Calvaire: la première s'affligeant à l'aspect du sépulcre de Jésus-Christ ressuscité; la seconde se consolant auprès du seul tombeau qui n'aura rien à rendre à la fin des siècles! (*Itinéraire*, ed. E. Malakis, Baltimore, 1946, II, 203).

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MELVILLE'S ART: ONE ASPECT

Van Wyck Brooks, writing a score of years ago and under the influence of Melville's early biographers, declared that "Melville at thirty-five had outlived the literary illusion; he had come to despise the written word."¹ I think it safe to say that no one who has kept abreast of Melville scholarship would make such an assertion today; even though it is not yet a long time since E. L. Grant Watson, representing a whole school of thought upon the matter, described *Pierre* dramatically as a kind of defiant swan song, after which Melville subsided into silence.²

Anyone can see at a glance, of course, that a change occurred in Melville's career after 1851. Unable to sustain the high power of *Moby-Dick*, Melville turned from the sea to inland subjects and in part from the novel to the tale. Somewhat later he abjured prose altogether and, until the closing years of his life, produced poetry almost exclusively. But, whatever the form, he continued to write and to some extent continued to publish.³

There was no lessening of Melville's mental activity—indeed, of his intellectual and spiritual growth—after 1851; the briefest glance at the most recent American book on Melville's thought should convince one of that.⁴ Yet his writings after *Moby-Dick*, with minor exceptions and in spite of many evidences of great literary skill and his continuing interest in literary creation, are for the most part less important and less generally successful than the brilliant galaxy of sea stories which preceded them—a collection to which he added one of the most precious pieces long years later in *Billy Budd*.

It is obviously presumptuous to ask of any writer that his work remain consistently on the highest plane or that he produce, instead of a solitary masterpiece, a succession of them; one is tempted,

¹ Van Wyck Brooks, *Emerson and Others* (New York, 1927), p. 195.

² E. L. Grant Watson, "Melville's *Pierre*," *NEQ*, III, 195-234 (April, 1930).

³ Harrison Hayford, in his unpublished doctoral dissertation, *Hawthorne and Melville: A Biographical and Critical Study* (Yale University, 1945), ably presents this point of view.

⁴ William Ellery Sedgwick, *Herman Melville: The Tragedy of Mind* (Cambridge, 1944).

nevertheless, to wonder why Melville, who in 1852⁵ certainly had no intention of giving up his literary career in spite of its unsatisfactory financial returns,⁶ never quite regained, until forty years later, the subtle mastery of his materials which he exhibited in varying degrees between *Typee* and *Moby-Dick*. Surely nothing so simple as his troublesome eyesight or a fall from a wagon can explain the change.

I think the explanation lies in the type of writer that Melville was—in the nature of his art. For in Melville we perceive not a literary inventor but an assimilator. He may be said to have recorded rather than devised most of the incidents in his major works. His two chief sources apparently consisted in his reading and his own experience. To make this distinction of terms clear, one has merely to compare Melville with Poe, the inventor *par excellence*.

Charles R. Anderson and others have already identified many of the sources from which Melville drew for his early works such materials as were not suggested by his own direct observation.⁷ For *Typee*, *Omoo*, *Redburn*, and *White-Jacket* the framework is clearly the life which Melville knew at first hand and which by its hardships, brutality, mystery, and color so deeply impressed him. *Mardi*, laid in a setting similar to these and recounting in part his physical as well as mental sorrows and joys, depends for unity upon its allegory. Finally, in *Moby-Dick*, we see the miraculous blending of Melville's actual experience, his reading, and the leaven of his metaphorical philosophizing; nearly a quarter of the book, it may

⁵ His published works after this date, besides *Pierre*, include *Israel Potter*, *The Confidence-Man*, a group of tales and sketches (among them "The Encantadas" and "Benito Cereno") of which a number were collected in *The Piazza Tales*, *Battle-Pieces and Aspects of the War*, *Clarel*, *John Marr and Other Sailors*, and *Timoleon*, besides additional miscellaneous items in the periodicals. Hayford points out that Melville's attempts to secure a government position began long before his so-called literary "retirement" and not as a result of a determination to give up writing.

⁶ Though the income from his books was meager, Melville was never, like Hawthorne, in anything resembling real poverty. See William Charvat, "Melville's Income," *American Literature*, xv, 251-261 (November, 1943).

⁷ See Charles R. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas* (New York, 1939).

be noted, consists in descriptive materials based upon Beale⁸ and other authorities on the natural history of the whale.

When he finished *Moby-Dick*, Melville had well-nigh exhausted the rich vein of literary ore out of which his first six novels were mined. He had completed the narrative of his years before the mast; and to supply a framework for *Pierre*, he chose a setting vaguely reminiscent of his own boyhood home, but utterly land-locked. The results were less happy, whatever noble characteristics the book may be admitted to have. From this point on, most of Melville's prose pieces appear to be traceable to one source or another among his library books or his acquaintances.⁹ It was not until the last years of his life that Melville reopened the abandoned mine of his youthful experience and extracted a final ingot as valuable as any of the others.

In recognizing this aspect of Melville's art, one does not say, of course, that the only value of his writings lies in their faithfulness to his experience. Melville was undoubtedly at his best when he fused with his actual knowledge of events his reading, his gleanings from conversation, his ironic or outraged comments upon the occurrences of his times, and his gropings among spiritual and philosophical ideas. His imagination chewed upon the incidents he recorded until they lost the shape of journalism and became the richly subjective utterances of universal experience. When, through sheer exhaustion of supply, he turned perforce to those emptier phases of his life uncharged with the intense electric of his maritime adventures, or when he found himself relying entirely upon his reading, Melville was obviously not at his best.

By 1852 the grand storehouse from which he drew his major situations had been emptied, and there was no second young manhood from the bounty of which to refill it. Melville's art then gradually became less effective, and he deserted prose for the com-

⁸ Thomas Beale, *The Natural History of the Sperm Whale . . .*, etc. (London, 1839). A study of Melville's dependence upon Beale is contained in my unpublished doctoral dissertation, *Melville and Nineteenth-Century Science* (Yale University, 1944).

⁹ To this statement there are, without doubt, some notable exceptions. But Merton Sealts, in the preface and notes to his forthcoming edition of Melville's miscellaneous prose, points out a number of hitherto unsuspected sources for the shorter pieces.

pensating rhythms of poetry. Only the germ of *Billy Budd*, "like one of those seeds taken out of the Egyptian Pyramids, which, after being three thousand years a seed and nothing but a seed, being planted in English soil, . . . developed itself [and] grew to greenness,"¹⁰ remained for later fruition.

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CALEB WILLIAMS AND MARTIN FABER: A CONTRAST

The fate of William Gilmore Simms' first book, *Martin Faber*, has been neglect or dismissal with the critical tag "a Godwinian tale of crime."¹ In an extension of the latter dictum, surface similarities between *The Adventures of Caleb Williams* and *Martin Faber* have been pointed out as significant.² However, a close study of the details in the two stories will bear out Simms's defense of his own originality.³

¹⁰ From Melville's letter to Hawthorne in Julian Hawthorne, *Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston and New York, 1884), I, 405.

¹ *Cambridge History of American Literature*, I, 314; Carl Van Doren, *The American Novel* (New York, 1940), p. 51. Also W. P. Trent, *William Gilmore Simms* (New York, 1892), p. 81: ". . . however original Simms may have thought himself, . . . he was simply following . . . the devious, dark, and uncanny paths where Godwin had once walked with a stately tread."

² Floyd H. Deen's brief study, "The Genesis of *Martin Faber* in *Caleb Williams*," *Modern Language Notes*, LIX, 315-317 (May, 1944), admits a difference in the authors' aims, but is inadequate and misleading. Deen notes that both stories reveal "the maniacal tendencies of an abnormal character"; that both are written in the first person; that both murderers confess their crime to their best friend; and that there is a mistreated Emily in both.

The purpose of the present study is to illustrate a significant disparity between the first three of these superficially identical features. As for the last-named, however, it would probably have caused Simms some chagrin: writing, as he did, when the subject of British influence was so tender a sore, he may naturally have wished at all events to avoid using in his story so tangible an element as a prominent character's name that would have left him open to the charge of plagiarism.

³ "'Martin Faber' belongs to the family of which Godwin's '*Caleb*

it is clear, finds the first-person narration indispensable to his avowed aim:

The only difference between the narrative of crime given in 'Martin Faber' and that furnished by the newspapers daily, consists in this little particular. The author of the work has striven to trace it to its causes—to describe its sources—to probe the wound, and to declare its depths.⁷

Therefore, Martin must tell his own story: the *criminal* must account for his criminality. This he does, dwelling meaningfully on each crime.

However, since Godwin is primarily concerned with the theme of social justice, the origin and effects of Falkland's "criminality" are only of secondary interest. Consequently, that part of *Caleb Williams* which deals with Falkland's decline from complete virtuousness to murder, remorse, and physical decay is told in retrospect, and *not* by Falkland himself, nor even by Caleb, the narrator, but by the steward Collins.

Similarly, the divergence of the authors' aims precludes any stressing of the fact that both murderers confess their crime to their best friend. Caleb's curiosity about Falkland's isolation and the mysterious trunk leads him to suspect Falkland, but it is a dispassionate curiosity. Thus, when the harassed squire is forced to confession, Caleb's loyalty continues, and it is only when he foresees eternal persecution at Falkland's hands that Caleb publicly denounces his master.

On the other hand, no one hounds Martin into confession. He suffers only fleeting remorse, and resumes his former pursuits, their pleasure undiminished by any feeling of guilt. When he confesses, he does so spontaneously, to impress the naive Harding,⁸ and is moved as much by a feeling of self-importance⁹ as by that of a mysterious powerlessness.¹⁰ Harding, of course, is amazed, and

⁷ "Advertisement," p. ix.

⁸ "I surveyed him with close attention for a few moments . . . with a deliberation that, under all the circumstances, was significant of a momentary madness. . . ." (*Martin Faber*, p. 83.)

⁹ ". . . the huge stride which I had taken in crime contributed largely to the sense of my own importance. Such is our nature. We are proud of the power to destroy. . . . There is something elevating—something attractive to the human brute, even in being a destroyer. . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 86.)

¹⁰ "What prompted me to the narration I know now. I could not resist the impulse—I was compelled to speak." (*Ibid.*, p. 83.) Like the Ancient

refuses to believe him. He shields Martin merely because he is shocked by the enormity of the crime, and hopes that Martin will retract his confession. When his denunciation of Martin is publicly scorned, he reproaches Martin very much as Falkland might have reproached the murdered Tyrrel:

" . . . for years . . . I have been contending for glory—for a name . . . This you knew. . . . In one hour—without an object—to satisfy a wanton caprice— . . . you have destroyed me . . . I am banished from that which has been the life-blood of my being—the possession of a goodly, of a mighty name! I have no farther use in life."¹¹

Whereupon, consistent with his course of self-righteousness, he begins the spying that finally convicts Martin, and hunts for clues as relentlessly as Falkland hunts Caleb from town to town. In fact, if there is any parallel here, it is between Falkland and Harding—not between Falkland and Martin.

And when to the evidence of the above disparities one adds the fact that *Martin Faber* is in effect an expanded, fictional re-working of a partly-factual "Confessions of a Murderer" which Simms had published in a Charleston gazette and newspaper some time before,¹² it may seriously be doubted that Godwin's novel had any noticeable influence on the shaping of *Martin Faber*.

EDWARD STONE

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EMERSON'S BROTHER AND THE MOUSETRAP

The mousetrap sentence is one of the best known in all literature: "If a man can write a better book, preach a better sermon, or make a better mouse-trap, than his neighbor, though he builds his house in the woods, the world will make a beaten path to his door." Nor is there, after Burton Stevenson's exhaustive examination into the claims and counter-claims,¹ a shred of doubt that the sentence is

Mariner, he says, he was made "in spite of every obstacle, to thrust his terrible narrative into the ears of the unwilling listener." (*Ibid.*, p. 86.)

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

¹² Trent, p. 76.

¹ Burton Stevenson, "The Mouse Trap," Item 7 (unpaged) of *The Colophon*, Part XIX (Volume v, December, 1934).

one which Ralph Waldo Emerson interpolated into one of his California lectures in the spring of 1871, probably the lecture on "Hospitality and How to Make Homes Happy" delivered in Oakland, California, on May 18. There can hardly be any doubt of that. After the sentence had been ascribed to Emerson in the book of aphorisms compiled by the ladies of an Oakland church in 1889² and had been used by an advertising man of the West Publishing Company, of Minneapolis, and had been laid claim to by no less an Emersonian than Elbert Hubbard, there began to be doubts that the sentence was Emerson's. To settle the doubts the West Publishing Company wrote to Mrs. Sarah S. Beach Yule, one of the Oakland ladies who had copyrighted the book of aphorisms, and in its house organ *The Docket* for February, 1912, quoted her reply: "To the best of my knowledge and belief, I copied it in my handbook from an address delivered long ago, it being my custom to write everything there that I thought particularly good, if expressed in concise form; and when we were compiling *Borrowings*, I drew on this old book freely." Mr. Stevenson, after wondering whether sixteen year old Sarah Beach copied it from a newspaper report of Emerson's Oakland lecture or whether she wrote it down after hearing the lecture, concludes:

But whether she copied it, or whether she heard it, there can be no reasonable doubt that it was actually used by Emerson in one of these lectures—a happy thought, perhaps, which came to him at the moment of delivery, for there is no record of his ever having used it anywhere else.³

Mr. Stevenson, along with other Emerson scholars, knew that Emerson had written something strikingly similar to the mouse-trap sentence in 1855 under the heading *Common Fame* in his journal:

If a man has good corn, or wood, or boards, or pigs, to sell, or can make better chairs or knives, crucibles or church organs, than anybody else, you will find a broad hard-beaten road to his house, though it be in the woods. And if a man knows the law, people will find him out, though he live in a pine shanty, and resort to him.⁴

² *Borrowings*. Compiled by Ladies of the First Unitarian Church of Oakland, California. San Francisco: Murdock & Co., Printers, 1889. The book was copyrighted by Sarah S. B. Yule and Mary S. Keene. The mouse-trap quotation appeared on page 38.

³ Stevenson, *loc. cit.*, p. [8].

⁴ *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, VIII, 528-529 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912).

That is as far back as the mousetrap idea has been traced. But the mention in the *Journal* passage of a man who "knows the law" suggests that it can be traced farther back, for Emerson had three brothers who knew the law. His brother William, on Staten Island, was a successful lawyer all his life. His brother Edward was studying law in the law offices of Daniel Webster when his health failed and forced him to seek restoration in the West Indies, where he died just before Emerson and his mother moved to Concord in 1834 and became boarders at the Old Manse.

The youngest brother, Charles Chauncey Emerson, knew the law also. He had studied law in Cambridge Law School, then in Webster's office in Boston, and finally in the office of Samuel Hoar in Concord. Charles impressed people. Oliver Wendell Holmes said of him in college, "He was for me the very ideal of an embodied celestial intelligence."⁵ When he died, Dr. William Ellery Channing said that all New England mourned his loss. Harriet Martineau called him "the adored Charles."⁶ No one adored him more than his brother Ralph, unless it be Elizabeth Hoar, daughter of his mentor and then his fiancée. Ralph and Lidian Emerson planned when Charles should have married Elizabeth to build a wing onto the house in Concord so that they might all live under one roof. And when Charles had died, Elizabeth, though living in the home of her parents, came into Ralph Emerson's home and into his life as a sister. These two especially cherished every memory of Charles and every story about him.

And one of the stories, surely a family story because it is told by Elizabeth's brother in his autobiography nearly seventy years after the death of Charles, reminds one of the mousetrap sentence:

Mr. Webster, who was consulted as to where [Charles] Emerson should settle, said, "Settle! Let him settle anywhere. Let him settle in the midst of the back woods of Maine, the clients will throng after him."⁷

What Webster said about Charles Emerson surely would have lived in the memory of his brother and of his fiancée, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that an echo of Webster's words could be heard thirty-five years later in Emerson's impromptu sentence in California.

⁵ Quoted in George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, I, 63-64 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

There is a sequel to the story about the man who can make a better mousetrap or the man who knows the law. Charles did not settle in the back woods of Maine. He settled in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1833. He lived there less than three years, not long enough for the clients to throng after him as Webster had promised nor for the "world to make a beaten path to his door." But he did attract one man to Concord. Charles Emerson was in Concord long enough for Ralph Waldo Emerson to take the path there. Ralph gave up his plan to settle in the Berkshires and turned his life toward Concord in order to be near Charles. A few months later he attended the funeral of Charles on Staten Island. Next day he wrote to Lidian back in Concord, "I determined to live in Concord, as you know, because he was there, and now that the immense promise of his maturity is destroyed, I feel not only unfastened there and adrift but a sort of shame at living at all."⁸

RAYMOND ADAMS

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CHRISTOPHER PEARSE CRANCH'S "GNOSIS": AN ERROR IN TITLE

Of all of Christopher Pearse Cranch's poems, the one that is most often reprinted in anthologies is "Gnosis." The reason for this may be twofold: it is most typical of its author's best writing; and it is truly representative of the transcendental poetry produced by the Concord Group. However, surrounding the history of this poem and its incorrect title there are certain circumstances whose narration, although not devoid of humorous implications, may serve to lighten the burden of the teacher of American literature who has had to wrench the poem, to whatever extent, to make it fit its title-frame.

The original title of "Gnosis," upon its first appearance in print in the *Dial* for July, 1840, was "Stanzas."¹ When Cranch's first

⁸ Ralph Waldo Emerson to Lidian Emerson, May 12, 1836. Ralph L. Rusk, ed., *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, II, 20 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

¹ I, 99.

collection of poems was published in 1844, each poem was headed by a title in gothic lettering. The title given to this poem was "Enosis,"² and the running title on the following page was clearly printed, in small roman block capitals, likewise as "Enosis." So far as the meaning of the poem is concerned, there can hardly be any doubt that "Enosis," the correct title, is a more felicitous choice. A transliteration of "Ἐνωσις" (unity, union, combination into one), the word, as any brief examination of the poem will demonstrate, has a clarifying effect and gives more point and direction than does "Gnosis."

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, as editor of *The Estray*, a collection of poetry published in 1847, quite obviously used the 1844 edition of Cranch's *Poems*, for he reprinted the poem with its proper title, "Enosis."³ Yet, a search through about seventy-five collections of American poetry published between 1847, the date of his collection, and the present, reveals that Cranch's poem was thereafter generally reprinted under one of two titles, either "Stanzas"⁴ or "Gnosis."

The first misreading of the title that I have been able to discover occurs in *Harper's Cyclopedia of British and American Poetry*, edited by Epes Sargent, and published posthumously in 1882, Sargent having died December 13, 1880. The title reads "Gnosis," and the reader is referred to a note at the end of the poem which states: "Ἐνωσις—knowing."⁵ Unless there is an earlier instance of editorial error than this, one is forced to the reluctant conclusion that the editor was inexcusably careless in his collecting or editing. Until an earlier misreading is uncovered—in which case the offending editor of that volume may be made the recipient of the foregoing stricture—Epes Sargent (or the editor, if there was one, who took over his duties at his death) must accept the blame for being the first to misprint the title, thereby warping the poem's meaning.

Of those examined, the next collection after *Harper's Cyclopedia* to list the poem as "Gnosis" is that edited by George Willis Cooke and published in 1903, *The Poets of Transcendentalism*.⁶ The brief

² *Poems* (New York, 1884), p. 52 f.

³ *The Estray* (Boston, 1847), p. 3.

⁴ E. g., R. W. Griswold's *The Poets and Poetry of America* (1842), uses the title "Stanzas," obviously following the *Dial*. This remained unchanged in all subsequent editions.

⁵ P. 714.

⁶ (New York), p. 85 f.

notes on the poets and their works in this volume seem to indicate that Cooke was more diligent than most of the earlier editors in checking his sources. He says of this poem that "... 'Gnosis' ... first appeared in 'The Dial.' In that periodical the title of 'Gnosis' was 'Stanzas.'"⁷ This raises the question of whether Cooke took the title from *Harper's Cyclopaedia*—or another anthology not as yet found—or whether he made the same error as had Epes Sargent.

In any event, the error seems to have become confirmed by 1903. From that date onward any anthology—so far as it has been possible to ascertain—which has printed Cranch's poem has carried the incorrect title, "Gnosis." This is all the more curious in view of the fact that Leonora Cranch Scott, in her biography of her father, *The Life and Letters of Christopher Pearse Cranch*, refers to the poem as "Enosis."⁸

It is to be hoped that the correction will be deemed of sufficient importance to warrant change of title in all future anthologies of American poetry.

SIDNEY E. LIND

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WORDS INTO IMAGES IN CHAUCER'S *HOUS OF FAME*

In Book II of Chaucer's *Hous of Fame* the eagle, bearing Chaucer between his claws to the Hous of Fame, explains why all sound must rise to Fame's dwelling place.¹ The discussion of the way in which words are received into the Hous of Fame reaches this conclusion in Book II:

Loo, to the Hous of Fame yonder,
Thou wost now how, cometh every speche;

But understond now ryght wel this,
Whan any speche ycomen ys
Up to the paleys, anon-ryght
Hyt wexeth lyk the same wight
Which that the word in erthe spak,

⁷ P. 312.

⁸ (New York, 1917), p. 29.

¹ Chaucer's *Complete Works*, edited by F. N. Robinson (Cambridge, 1933), *Hous of Fame*, II, ll. 729-851.

Be hyt clothed red or blak;
 And hath so verray hys lyknesse
 That spak the word, that thou wilt gesse
 That it the same body be,
 Man or woman, he or she.²

Although parallels for the physics of the rise of sound have been pointed out, no one, so far as I know, has presented a source or an analogue for these lines which describe the word's taking the image of the person who spoke it on earth. W. O. Sypherd, in his study of the *Hous of Fame*,³ does not mention this passage, and it is quite probable that, as Sypherd suggests for other lines which have no parallel, these lines were developed wholly from the poet's imagination. There is, however, an analogue for the passage to be found in the Hebrew work, the *Zohar*. Here R. Simeon, R. Jose, R. Judah, and others are discussing wisdom and prayer, and at the close of a statement of the significance of the holy words in the recital of the Sanctification, R. Simeon proceeds to a discourse upon the sixteenth verse of the Third Chapter of Malachi: 'Then they that fear the Lord spoke with one another; and the Lord hearkened, and heard, and a book of remembrance was written before him, for them that fear the Lord, and that thought upon him.' He interprets the words in this manner, saying that the verse signifies

the repetition of the words spoken on earth in the upper world, by all the sacred hosts and legions. For the words of the holy Law spoken here below ascend on high, where multitudes come to meet them to take them up and present them before the Holy King, there to be adorned with many crowns woven of the supernal radiances. All these words, then, are *self-spoken*, as it were, before the Most High King. . . . In the verse cited there is twice mention of 'them that fear the Lord'; the first indicates the men themselves as they are here below, and the second their images as reflected in their words that ascend on high. This esoteric doctrine is found in the Book of Enoch, where it says that all the words of exposition uttered by the righteous on earth are adorned with crowns and are arrayed before the Holy One, blessed be He, who delights Himself with them. They then descend and come up again before His presence in the image of that righteous man who gave expression to them, and God then delights Himself with that image. The words, then, are inscribed in 'a book of remembrance

² *Ibid.*, II. 1070-1081.

³ W. O. Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's 'Hous of Fame.'* Chaucer Society Publication, Second Series, No. 39 (London, 1907).

before Him,' so as to endure for evermore. . . . And you, Companions, behold, the Holy One disports Himself now with those words you uttered, and you are standing now before your Master as represented by your holy images. . . . In this way the righteous are destined in the future to be distinguished in the eyes of all men, and to make their holy countenance manifest before all the world. . . .

At this point R. Simeon noticed R. Jose meditating worldly matters. Said he to him: 'Jose, arise and make complete your image, inasmuch as you are short one letter.' R. Jose then rose up and joyously absorbed himself in expositions of the Torah. R. Simeon then looked at him again, and said: 'R. Jose, now you are whole before the Ancient of Days, and your image is complete.'⁴

The passage is, of course, not a perfect parallel. In the *Zohar* the words which ascend are holy words, spoken by righteous people, and they are received by a Divine and Supreme Being. In the *Hous of Fame* all words, 'red or blak,' spoken by every kind of man, rise to Fame. Here the words are not crowned as they are before God. It is, however, a striking similarity that in both passages the words which have risen to a region above earth now assume the image of the person who spoke them.

The *Zohar* was compiled in the thirteenth century.⁵ Although it is not impossible that Chaucer may have heard about the work, it is improbable, in the light of existing evidence, that he could have known it well. I present the passage in the *Zohar* not as a source, but merely as an interesting parallel.

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THOMAS TRAHERNE AND HENRY MORE

Since Traherne's first twentieth-century appearance, not a few of his critics have pointed out a general parallel between his work and that of his contemporaries, the Cambridge Platonists. While most such comments seem to assume a debt on Traherne's part, none has attempted to establish actual verbal proof of such a debt.¹ Nothing

⁴ *The Zohar*, trans. by Maurice Simon and Dr. Paul P. Levertoff (London, 1933), iv, 237-239 (Exodus, 217a-217b).

⁵ J. Abelson, Introduction to the *Zohar*, trans. by Maurice Simon and Harry Sperling (London, 1931), i, x. Cf. Christian D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah* (London, 1925), 167-176.

¹ Gertrude Scherer, "More and Traherne," *MLN*, xxxiv (1919), 49-50,

of Cudworth's or of Whichcote's was published till after Traherne's death. Culverwel's *Light of Nature* and Smith's *Select Discourses* came off the press during his boyhood; and throughout virtually his whole life (from 1642 on) More was turning out books at a prolific rate. It would be almost inconceivable that Traherne should not be conversant with the work of the leading liberal theologian of his time, a man whose thought was certainly largely congenial with, if not actually formative of, his own. And Gladys Wade supplies what looks like proof positive of a connection between the two. In her account of Traherne's Commonplace Book she offers the following abridgement of one entry:

Co-haesion. A scientific extract, with what is possibly Traherne's own comment. "There is nothing so unconceivable to me as that holding together of the parts of Matter; which has so confounded me when I have seriously thought upon it that I have been prone to think with myself that the Germs of the World hold together not so much by Geometrie as some natural Magick. . . . Particles so little that it implies a contradiction they should be divided into less, for they are truly indivisible, and impenetrable in like manner. And therefore they touch one another as it were in smooth superficies: now therefore they hold together or what is the Principle of their Union is inconceivable."²

Now these are precisely Henry More's sentiments concerning matter. He had stated them repeatedly⁴—at considerable length in *The Immortality of the Soul* (1659), again in his correspondence with Descartes (published in 1662). His conviction that matter could not hang together by itself was his main proof for the existence

is the only one who has offered verbal parallels, drawn from More's verse and Traherne's; these are close enough to be allowable, but not, I think, entirely convincing. In the main, however, Miss Scherer dwells upon similarity of ideas; so likewise do Paul Elmer More, "Thomas Traherne," *The Nation*, Feb. 18, 1909, 160-62; Gladys Willett, *Thomas Traherne* (Cambridge, 1919); E. N. S. Thompson, "Mysticism in Seventeenth Century English Literature," *SP*, XVIII (1921), 170-231; T. O. Beachcroft, "Traherne and the Doctrine of Felicity," *The Criterion*, IX (1930), 291-307, and "Traherne and the Cambridge Platonists," *Dublin Review*, CLXXXVI (1930), 278-90; Elizabeth Holmes, *Henry Vaughan and the Hermetic Philosophy* (Oxford, 1932); Hans Oskar Wilde, *Beiträge zur Englischen Literaturgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau, 1932). Queenie Iredale, *Thomas Traherne* (Oxford, 1935), p. 36, raises a lone voice to the effect that the Cambridge Platonists had very slight influence on Traherne.

² Gladys I. Wade, *Thomas Traherne: a Critical Biography* (Princeton, 1944), 254.

of spirit, his main reason for rejecting a "mechanical" in favor of a "spermatical" principle to govern the universe, the basis for his definitions of "substance," "body," and "spirit," with which he sought to confute Hobbes's materialism. And in 1668 he had summarized his theories in the *Divine Dialogues*:

. . . of itself it would be disunited into a *Congeries* of mere *Physical Monads*, that is, into so little particles, that it implies a contradiction they should be less. . . . There is no *Vinculum* imaginable in Matter to hold the parts together. For you know they are impenetrable, and therefore touch one another in smooth *Superficies*. How therefore can they hold together? What is the principle of their Union? *

Barring uncanny coincidence, it would appear that what Miss Wade calls "possibly Traherne's own comment" is really his digest of More's then newest and most comprehensive statement on the subject.

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REVIEWS

Voltaire, Dryden and Heroic Tragedy. By TRUSTEN WHEELER RUSSELL. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. viii + 178. \$2.50.

This well-written dissertation is devoted primarily to Voltaire, his conception of tragedy, his choice of material, his style, and the relation of his tragedies to those of Dryden. This last topic has led the author to investigate critical opinion in both France and England in the later seventeenth century and the earlier eighteenth, as well as to discuss Dryden's idea of tragedy, defined as "heroic romance material raised to epic dignity by grandeur of style." Dr. Russell stresses resemblances between the two dramatists, considering the work of both as largely sprung from French critics like Rapin, Le Bossu, and Dacier, and from French heroic romances. He holds that it was Dryden rather than Shakespeare who represented English influence in Voltaire's tragedies, that Voltaire went directly to Dryden for parts of *Zaire* and *Tancredè*, and that *Alzire* is an "adaptation" of the *Indian Emperour*.

* The First Dialogue (pp. 61-2 of the ed. London, 1713).

He makes it clear that there was a general resemblance between the two authors, but he neglects the facts that behind Dryden there was always Shakespeare, behind Voltaire there were Corneille and Racine. He exaggerates, too, the influence exerted by theorists upon Voltaire, who once wrote,¹ "Il y a bien plus à apprendre dans *Polyeucte* et dans *Cinna* que dans tous les préceptes de l'abbé d'Aubignac." Moreover, much of Dryden's violence, lack of preparation, and lack of unity was abhorrent to French dramatists; Voltaire never went so far in depicting physical heroism as did Dryden in the role of Almanzor; nor did Voltaire ever adopt so metaphorical a style, however much he may have been accused of being "épique."

Voltaire did not need Dryden either for examples of heroic tragedy, or for introducing into his text criticism of church and state. As old a play as Thomas Corneille's *Timocrate* (1656) amply satisfies the definition that Dr. Richardson gives of heroic tragedy; and Voltaire began to attack the church before there is any evidence that he had read Dryden. Already in his *Œdipe* ² of 1718 he had made a character with whom we sympathize declare of priests that "notre crédulité fait toute leur science." If Dryden influenced him, it was not in the general idea of introducing religious and political comment, but only in certain details.

I admit that Dr. Richardson makes out a good case for Dryden as the source of Zaire's remark that one's religion is the result of one's education, for he shows that the corresponding passage in the *Indian Emperour* was copied into Voltaire's *sottisier*. On the other hand, his contention that Tancrède's defending his beloved though he thinks she is guilty was suggested by the *Conquest of Grenada* is less probable than that Voltaire followed Mme de Fontaines's *Comtesse de Savoie*, which not only contains a similar situation, but refers to Tancred and to Sicily, as Dryden does not do. In regard to *Alzire* I find the evidence no more convincing. Dr. Richardson holds that Voltaire derived from the *Indian Emperour* the idea of writing a play about Spaniards and American Indians, the mention of torture, and the introduction of a benevolent Spaniard, but Voltaire had seen in his youth a French tragedy of which the scene is laid in Mexico, Ferrier's *Montézume*, while the reference to torture, little emphasized by Voltaire, and the presence of the kindly Spaniard may well have come from historical sources. The plots of the two plays, their characters, and their general tone are so distinctly different that I do not see how *Alzire* can possibly be called an adaptation of the *Indian Emperour*.

Dr. Richardson also goes too far in minimizing Shakespeare's influence and in magnifying Addison's. He establishes the fact that

¹ *Œuvres*, Moland edition, II, 47.

² In regard to this tragedy, Dr. R. merely notes that it resembles Corneille and Racine.

Voltaire's conception of tragedy is nearer to Dryden's than to Shakespeare's, and I quite agree that certain scholars have absurdly exaggerated the resemblance between *Othello* and *Zaire*, but I refuse to believe that the ghost in *Eriphyle* and in *Sémiramis* was not originally that of Hamlet's father, or that the use of French historical names was suggested by Dryden rather than by Shakespeare. On p. 64 Dr. Richardson states that Addison's *Cato* was "translated in 1714 by Boyer and produced on the Parisian stage. There it inspired Deschamps to write a *Cato*." As a matter of fact, Deschamps began his *Caton d'Utique* in 1712, a year before Addison's tragedy was acted or translated. I have compared the two plays without discovering any evidence of influence that cannot be explained by their common historical sources. It was Deschamps's play, not Boyer's translation of Addison, that was acted at the Comédie Française in 1714. Nor have I found any evidence that *Cato* influenced Voltaire's *Brutus*, the subject of which was dramatized in France by Mlle Bernard shortly before Voltaire's birth and again by his teacher, Father Porée.

There are other statements to be criticized:

P. 90, "*Mariamne* was laughed out of the theatre in 1724 because he [Voltaire] introduced some action in the English style." Voltaire offers a different explanation for the failure of his tragedy in its original form. The heroine's dying on the stage after taking poison is no more English than is the last scene in *Phèdre*. P. 98, "The noble example of *Alzire* has converted him [Gusman] to Christian charity." No, it is the approach of death that awakens Gusman's long dormant Christian principles. P. 103, "*Tanorède* was, perhaps the outstanding dramatic success of the entire century." It created no such excitement as de Belloy's *Siège de Calais* and was less frequently played in that century than *Rhadamiste*, *Inès*, *Œdipe*, *Zaire*, *Alzire*, or *Méropé*. Pp. 112-3, "The only plays which were based on any modern or national sources during the classical period were Racine's *Bajazet* (1672) and the *Comte d'Essex* (1678) of Thomas Corneille." Survival of an ancient error. To disprove the statement I need mention only Tristan's *Osman*, La Calprenède's *Jeanne d'Angleterre* and *Essex*, Regnault's *Marie Stuart*, Ferrier's *Anne de Bretagne*, Boyer's *Essex*.

The book ends with a quotation from Goethe: "great art will always have a moral effect, but the moral effect must not be held to have been the purpose of the artist." Voltaire's tragedies, then, according to Dr. Richardson, fail to exemplify great art. But a work of art may have qualities that transcend its author's moral intent, and it is often difficult to determine whether the moral lesson discovered by the reader was or was not the primary purpose of the writer. Voltaire obviously wrote *Mahomet*, one of his most striking tragedies and one that Goethe translated, to attack fanaticism, with special reference to the Catholic church, but just what was the moral purpose of his greatly inferior *Zulime* is hard to discover. In *Zaire* and *Méropé*, two of his most popular tragedies, he may well have had in mind the creation of pathetic situations rather than the desire to lead a crusade. His own statements must be used with caution, for his claims to morality may often have

been inspired by the desire to protect his tragedy from the censor, himself from the fate of Calas. And there can be no doubt that riming Alexandrines into tragedies was a major occupation of his long life. He began one when a boy at school and was still working at one when he was on his death-bed. Heroic or not, moralistic or not, a tragedy was always in the making. His chief guides were Corneille and Racine, but he sought at times to depart from their usage by following "epic doctrine," by seeking to "écraser l'infâme," by adding spectacle or pantomime, by enlarging geographically or chronologically the fields from which plots and characters might be derived. He took suggestions, not only from French, Greek, and Italian dramatists, but from English, less than Dr. Richardson believes, but enough to make his book worthy of careful consideration by all students of Voltaire and of Anglo-French relations in the eighteenth century.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Chateaubriand as a Critic of French Literature. By CARLOS LYNES, JR. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946. Pp. 129. \$1.25.

Chateaubriand's Natural Scenery, A Study of his Descriptive Art. By THOMAS CAPELL WALKER. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946. Pp. 185. \$2.75.

Mr. Lynes's book should really bear the title, Chateaubriand as a critic of seventeenth century literature, since he devotes three fourths of his work to that period. Chateaubriand's literary criticisms, it is true, deal largely with the seventeenth century which he considered both Christian and artistically perfect, in contrast with the anti-religious and artistically sterile eighteenth century, and a source of inspiration for a new literature. His attitude to the classical age as a whole is followed by a detailed analysis of his criticisms of the theorists and poets, religious writers and thinkers, the great classical masters, La Bruyère and Fénelon. He rounds out the picture with comments on the salons and the *précieux*. Only Rousseau and Bernardin de St. Pierre appealed to him in the eighteenth century. His condemnation of the age of the *philosophes* is as great as his admiration for the preceding century. This contrast in emphasis, Mr. Lynes points out, leads up to Chateaubriand's purpose to bridge the gap between the nineteenth century and the seventeenth. To revive the ailing literature of his day Chateaubriand proposed that his contemporaries and successors seek Christian inspiration and thus hark back to the spirit of the seventeenth century, even while making use of the innovations of form and

style of the new period. As the literature of the Romantic period developed but failed to rejoin the tradition of the seventeenth century, Chateaubriand was disappointed and became hostile to the Romantic school. Lacking in sympathy though he was, and even envious of the younger writers' success, he was nevertheless influenced, as Mr. Lynes indicates, both in style and critical judgments by the new turn of Romanticism.

He concludes his study by noting the original quality of Chateaubriand's criticism, his contributions to the history of French criticism. It was Chateaubriand who first realized the melancholy and "the sense of the infinite in Pascal, the lyricism of Bossuet the 'poet,' the musicality and Christian character portrayal of Racine." He, too, first noted the "lyrical melancholy and sadness of La Fontaine" and the "aesthetic value of the serious side of Molière's comic genius." To these conclusions he was led "by his temperament, his taste and the nature of his creative talent." Since each of these judgments deals with a seventeenth century figure, the emphasis on that century seems justified.

Other studies, including Moreau, *Le classicisme des romantiques*, indicate some of the points made by Mr. Lynes; but he is the first person to make such an elaborate study of Chateaubriand as a critic of French literature. It is a well written, logical, and well documented piece of work.

Equally scholarly, but less attractively presented, is Mr. Walker's study of Chateaubriand's landscapes. He has examined the descriptions of nature of Chateaubriand's predecessors. Chief of these in the seventeenth century were not the great literary figures, who had either a conventional attitude toward nature or ignored it completely, but two missionaries, Dutertre and Tournefort, whose significance Chateaubriand the critic understood. Rousseau's, Delille's, and Bernardin de St. Pierre's landscapes, also known and admired by Chateaubriand, come under Mr. Walker's scrutiny. Disposing briefly of Chateaubriand's own ideas on the art of describing natural scenery, he analyzes in detail his practice and indicates the importance of sense perceptions in his landscapes. Shifting his attention from the vocabulary itself to the use the writer makes of it necessitates a further examination of sources. Finally he turns his attention to the landscapes in Chateaubriand's works, in a number of instances tracing the same landscape through its various developments from its earliest to its last appearance. Not content with all these comparisons of texts, he adds in an appendix a table of color notations, thus making a valuable addition to the study of Chateaubriand's vocabulary.

Mr. Walker concludes that Chateaubriand took from his predecessors the best of their art, combining and blending the various elements into an original and harmonious whole. The technique of his composition is artful and original and the use of his landscapes to motivate the action of his characters is new. This ambitious and

painstaking work elaborates upon the indications of a number of predecessors. It is the first study, however, devoted entirely to Chateaubriand's natural scenery.

In the course of such extensive quotation and intensive comparison of texts it is remarkable to find only one misprint, "perferring" on p. 67. There is some slight inconsistency in the notes in the matter of references. Sometimes a colon is used after the author's name, sometimes a comma. At times, too, the publisher or editor of the book is mentioned, more frequently omitted. The reviewer questions the expression, p. 42, "he roamed . . . *among* the beautiful natural scenery" and would correct, p. 148, "*a drove* of doves" to a flock.

Perhaps the wide scope of his study is the cause of its occasionally labored exposition. Mr. Lynes's subject, much more circumscribed, may lend itself more easily to a pleasing and charming style. Both books testify to the originality of Chateaubriand, indicate his contributions to the development of modern French literature, and thus perform a needed service.

META H. MILLER

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Studies on Voltaire with Some Unpublished Papers of Mme du Châtelet. By IRA O. WADE. Princeton University Press, 1947. ix + 244 pp. \$3.00.

This is in a sense a companion volume to Mr. Wade's previous illuminating book on *Voltaire and Mme du Châtelet*. It was made possible by his obtaining Mme du Châtelet's papers in photographic reproduction from the Leningrad Public Library the close reading of which led to the reinvestigation, clarification and solution of several interrelated problems. The study is divided into two parts as the title indicates. Part II contains a careful reproduction of Mme du Châtelet's unpublished "Translation of the *Fable of the Bees*" as well as *L'Essai sur l'optique* and *La grammaire raisonnée*. Part I deserves the attention of every Voltaire scholar. Mr. Wade begins with a study on Voltaire's *La Ligue* and De Renneville's *Vision*. This is a supplement to a previous article by the author (*MLN*, 1935, 209 ff.) in which positive proof is adduced of Voltaire's reading Adrien Baillet's *Auteurs déguisez* and of his utilizing Renneville's *Vision*. It is followed by two studies that are related: the *Genesis of the Ingénu* and *Voltaire and Mandeville*. In the first of these Mr. Wade re-examines Mr. W. R. Jones's findings as set forth in the introduction to his edition of the *Ingénu* and goes beyond them by developing the idea that Voltaire's initial inspira-

tion for the work comes from "Remark C" of Mandeville's *Fable of the bees* and concluding approximately, as does Jones, that the conte must not be classed in the current of primitivistic literature or Rousseauistic nature doctrine. In the second study we find a very valuable attempt at an accurate evaluation of Mandeville's influence upon Voltaire. Mr. Wade then takes up the *Genesis of the Mondain*. It is presented in a new light as a defense of luxury against the attacks of moralists of the 17th century—Pascal, La Bruyère, Fénelon. It might have been better had Mr. Wade started a new chapter here entitled "physics or metaphysics" to include the studies on the *Traité de Métaphysique* and the *Eléments de la philosophie de Newton*. His treatment of the *Traité* is the most definitive piece of work published on this neglected abstruse piece of reasoning. It shows the shortcomings of H. T. Patterson's edition. It establishes a new chronology for its composition and gives a penetrating analysis of its thought content. Chapter III, entitled "Mme du Châtelet's study on grammar," is rather modest and Mr. Wade is the first one to admit it.

No reviewer can do justice to Mr. Wade's book as no one is as well acquainted with the field as he. The exterior and interior evidence he produces to advance his points is astounding and his argumentation, although involved at times, is irrefutable. He has always something new to add to what has been done and redone. He is to be congratulated for this masterly piece of scholarship, and Princeton University should be commended for having a research fund to make such publications possible.

EMILE MALAKIS

The Johns Hopkins University

Der amerikanische Best-seller. Sein Wesen und seine Verbreitung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schweiz. Vol. 17 of the Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten. By SONJA MARJASCH. Bern: Francke, 1946. Pp. 176. 10.50 s. fr.

Our Swiss colleagues from Zürich, Bern, and Basel are to be congratulated that their *Swiss Studies in English*, begun several years ago when intellectual cooperation with German and Austrian publishers became increasingly difficult, should include so many worth-while and interesting investigations.

Miss Marjasch's book is essentially a statistical and sociological rather than a literary piece of research. She deals with American and English best-sellers during the years 1937-1940 and within the frame thus set, she enumerates and exhausts, in a somewhat dry and unattractive first part, all possible definitions and variations of the

psychological, aesthetic, sociological and statistical best-sellers both of the fictional and the non-fictional type. The first part and the appended 35 lists of best-sellers arranged according to all possible viewpoints, and her 6 bibliographies of best-sellers in American, English and continental (translated) editions, constitute the most statistical pages of this at times rather mechanical investigation.

Far more attractive for the literary historian are the second and third parts (pp. 50-109), in which Miss Marjasch speaks of the popularity of the American best-sellers in England, France, Germany, Italy, and, above all, in Switzerland. England reprinted all but one of the best-sellers mentioned; Germany-Austria-Switzerland translated 60% of them, with the German censorship excluding political discussions and favoring escape literature instead (*Gone with the Wind*), and with Switzerland in turn favoring political books (*The Last Enemy*) and preferring English to American best-sellers (*How Green Was My Valley*); Italy followed third with 35% translated, giving preference to heroic and historical narratives; France, laying stress on literary quality, came last with 25% translated. The statements contained in the Swiss chapter are based upon a personal round-robin concerning 15 best-sellers sent around in the vicinity of Zürich; from the 445 replies received and classified in the best Gallup-fashion and from press-reviews, Miss Marjasch deduces various tentative generalisations, showing *e. g.* that the readers disagree with favorable criticisms in the press (*Rebecca*), that books like *How To Win Friends* are not taken seriously at all, rejected as "alien," "bearing a certain resemblance to the Oxford movement," that *Listen! The Wind* was received with an embarrassed silence, that *Oliver Wiswell* was criticized because its author was suspected to be an anti-Roosevelt pre-war isolationist, or that one-third of the best-sellers read in Switzerland are read in the original English version.

With her tongue in her cheek, Miss Marjasch at times makes some pertinent remarks about the quality of best-sellers or the literary standards of the reading public, about the rather far-fetched psychological differences between the American "best-seller" and the German "meistgelesen," about the American wish to read a book and the European wish to own and keep a book; but in spite of these remarks she does not approve of the aesthetes' customary condemnation of such books, for, she concludes, "Die Best-seller sind kulturelle Barometer unserer Zeit" which help us read and understand the trends of our era. Miss Marjasch's own predilection for the old classics and her aversion for our Age of Science which breeds best-sellers can occasionally be read only between the lines, for her main task was to interpret, not to evaluate what she investigated. In this she has succeeded very well.

W. P. FRIEDERICH

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The Little Magazine: A History and a Bibliography. By FREDERICK J. HOFFMAN, CHARLES ALLEN, and CAROLYN ULRICH. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1946. Pp. ix + 440. \$3.75. Illus.

The first half of this book is devoted to a history of those "advance guard" magazines which, during the last thirty or forty years, have done much to stimulate new movements in American literature. Groups, movements, impulses, credos are pointed out and described, and the histories of fifty or more of the magazines are given in some detail. The second half of the book is devoted to a bibliography of about five hundred periodicals, with a brief historical summary appended to each. The bibliography of many of these publications is difficult, and the data recorded by Miss Ulrich are occasionally rather sketchy. Voluming is not attempted. Publishers are not given; they were, of course, often identical with the editors.

Much that has been written about the little magazines in the past has been controversial, and even combative, in tone, because the publications themselves have so often stood for revolt against the established order. The authors of these chapters, however, have maintained an excellent critical balance. They are aware of a vast deal of silliness in these magazines, but they are alert to point out the vital contributions made by many of them. Their work is based upon careful investigation, and it is about as thoroughgoing and sound an evaluation of the contribution of the little magazines to American society and literature as we are likely ever to have. Moreover, it is written with notable ease and urbanity, and its wealth of anecdote and witty quotations make for good reading.

Although little magazines have sometimes been mere experiments in amateur publishing and editing, the best of them have been moved to this experimentation in the amateur spirit by a sincere revolt against two evils of the established magazines—commercialism and conventional decorum. Rebellion against decorum is often sophomoric, and may lead to a *bizarrerie* which is significant not as art but only as rebellion.

All these movements, and movements within movements, which Messrs. Hoffman and Allen describe, are fascinating subject matter for the student of literary history. Many of them, to be sure, had little effect—or are we always sure just how much effect they may have had? In an age of confusion in esthetic theory they have added to the confusion. But the literary democrat who thinks that every "ism" should have its hearing is gratified by these many voices. And there is justification for the whole spate of little magazines in the real contribution that a score or so of them have made to modern American literature.

The studies in this book, competent and thoughtful as they are, form a helpful guide to an important phase of our literary history.

University of Missouri

FRANK LUTHER MOTT

Keats' Reputation in America to 1848. By HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1946. Pp. 1-147.

Tastefully designed and immaculate in scholarship, the first of the Harvard Memorial Keats Studies is an investigation of the reputation (not the influence) in this country of the poet and the man Keats up to the publication of Milnes' *Life, Letters, and Literary Remains, of John Keats* . . . in 1848. As of this date the gestation period of the poet's fame is considered over.

Early knowledge of Keats is discovered as a result of the Galinani edition of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats issued at Paris in 1829. Thereafter, through the enthusiasm of an increasing number of literati, chief among whom was Nathaniel Willis of the *American Monthly Magazine*, and through the Philadelphia editions, the vogue of Keats was established in the East; the conjecture is that it passed into Western periodicals through the influence of George Keats, residing in Louisville, and the editor of the *Western Messenger* whom he knew.

The progress was not unopposed. Neo-classical taste was strong in America before the mid-century, and critical and sub-critical complaints were leveled against Romantic poets who made "mere visionary creations of the brain" into poetry and were supposed for that reason not to be poets "of the highest kind, unless we prefer Spenser to Shakespeare, or Keats to Pope." Equally diverting are the critical vagaries of Emerson, who grudgingly allowed Keats poetic genius but Shelley none, of Margaret Fuller basing her evaluation of Keats on the unique critical principle of a family squabble, of Whitman, who found him over-literary (as he could be expected to), of Poe, mercurial and doctrinaire, and of Lowell, idolatrous.

But these judgments do not reflect the American sentimentality at this time, which appears to have done as much as anything to enhance the vogue of Keats. Americans swallowed the legend of his being killed by brutal reviewers, quoted and requoted his self-dramatizing epitaph, visited his grave with their tourist's instinct for yearning over the lives and particularly the deaths of the English great. All this is not perhaps so significant as an index to the appreciation of Keats as it is to the American character of the day.

So that William Ellery Channing, Thoreau's biographer, summed up the situation neatly if tartly when he remarked of Keats and Shelley: "If these two Poets . . . shall live at all, must they not live in their Verses, which are better, let us hope, than their bones."

LAWRENCE SARGENT HALL

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BRIEF MENTION

Niederdeutsche Mitteilungen. Hrsg. v. d. Niederdeutschen Arbeitsgemeinschaft zu Lund. Jahrgang II (1946). Lund: Gleerup, 1946. Pp. 184. Only a short time ago (*MLN*, LXI, 569 f.) I was able to announce the launching of this new periodical devoted to research in Low German Linguistics and Literature. Now, the second Annual lies before me doubled in both size and importance. The most welcome contribution is a critical review by Gustav Korlén of Lund-University dealing with publications on the Low German dialects issued in Germany between 1939 and 1945. The Swedish scholar who is the legitimate authority since the decease of the Dionscours Borchling and Lasch gives us a brilliant survey of the work done during the war. This is all the more valuable since a regrettably large number of publications mentioned by Korlén did not reach our libraries. Some items seem to reflect the mentality of a nation at war; on the whole, however, even this 'total' war was not able to extinguish all the light of the humanities. The bulk of the book consists of studies in the Low German vocabulary, especially that of the fifteenth century as manifested in dictionaries, deeds, epigrams, proverbs. A fine article deals with Cod. C 495 of the University-Library at Uppsala which contains a most interesting *Psalter* which Vollmer in *Psalmverdeutschung von den ersten Anfängen bis Luther* (Hamburg, 1931 ff.) mentioned, but did not use. Miss Grönlund, the author of the article, succeeds in finding traces of Mysticism in these Psalms, reflections of the *Devotio moderna* which had spread out all over Low Germany down to the Baltic. As expected, Miss Grönlund finds that the MS is related to those of Walther's groups 27, 28, and 31, and can be placed at Lübeck. The diplomatic reprint of five of the Psalms is most valuable and in agreement with the good policy of the editors who are to be praised for the reproduction of many original texts ranging from *chronicles* to *Reimsprüche*.

ARNO SCHIROKAUER

Mark Twain: The Letters of Quintus Curtius Snodgrass, edited by ERNEST E. LEISY. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1946. \$2.00. The ten humorous sketches here reprinted appeared in the *New Orleans Daily Crescent* between January 21 and March 15, 1861, signed by Quintus Curtius Snodgrass. In 1934, Miss Brashear announced in *Mark Twain: Son of Missouri* her discovery of four of these letters and quoted extensively from them; since then Mr. Leisy and Mr. Thomas E. Dabney have uncovered six additional sketches. In editing the series of letters, Mr. Leisy has given detailed reasons for attributing them to Mark Twain.

His evidence, though circumstantial, is impressive. Most significant is Clemens' statement, quoted in Paine, that he once wrote for the *New Orleans Crescent*. In addition, he was in New Orleans when the letters were written; he had used the *nom-de-plume* Snodgrass in earlier journalism, though with a different given name (Thomas Jefferson); and his pilot friend Bixby stated that Clemens was involved in "Confederate service" before coming up the river. Moreover, the addressing of the letters to a mythical Brown offers a curious parallel to Clemens' later use of Brown as a "stooge" in California journalism. Many other parallels and references, less impressive, are cited. Internal evidence of style and taste are inconclusive; the sketches read something like Clemens' apprentice writing but not enough to convince this reviewer that they are indisputably his.

To draw biographical conclusions from these letters would be unwise without further proof of their authenticity. Moreover, if they belong to the Mark Twain canon, they add little to an understanding of his development as a writer; the six parodies of a military manual and the remaining accounts of an abortive raid on Baton Rouge, a military ball, an evening of dining out, and a visit to Lincoln are dull and uninspired even in terms of fugitive journalism.

FRANKLIN WALKER

Mills College

A Saintsbury Miscellany: Selections from his Essays and Scrap Books. With Personal Portraits by SIR HERBERT GRIERSON and others and a Biographical Memoir by A. BLYTH WEBSTER. New York: OUP, 1947. Pp. x + 246. \$3.50. Students of literature will be familiar with most of the reprinted essays save for the address given by Saintsbury at his Edinburgh inaugural, but they will agree that the editors have chosen wisely and that the reprinted material exhibits G. S. at his best. The introductory pieces by Elton, Grierson, Purves, Oliver, and Webster are fascinating, for they provide us with a picture of Saintsbury as a reader, teacher,

writer, talker, and friend. Those of us who have complained, like Churton Collins, about his inaccuracies or who have been overwhelmed at times by his prolixity (faults that have been redeemed for some of us by the *Cellar Book*) can now understand better the man whom we never met. Saintsbury was the Samuel Johnson of his age—but a wiser man, a broader man, a kindlier man, and one, too, whose contributions to the study of English letters are both stimulating and enduring.

D. C. A.

CORRESPONDENCE

MANUSCRIPT *H* OF *Berte aus grans piés*. In his recent edition of *Berte aus grans piés* (*University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures* n° 6, Chapel Hill, 1946), Professor Urban T. Holmes, Jr. has listed seven manuscripts of this thirteenth century Old-French poem, assigning to them the sigla A-G. An eighth manuscript should be added to the list: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 6234.

An examination of manuscript *H*, as it seems expedient to call manuscript 6234, discloses the fact that five folios have disappeared from that part of *H* (ff. 1-17) which contains *Berte*, with the resulting loss of lines 1-121, 446-768, 1095-1256, 3360-3485. Folios 1, 2, 4, and 5 are mutilated, folio 5 so badly so that lines 1297-1376 have all but disappeared.

Manuscript *H* is very closely related to manuscript *B* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 778). In common with *B*, *H* omits lines 142, 177, 193, 278, 852, 906, 967, 1001, 1057, 1450-53, 1559, 1615, 1643, 1778, 1949, 2332, 2373, 2489, 2590, 2657-58, 2669, 2727, 2746, 2969, 3029, 3334, and inverts lines 1491 and 1490. Soundings taken at various places show that *BH* have readings peculiar to both of them in lines 134, 137, 140, 146, 155, 158, 780, 784, 786, 792, 794, 795, 797, 798, 808, 817, 823, 853, 912, 915, 965, 968, 1002, 1490, 1491, 1495, 1510, 1519, 1522, 1558, 1616, 1642, 2003, 2220, 2352, 2374, 2502, 2503, 2506, 2692, 3343, 3348, 3350, 3357. It is also worth noting that in both *B* and *H* *Berte* is found at the beginning of the manuscript and that Adenet le Roi's poem is immediately followed by Girard d'Amiens' *Charlemagne*.

The library of Charles V contained a manuscript, now lost, in which the two poems were similarly brought together.¹ Since *Charlemagne* was intended by its author as a sequel to *Berte*,² the idea of juxtaposing them is a perfectly natural one and the lost manuscript need not have belonged textually to the *BH* group of manuscripts.

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¹ See Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, II, Paris, 1907, pp. 189-190, n° 1160.

² See Gaston Paris, in *Hist. litt. de la France*, 31 (1893), p. 202.

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JOINVILLE ÉTYMOLOGISTE

(*preu home* — *preudome*)

Miss Jessie Crossland dans son travail consciencieux¹ sur '*prou, preux, preux hom, preud'ome*' (*French Studies* 1, 149 *seq.*) mentionne le passage de Joinville (ch. 559) où "le grans roys Philippes" (Philippe Auguste) exprime le vœu pour l'enfant nouveau né d'un comte, appelé Hugues d'après Hugues VI, duc de Bourgogne, "que Diex le feïst aussi *preu home* come le duc pour qui il avoit nom Hugue." A la question pourquoi il n'avait pas dit 'aussi *preudome*,' le roi répondit (je donne le passage intégral d'après l'édition N. de Wailly, ch. 560) :

Pour ce, fist il, que il a grant difference entre *preu home* et *preudome*. Car il a mainz preus hommes chevalliers en la terre des crestiens et des Sarrazins, qui onques ne crurent Dieu ne sa Mère Dont je vous dis, fist il, que *Dieu donne grant don* et grant grace au chevalier crestien que il seuffre estre vaillant de cors, et que il seuffre en son servise en li gardant de pechié mortel; et celi qui ainsi se demeinne doit l'on appeler *preudhome* pour ce que ceste prouesse li vient dou *don Dieu*. Et ceus de qui j'ai avant parlés puet l'on appeler *preuz homes*, pour ce que il sont *preu* de lour cors et ne doutent Dieu ne pechié.

¹ On s'étonne pourtant de ne trouver dans ce travail aucune discussion de la genèse de *proz d'ome* (que Tobler, *Verm. Beitr.* 1, n° 21 a expliquée), ni aucune mention expresse de l'origine de l'anglais *proud* 'fier' < anc. fr. *prout*—Miss Crossland ne fait que mentionner en passant l'origine possible de la locution *to do oneself proud* dans le moyen anglais *doon ye prow* (qui contient *prow* < *prou*) — ni, enfin, aucune discussion du transfert sémantique dans l'a. fr. *proz* de 'utile, avantageux' (lt. *prodesse*) > 'vaillant, courageux, noble' (qui devrait être étudié ensemble avec des mots comme *vaillant*, *valeur*, *valeureux*, ayant subi le même changement de signification).

Le *preudome* sera encore défini, à l'instar de Jacob, comme un 'combatteres ou luiternes' et il sera stipulé que "tout preudome se doivent combattre contre l'ennemi et contre les malvais deliz de la chair; car par chevalerie covient conquerre lou regne des cieus" (idées qui se retrouvent dans le *credo* de Joinville, § 845).

Pour Miss Crossland cette distinction est une indication claire, d'un côté, de la déchéance sémantique ('deterioration of meaning') soufferte à l'époque de Joinville par le terme *preu*, qui, de 'noble de naissance et de caractère,' avait passé à 'courageux'; de l'autre, d'une ascension de *preudome* qui, au contraire, de 'valeuroux,' passa à signifier l'idéal du chevalier chrétien ("it includes the moral and spiritual values," "the idea of comprehensive goodness").

Si l'on se base sur les exemples de *preu* et *prodome* fournis par Miss Crossland, on ne pourra guère accepter de différence sémantique² entre ces deux mots, qui tous deux, à l'époque de Joinville comme à celle de la *Chanson de Roland*, désignaient également le *miles christianus*, tel qu'il s'était développé au moyen âge à partir de la conception de la *militia Christi* des Pères de l'Eglise: noblesse de naissance et de caractère, valeur guerrière, bonté morale, tous ces traits s'unissent dans l'idéal chevaleresque de perfection intégrale du moyen âge.

Tandis que l'usage médiéval alterne, sans la moindre distinction sémantique, comme je viens de le dire, entre *preu* (adjectif sub-

² Ainsi je ne puis voir de preuve pour la déchéance de *preux* dans l'exemple du *Garin le Lorrain* cité par Miss Crossland:

Bernaus fu preux, de grand nobilité,
 Bien le sachiez, s'il eüst loyauté
 N'eüst meillor en trestout le regné

et commenté ainsi: "*Preux* does not necessarily even include the quality of loyalty which undoubtedly it had at first." Ce passage est du type que j'ai illustré dans mon article (*RFH* VIII, 132) sur le passage du *Poema de Mio Cid*: "¡Dios, qué buen vassalla, si oviesse buen señor!" (cf. le vers du Roland sur Ganelon: "S'il fust leals, ben resemblast, barun"): un chevalier serait l'idéal complet d'un chevalier, si, malheureusement, un seul trait nécessaire à cet idéal (un trait de caractère essentiel ou une condition de vie essentielle pour le chevalier parfait) ne manquait. Dans le passage du *Garin* le poète médiéval (comme tant d'autres de ses confrères) se plaint de l'idéal presque atteint, de l'idéal rendu incomplet par l'absence de la loyauté: il nous dit en substance: Bernard a tout du chevalier parfait (*preux*), n'était-ce qu'il manque de loyauté. *Preux* a donc bien ici son sens plein.

stantivé) et *prud'homme* (*prodome*), nous nous trouvons, dans le texte de Joinville, en présence d'une distinction, toute insolite, entre *preu homme* (qui désignerait la vaillance guerrière) et *prodome* (qui désignerait le caractère 'complet,' où la moralité chrétienne s'ajouterait à la bravoure). Or, disons-le d'emblée : cette opposition aussi bien que l'un de ses termes sont factices—un *preu home* n'existe pas, que je sache, en dehors du texte de Joinville, et non plus *home preu* (alors qu'il y a *bon homme* [*< Lat. bonus homo*], *franc homme*, *gentil homme*) : les dictionnaires de Godefroy et de Littré n'en donnent pas d'exemple, et même s'il s'en trouvait, ces expressions seraient rares. *Preu* et *proz d'ome* ('un bon d'homme,' type d'expression, d'après l'analyse de Tobler, égal à *ce fripon de valet*), tous deux des substantivisations, c'est à dire des 'synthèses puissantes' (et *proz d'ome* est plus puissant, puisque toute l'essence d'un homme est condensée dans sa qualité de *proz*), sont le contraire d'une expression analytique, présentée en deux termes, l'un générique, l'autre descriptif, comme le serait le fictif **preu home* imaginé par Joinville (cf. aussi l'alternance fr. mod. *un drôle*—*un drôle d'homme* : il n'y a pas de **drôle homme*). *Un preux* (*d'homme*) est l'équivalent du m.h.all. *Held* ou *Recke*, terme *un*.

Or *prozdome*, composé condensé si énergiquement, se trouve, par le fait même de la composition, chargé d'une tare : une conjugaison intérieure, qui deviendra de plus en plus étrangère au français quand le -z-, -s- devant consonne sonore s'amuira (état accompli déjà avant la bataille de Hastings : angl. *dime* < a.fr. *disme*) : la déclinaison

nom. ^{eu} pro[z]dome	^{eu} pro[z]defame
acc. ^{eu} prodome	^{eu} prodefame

se débarrassera du -z- insolateur au nominatif et, du coup, la valeur du -d[e] = *de* se trouvera obscurcie. On décomposera maintenant *prodome*, *prodefame* en *preud|ome*, *preude|fame*, c'est à dire en un binôme adj. + subst. (de là, après l'évolution *eu* \rightarrow *u*, comme dans *bleuet* > *bluet*, accomplie : *prudhomme* et *prudefemme*, on tirera *femme prude*). Les dialectes français ont agi de même avec un nexus *drôle de garçon* mécompris : ils ont cru à un adjectif **drôlde*, dont les restes nous sont conservés dans un adverbe dialectal *drôlèvement* (FEW s. v. *droll*). C'est à cet état des choses qu'on se

trouve à l'époque de Joinville: pour Philippe Auguste le *-d-* de *prodome* (*preudome*) est irrationnel; il pourrait comprendre *prohome* (*preu home*), il ne comprend plus *prodome* (*preudome*). Et ainsi, il créera, *ad hoc*, un *preu home*, qui par ailleurs n'existe pas (la décomposition réelle est *prud|homme*)—pour le contraster avec le *preudome* existant, mais incompréhensible. Ainsi il pourra se livrer au plaisir, si cher au moyen âge, de la *différentiation synonymique à base d'étymologie moralisante*. Quiconque a jeté un coup d'œil dans les *Differentiae* du pieux étymologiste qui est le professeur de linguistique du moyen âge, saint Isidore, sait de quoi je veux parler: nous y lisons des distinctions à base d'étymologie comme celles-ci:

inter pudentem et verecundum hoc interest, quod pudens opinionem veram falsamque metuit: verecundus autem non nisi veram timet (I, n° 422)

Inter Religionem et fidem. Fides et credulitas qua Deum confitemur, religio est cultus quem illi credentes exhibemur. Dicta autem fides ab eo quod fit id quod inter utrosque placitum est. Quasi inter deum et hominem dicta quoque religio, eo quod religantur vinculo serviendi ad cultum divinitatis. (ib. 486)

On voit que les étymologies, fantaisistes pour nous, du célèbre auteur des *Origines* ou *Etymologiae* servent, dans les *Differentiae*, à définir la valeur de sens des synonymes: Isidore inclut dans sa collection quelquefois aussi les quasi-homonymes: il n'hésite pas à différencier, *ib.* n° 511, *supremi*, pluriel, de l'adj. *supremus*, et *supprimi*, inf. pass. du verbe *supprimere*.

Le roi Philippe Auguste (ou Joinville?) est allé à l'école d'Isidore: il se plaît à différencier des quasi-homonymes (dont l'un est construit *ad hoc*), et il emploie l'étymologie moralisante: son 'étymologie' de *prodome* n'est évidemment pas toblérienne, elle est isidorienne. Pour lui *prodome*, avec son *-d-* grammaticalement

* Henri Longnon, dans le commentaire à sa version en français moderne de la *Vie du Saint Roi Louis* (1928), p. 319, donne une autre explication, à mon avis bien forcée: "Il y a ici un jeu de mots sur *prudhom* et *prou Dom*, qui voudrait dire à peu près *profit du seigneur*, ou *don du Seigneur*." D'abord 'profit du seigneur' n'est pas égal à 'profit (pour l'homme) venant du Seigneur,' ce qui, à peu près, équivaldrait à 'don du Seigneur' (*don Dieu* du texte). Ensuite *Dom* devrait être une allusion, attestée nulle part (forme abrégée dans l'écriture?), au lat. *Dominus*, qui interromprait le ton français du contexte, et enfin le jeu de mots supposé ne porterait que sur *prodome*, non pas sur le couple *preu home—prodome*.

incompréhensible, ne contient plus la préposition *de*, mais rappellera tout simplement le *don Dieu*—cette étymologie s'annonce déjà par la phrase précédente où l'allitération *d-* domine: *Diez donne grant don*. Ainsi l'irrationnel grammatical est devenu de l'irrationnel divin. C'est ce *d* 'divin' ⁴ qui incarne la différence entre le **preu home* (qui n'est que 'preux de corps') et *prodome* qui est un preux selon Dieu. L'âme médiévale, qui voit dans les plus petits détails de la vie (et de la langue) l'intervention du divin, peut se réjouir à cet étymologisme au service de la vérité (*ἔτυμον* = 'le vrai'), qui pour nous est lettre close,—parce qu'il reflète l'harmonie de l'univers dominé par la Grâce. Il y évidemment pour le moyen âge, une harmonie linguistique, parallèle à celle, faite de bonté et de beauté, qui est répandue à travers l'univers, une heureuse congruence entre le sens et le son de la parole humaine, que le linguiste moderne ne réussit plus à trouver (celui-ci s'ingénie même à montrer davantage les discordances que l'accord).⁵ Le principe est bien connu par le

⁴ Cette épithète n'est pas une invention de ma part. Dans *Li Abecés par ekivoche et li significacions des lettres* de Huon le Roi de Cambrai (ed. Långfors)—que j'utiliserai plus loin dans le texte—nous trouvons l'identification du *D* avec *Dieu*. L'auteur, qui traite les allégories du *C* et du *D* dans un même paragraphe (vv. 41-66), écrit:

Mais mout trouva le C [= la Croix] amer
 Li D [= Dieu] qui *de* douçour fu plains
 Et qui de l'M [= Marie] fu mout plains,
 Pour çou qu'en C travilliés fu
 D jeta çals [ceux] de l'aigre fu [feu]
 Qui tous tans fuissent en enfer.
 D fu en fust, D fu en fer,
 D eut en C angoisse et soi[soif],
 D fist le C honour de soi.
 Et pour le D doit on avoir
 Le C plus cier que nue avoir. . . .
 E li D tesmoigne le forme
 De *Diu* ki tout le mont forma;
 Car pour cascun ki se forme a
 Fu mis el fust ke je vous non [nomme].

On notera le jeu de substitution inhérent à ce procédé sur deux plans: 'le D' trouve 'le C' amer, 'le D' fut plaint par 'le M' etc.: les humbles lettres sont pour ainsi dire chargées de tout le contenu spirituel des conceptions les plus augustes du christianisme.

⁵ Il y a même accord harmonieux, dans la théorie linguistique du moyen âge, quand il s'agit de la dénomination du déplaisant: un concept déplaisant, de par la congruence postulée entre son et sens, se manifeste par

chapitre de la *Vita Nuova* (xiii), où Dante, d'ailleurs en accord avec tels passages du *Kratylos* de Platon,⁶ illustre la formule *nomina sunt consequentia rerum* par le mot *amore*, 'si dolce a udire.' 'Amour' est une chose bonne et porte un nom beau—il y a une harmonie préétablie entre sens et son.

Joinville est revenu une autre fois à son terme favori *prodome*: Miss Crossland cite le passage, mais l'abrège de sorte que la préoccupation étymologique de l'auteur n'en peut pas ressortir: cette fois c'est saint Louis lui-même qui se livre au noble jeu linguistique pour glorifier le *prodome* (ch. 30-4): le roi, qui s'entoure volontiers du pieux sénéchal Joinville et du 'preudhome' Robert de Sorbon, quand il se trouve bien disposé ('en joie'), met sur le tapis une question qu'il fait débattre ('tengon' à la manière médiévale) par ces deux amis: "porquoy preudom vaut mieux que beguins," et, comme c'est la loi du jeu, il rend lui-même la sentence:

"Maistre Robert, je vourroie bien avoir le non de preudome, mais que je le feusse, et touz li remenant vous demourast; car *preudom* est si grans chose et si bone chose, que, neis au nommer, emplist-il la bouche." Au contraire, disoit il que male chose estoit de *penre* de l'autrui; "car li *rendres* estoit si griez, que, neis au nommer, li rendres escorchoit la gorge par les *erres*. qui y sont, lesqueux senefient les ratiaux au diable, qui douz jours tire arière vers li ceus qui l'autrui chatel weulent rendre."

Ici encore il y a une *differentia*, cette fois de deux mots signifiant des concepts opposés. Malheureusement, le texte semble à première vue un peu embrouillé, de sorte que l'opposition n'en sort pas immédiatement d'une façon nette (il faut toujours se souvenir du fait que notre texte est le résultat d'une dictée). On comprend que *prodome*, signifiant un concept idéal, doit avoir un son plaisant (c'est le cas de *amore* chez Dante), mais on penserait que, par opposition au prudhomme qui respecte le droit d'autrui, ce serait *prendre* (sc. le bien d'autrui), action moralement déplorable, qui

un son déplaisant. Nous en verrons un exemple plus loin dans le texte. Qu'il suffise ici de mentionner un parallèle littéraire, le genre provençal du *descort*, dont le trait caractéristique est le fait d'exprimer une mauvaise humeur par une forme métrique plus ou moins désordonnée: il y a toujours de l'ordre dans ce désordre!

⁶ Cf. le merveilleux article de M. Alfonso Nehring, "Plato and the Theory of Language" dans *Traditio* III, 13 seq.: ainsi Platon explique *ἄνθρωπος* = 'celui qui regarde en haut (*ἀναθρεῖ*) et voit se qu'il a vu (*δρωπεῖ*).' M. Nehring montre que, pour *ἄνθρωπος* du moins, les étymologistes modernes n'ont pas fait de progrès appréciables depuis Platon.

devrait être opposé à prudhomme au point de vue acoustique—le mot *prendre*, avec ses *r* répétés, serait bien adapté à ce rôle (il est vrai que le texte de de Wailly a *penre*, mais celui de Fr. Michel porte *prendre*). Mais, en réalité, les effets cacophoniques semblent se reporter, non pas sur *prendre*, mais sur *rendre*. Ce verbe, évidemment dans la phrase *ne pas vouloir rendre* (sc. ce qui appartient à autrui), permet l'association avec les *râteaux* du diable et probablement aussi avec *tire arrière* (dit du diable). Ces associations assez disparates, qui nous semblent 'tirées par les cheveux,' s'expliqueront probablement par l'analogie sentie par l'homme médiéval entre des réflexions prolongées à laquelle se livrerait l'âme: "*Rendre* doi-je, *rendre* ne doi-je?," et la tentation continue du Malin guettant sa proie (*prendre*, après tout, n'aurait été que l'affaire d'un moment). C'est aussi la concentration sur le verbe répété (ou entendu répété par la sensibilité de Joinville) qui expliquera pourquoi le *rendre* seul, dans la phrase *ne pas vouloir rendre*, a accroché les autres membres du 'groupe avec *r*.' Quelque difficulté qu'il y ait ici pour nous de retracer la marche de la pensée médiévale, le principe de ces raisonnements est clair: *prodome* représente la καλοκαγαθία: le bien s'exprime par la beauté, l'harmonie verbale; dans (*ne pas*) *rendre*, au contraire, la disharmonie morale se révèle dans la cacophonie. Le classement dualiste des faits moraux entraîne un même classement dans les faits linguistiques (notre sensuel sénéchal s'exprime d'une façon plus réaliste, plus rabelaisienne-avant-la-lettre que le séraphique Dante de la *Vita nuova*, quand il s'agit de décrire ces effets acoustiques, harmonieux ou disharmonieux: *emplir la bouche*,⁷ *écorcher la gorge*). Pourquoi tel concept noble s'accompagne-t-il d'un son harmonieux?—le moyen âge ne saurait, aussi peu d'ailleurs que l'âge moderne, en donner de raisons autres que celles du fait (pour expliquer pourquoi *noblesse* ou *majesté* semblent des mots 'nobles' ou 'majestueux,' le linguiste moderne devrait se contenter de s'exprimer par la tautologie: c'est parce que le mot contient tout un passé multiséculaire de pensées nobles ou majestueuses). Mais pour le fait que le concept immoral s'exprime par une cacophonie, on s'ingéniait à trouver une explication dans

⁷ M. Lancaster m'a raconté qu'il a entendu Paul Claudel employer, dans un discours fait devant la *MLA*, la même métaphore: sans aucun doute le poète néo-chrétien, qui emploie couramment dans ses œuvres le procédé médiéval de la para-étymologie (*connaissance* ~ *co-naissance*), s'est souvenu du passage classique de Joinville.

des tabous, dont une longue tradition accablait certaines 'lettres' (nous dirions 'sons'): précisément l'r (qui ne choque pas Joinville dans *prodome*) avait une mauvaise réputation: dans *Li Abecés par ekivoche de Huon le Roi de Cambrai*, v. 241 seq., nous lisons:⁸

R est une letre qui graigne [=grince] / de felonnie toujours engraigne [=irrite]. / Sans R ne puet on nommer / Riche mauvais . . . / Tout aussi con li ciens relle [=aboie] / Voit on le mauvais rice encrelle[?].

(Dans ce passage nous observerons que, de même que le *r* de *rendre* dans Joinville était déplaisant parce que l'expression *ne pas vouloir rendre* était déplaisante, le *r* de l'expression *mauvais riche* [non pas de *riche* seul] attire l'association avec l'aboïement du chien).

L'éditeur, M. Långfors, a relevé que le *r* était déjà chez les Romains la *littera canina*. Il y a donc, derrière l'aperçu de saint Louis, une longue tradition d'évaluation esthétique des sons de la langue (tradition qui a culminé de nos jours dans les spéculations analogues, mais scientifiques, d'un Maurice Grammont). Dans le dernier passage de Joinville, un roi est censé s'être approprié les spéculations sur l'euphonie de la grammaire ancienne⁹ et médiévale,

⁸ Le rapprochement du texte de *Li Abecés* avec le passage de Joinville a été déjà fait par Thuasne dans son édition de Villon II, 262-3.—Par un heureux enchaînement de circonstances, j'étais justement engagé dans une correspondance sur les deux passages de Joinville avec M. N. S. Bement, de l'Université de Michigan, quand je pris connaissance de l'article de Miss Crossland.—J'ai écrit à plusieurs reprises sur l'étymologie moyenâgeuse et sa mécompréhension par les critiques modernes, p. ex. *MLN* LVII, 602 et *AJP* LXV, 360.

⁹ Ainsi Platon voit une parenté d'ordre symbolique dans les mots avec *-l-*, qui significant en grec 'glisser,' 'glissant': *λεῖα ὁλωσθάνειν*, *λιπαρός*, *κολλῶδες*, etc.; cf. Nehring, *loc. cit.*, p. 18.

Goethe dans son *Faust* (II, acte 2) a imité la 'poésie étymologico-euphonique' du moyen âge dans l'épisode du 'griffon' (*Greif*): Mephisto salue le griffon:

Gefällt das *Grei* im Ehrentitel *Greifen*.
[Greif, schnarrend] Nicht *Greisen!* *Greifen!*—Niemand hört's gern,
Dass man ihn Greis nennt. Jedem Worte klingt
Der Ursprung nach, wo es sich her bedingt:
Grau, *gräulich*, *griesgram*, *greulich*, *Gräber*, *grimmig*,
Etymologisch gleicherweise stimmig,
Verstimmen mich.

[Mephisto]

Und doch, nicht abzuschweifen,

Gefällt das *Grei* im Ehrentitel *Greifen*.

D'après les conversations avec Eckermann (17 janv. 1830), Goethe, en lisant le passage, imitait le 'ronflement' (*Schnarchen*) du griffon, "wobei

comme tantôt, dans l'autre passage, un autre roi s'appropriait les spéculations étymologiques de ces écoles. D'ailleurs les spéculations sur l'euphonie des mots se fondent dans les spéculations sur leur étymologie, puisque le principe de *nomina consequentia rerum* leur est en commun : le moyen âge pouvait concevoir des 'familles étymologiques de mots avec r' (rendre-râteau, riche—reler etc.), dans les deux cas le son est censé révéler l'essence, l'*etymon* du mot ; et en effet partout dans les abécédaires moralisés (qui groupent les mots en familles d'après leurs initiales)¹⁰ et dans les bestiaires et lapidaires (qui offrent des définitions de choses déterminées par leurs noms) s'étale cette étymologie édifiante, qui, par l'examen soit du sens soit du son des mots, veut arriver directement, par des courts-circuits qui nous coupent l'haleine, aux dernières vérités, à l'Etymon suprême dont la clarté est latente derrière les mots opaques du langage humain.¹¹ Ce qui dans nos passages peut plus particulièrement intéresser l'historien de la civilisation médiévale, c'est de voir une pensée ésotérique, cultivée dans l'antiquité par des philosophes et des grammairiens, devenant un sujet de conversation dans la haute société du moyen âge : un Joinville, pieux lettré lui-même (v. ch. 26, et l'admirable travail de Lozinski, *Neuph. Mitt.*,

gewöhnlich lauter gaistige Töne zum Vorschein kamen, die gequetscht und mit sichtbarer Anstrengung aus der Kehle sich vernehmen liessen"—c'est à dire il produisant des sons, imitateurs du concept déplaisant 'griffon,' qui 'écorchent la gorge.' Le principe *nomina consequentia rerum* est expressément formulé aux vers 4 et 6 du morceau cité (et Goethe comprend le symbolisme acoustique des mots avec *gr-* sous l'«étymologie»).

¹⁰ Dans les deux abécédaires moralisés que Lope de Vega a insérés au premier acte de sa pièce *Peribáñez*, où deux amants se récitent l'un à l'autre leurs devoirs réciproques sous forme d'abécédaire, nous trouvons le *d* comme représentant de *dulce* (comme dans *Li Abecés* anc. français), mais aussi de *dadivoso*, le *m* (qui représentait dans *Li Abecés* : *Marie* et *mère*) *maestra*, *mostrar*, *mejor marido*. L'origine médiévale de cette gracieuse improvisation ressort clairement de l'interprétation de la lettre X (= *χριστός*) : elle est définie par Peribáñez : "la X [te hará] buena cristiana, / letra que en la vida humana / has de aprender la primera," et par Casilda : "pour la X [habrás que] con abiertos / brazos imitarla así" (elle fait le geste de l'embrassement, mais sans aucun doute X, signifiant le Christ, était destiné par sa forme à évoquer, à l'origine, le Christ étendu sur la croix).

¹¹ Ce principe admet *plusieurs* étymologies du même mot à titre égal, alors que nous n'en reconnaissons qu'un seul. C'est que la Vérité peut se montrer sous différents aspects dans les mêmes phénomènes terrestres : les bestiaires voient dans le même animal plusieurs allusions à l'histoire du Christ.

1930, sur le *Credo* de Joinville), met les spéculations étymologiques dans la bouche de ses rois, quand ils sont 'en joie' (je ne veux nullement me prononcer sur la question de l'authenticité de ces *dicta*): les 'saintes paroles' de saint Louis, si importantes dans le plan de cette *Vie*, qui énumère d'abord les bons enseignements, puis les hauts faits du héros, incluront un exemple de cette étymologie moralisante, par lequel le roi montrera sa culture, qui, au moyen âge, ne peut être que cléricale et, par conséquent, doit refléter les habitudes d'analyse linguistique de Pères de l'Eglise somme saint Isidore.

LEO SPITZER

RILKE'S ORIGINAL RUSSIAN POEMS

Some attention has been paid to Rilke's original compositions in French, but with the exception of a comparatively scarce dissertation¹ little has been written on his original Russian poems. There are only eight; six were written in his diary in 1900, the other two were found on a loose sheet in Rilke's copy of the correspondence of A. A. Ivanov as edited by Botkin.² Of the poems in the diary, only one, *Пожар*, is printed in the volume, *Briefe und Tagebücher aus der Frühzeit, 1899 bis 1902* (page 403).

Brutzer does not discuss the grammar of the poems, but considers them in connection with all Rilke's Russian interests and travels. We print here all eight poems in modern orthography. Of these, seven are given as printed in Brutzer, while *Пожар* is given in conformity with the transliterated version published in *Briefe und Tagebücher aus der Frühzeit*.

Первая Песня

Вечер. У моря сидела
девочка как мать сидит
у ребенка. Она пела,
и теперь она слышит
свое сонное дыхание;
видев мир и упование
улыбается она . . .
не улыбка— это сияние,
праздник своего лица.

¹ Brutzer, Sophie: *Rilkes russische Reisen*. Königsberg i. Pr., 1934. Diss., Königsberg.

² Brutzer, p. 89.

Дитя будет, точно море,
 трогать даль и небеса,
 гордость твою или горе—
 шопот или тишина.
 Берег его только знаешь
 и сидить тебе и ждать . . .
 то и песню запеваешь,
 и ничем не помогаешь
 ему жить и быть и спать.

The title of this poem is given by Brutzer as 1. Песня. The poem may actually have been given no title by Rilke, or it may have been one of two simply entitled Песня.³ If the title, however, were to refer to the first of a group of lyric poems which have no inner relationship, it should be Песнь. In the second line there should be a comma after девочка, according to Russian usage. The fifth line gives rise to a doubt as to just what Rilke meant; the image of the girl sitting by the sea seems to call for her hearing the sleepy breathing of the sea, rather than her own sleepy breathing, although the latter conception cannot be ruled out arbitrarily. The form *видев* in the sixth line is incorrect; it could be either *увидев* or *видя*. The conception "to see hope," moreover, is not clear to the Russian in this context. In the eighth line, the dash should follow *это*. In the ninth line, the concession to meter in the use of *своего* results in an error in usage; the subject is *сияние*, with *праздник* in apposition, and therefore the line must logically read *праздник ее лица*. This figure of speech, appealing as it may be, is awkward and not immediately apparent to the Russian. The verb *трогать* in the eleventh line means "to touch" or "to move," and the use with it of *даль* is not logical, although the poetic idea is apparent. In the twelfth line *гордость* is a feminine noun, and the modifying form must therefore be *твоя* and not *твое*. It might be contended that *гордость* and *шопот* are direct objects of *трогать*, in apposition with *даль и небеса*, but in that case, the twelfth and thirteenth lines would have to read:

гордость твою или горе—
 шопот или тишину.

In the fifteenth line *сидить* is incorrect. It should read *сидеть*. In the seventeenth line Rilke has attempted to use the extremely idiomatic particle *то*. He seems to have sought for a phrase with

³ Cf. *Lied* used as a title (*Späte Gedichte*, p. 130).

the meaning "and then," but has instead hit upon an incorrect phrase, то и, with no such meaning.

The following poem has little or no inner relationship to the first. It is entitled 2. Песня in Brutzer.

Вторая Песня

Я иду, иду— и все еще кругом
 родина твоя, ветренная даль,
 я иду, иду и я забыл о том,
 что прежде других краев знал.
 И как теперь далеко от меня
 большие дни у южного моря
 сладкие ночи майского заката;
 там пусто все и весело— и вот:
 темнеет Бог . . . старающий народ
 пришел к нему и брал его как брата.

In the second line of this poem there arises a question with regard to Rilke's meaning. It seems logical that he should be addressing another person, a Russian—perhaps Lou Andreas-Salomé herself. In that case, родина твоя is logical, but it must be pointed out that a case can also be made for changing the punctuation so that the line reads родина, твоя ветренная даль. In the fourth line других краев should be другие края (accusative, not genitive). In the fifth line далеко would be better далеки to agree with дни in the following line. The phrase большие дни is very Rilke-esque, but leaves the reader wondering whether the poet meant "great," "long," or merely "big." Probably длинные would have been more accurate. The phrase темнеет Бог is one of those wonderfully untranslatable Rilke-isms which strike the reader unacquainted with Rilke as a queer expression. There may be some doubt as to whether it is a good Russian phrase, but it will doubtless seem a most happy choice of words to the Rilke-lover. There is no such Russian word as старающий, which Rilke uses in line nine, apparently with the sense of "becoming old" (стареющий). In the tenth line брал must be взял, to agree in aspect with пришел.

Пожар

Белая усадьба спала,
 да телега уехала
 в ночь, куда-то, знает Бог.
 Домик, одинокий, закрылся,
 сад шумел и шевелился,
 парень смотрел ночь и нивы,

то летел, не торопясь,
 между нами молчаливый
 неоконченный рассказ.
 Вдруг он замолк: даль сгорела,
 ведь и небосклон горит.
 Парень думал: трудно жить!
 Почему спасения нет?
 Земля к небесам глядела—,
 как бы жаждала ответ.

In the fourth line of *Пожар*, which is so entitled by Rilke, the commas setting off *одинок* conform to German or English rather than Russian usage. The short form, *одинок* is not good usage, although here necessitated by the meter. The ideas of *усадьба* and *домик* contradict each other; the diminutive is not appropriate with *усадьба*. In the sixth line, *смотреть* demands the preposition *на*. In the seventh line *то* is used as Rilke might have used German “*da*,” but Russian *и* is more appropriate here. In the eighth and ninth lines much has been sacrificed to poetry and meter, in so far as the literal meaning of the words is concerned, but perhaps the sense carried justifies this. *Рассказ* might better be *разговор*. In the thirteenth line the meter requires that *спасения* be read *спасения*. In the fourteenth line, *глядеть* requires the preposition *на* with the accusative, instead of *к* with the dative, while in the fifteenth line *жаждать* requires the genitive (therefore *ответа*).

Утро

И помнишь ты как розы молодые,
 когда их видишь утром раньше всех
 все наше близко, дали голубые,
 и никому не нужно грех.

Вот первый день, и мы встали
 из руки Божья, где мы спали—
 как долго не могу сказать;
 все бывшее бытиной стало,
 и то что было— очень мало,
 и мы теперь должны начать.

Что будет? Ты не беспокойся
 да от гибели не бойся,
 ведь даже смерть только предлог;
 что еще хочешь за ответа?
 Да будут ночи полны лета
 и будем мы и будет Бог.

In the first line of *Утро* a comma should follow *ты*, and a comma should come at the end of the second line. A question arises as to

whether there needs to be a predicate to помнишь ты, как розы молодые, or whether the sense is помнишь ты, как розы—молоды. In the fourth line нужно should read нужен to agree with грех. The exact sense of the first four lines is not entirely clear; it may be:

And do you remember how young the roses are
when you see them in the morning before the others;
everything of ours is near; the distant things are sky-blue,
and no-one need sin.

This can hardly be considered as a connected thought. In the fifth line, встали should be восстали; this may be a typographical error in Brutzer. The accent should fall on the second syllable of руки, in the sixth line, and Божья should be Божьей. In the seventh line a comma is necessary after долго. In the eighth line the accent falls on the wrong syllable of бывшее, and in the ninth a comma should separate to and что. The ninth line is not good Russian, although the meaning is clear. In the twelfth line да is inappropriate and should be replaced by и. In the same line, бойся requires the genitive case without preposition. The phrase что еще хочешь за ответа? in line fourteen seems to be a translation from the German construction using the phrase "was für ein . . . ?," and is incorrect.

(Das Antlitz)

Родился бы я простым мужиком
то жил бы с большим, просторным лицом:
в моих чертах не доносил-бы я
что думать трудно и чего нельзя
сказать . . .
И только руки наполнились бы
любовью моею и моим терпением,
но днем работой-то закрылись бы,
ночь запирала их молением;
никто кругом не бы узнал, кто я.
Я постарел и моя голова
плавала на груди вниз дас течением
как будто мягче, кажется она.
Я понимал что близко день разлуки
и я открыл как книгу мои руки
и оба клал на щеки, рот и лоб.
Пустые сниму их, кладу их в гроб
но на моем лице узнают внуки
все что я был . . . но все-таки не я . . .
в этих чертах и радости и муки
огромные и сильнее меня . . .
да это вечное лицо труда.

Старик

Все на полях; избушка уж привык
 к этому одиночеству, дышает,
 и лаская как няня потушает
 плачущего ребенка тихий крик.
 На печке, как бы спал, лежал старик
 думал о том, чего теперь уж нет,
 и говорил бы, был бы как поэт.
 Но он молчит Даст мир ему господь.
 И между сердца своего и рот
 пространство, море . . . уж темнеет кровь
 и милая красавица любовь
 идет в груди больш' тысячи годов
 и не нашла себя губы, и вновь
 она узнала, что спасения нет,
 что бедная толпа усталых слов
 чужая мимо проходила в свет.

All of the foregoing poems are from the diary of 1900. The last, whose superscription stems from Rilke, seems to have a certain inner relationship to *Das Antlitz*. In the first line, на полях might be considered a Germanicism; the Russian would say either на поле or в поле. Привык must be привыкла to agree with the feminine noun, избушка. In line two, the form дышает is an invention by Rilke; the correct form of the verb is дышет. In the third line, как няня should be set off by commas. The correct form of the verb is тушит. A comma is necessary at the end of line five. The sense of the seventh line seems to be "Und sprach, als ob er Dichter ware," but this may be open to dispute. There is some ground for interpreting this line: "If he were to speak, he would speak in a poetic form." If the latter interpretation is accepted, then the Russian must not omit если. The last half of the eighth line may have been meant either as "God gives him peace," or "God will give him peace." In the latter case, the Russian should perhaps be пусть даст мир ему господь. In either case, one would have expected Rilke, of all people, to write Господь with an initial capital. In line nine, grammar demands между сердцем и ртом. Своего should be его. The abbreviation of больше is incorrect, in line twelve. After тысяча, лет is used rather than годов. Line thirteen should probably be: и не нашла себе губ. To agree with the meter, спасения would have to be спасенья.

The following two brief poems were found written on a loose sheet. They may not have been known to Lou Andreas-Salomé,

but her description fits them as well as the other poems: "obwohl grammatikalisch arg, doch irgendwie unbegreiflich dichterisch."⁵

Я так устал от тяжбы больных дней
 пустая ночь безветренных полей
 лежит над тишиной моих очей.
 Мой сердце начинал как соловей,
 но досказать не мог свои слова;
 теперь молчание свое слышу я—
 оно растет как в ночи страх
 темнеет как последний ах
 забытого умерщца ребенка.

In the first line, *тяжбы* should be either *тяготы* or *тяжести*. *Тяжба* means law-suit. At the end of the line there should be some punctuation. In line four, *сердце* is incorrectly used as a masculine noun. The meter would be spoiled, of course, if it were used correctly with the neuter forms *мое* and *начинало*. The phrase, как соловей, should be set off in commas. In the fifth line, *мог* would also have to be *могло*. In the seventh line, there should be a comma between *растет* and *как*, and a comma at the end of the line. In line eight, *ах* might well have been replaced by *вдох*. *Последний ах* is not good Russian. There should be a comma after *темнеет*. In the last line, the correct form is *умершего*.

Я так один. Никто не понимает
 молчание. голос моих длинных дней
 и ветра нет, который открывает
 большие небеса моих очей.
 Перед окном огромный день чужой
 край города; какойнибудь большой
 лежит и ждет Думаю: это я?
 Чего я жду? И где моя душа?

In the first line of this short poem, which is, perhaps, the least clear of the eight poems, the first phrase should read *Я так одинок*. In line two, the first word should be in the genitive case, after *не понимает*. *Голос моих длинных дней* seems to be in apposition to *молчание*, and should, therefore, be *голоса*. Punctuation should follow *дней*, in line two, and either *день* or *чужой*, depending on whether *чужой* modifies *день* or *край города*. The sixth line seems to be open to two meanings. If it means "something large," it should be *что то большое*, but if it means "someone big," it should

⁵ Brutzer, p. 96.

certainly be *кто-го большой*, although *большой* is not the best adjective under the circumstances.

In general, we have not pointed out the difficulties with accent and meter, which are obviously a result of Rilke's limited knowledge of the spoken language. We have followed Brutzer in giving punctuation, except in *Пожар*, but in view of the more satisfactory punctuation in *Пожар*, the assumption may be warranted that Rilke's own punctuation was more complete than that printed by Brutzer.

It might not be out of place for some Rilke-scholar to attempt a closer coordination of these short poems with Rilke's German works. This possibility has been intimated briefly by Brutzer, who treats the Russian experience and the Russian trips as a whole, and evaluates Rilke's acquaintance with ancient and modern Russian literature, as well as his activity as a translator. It has been undertaken in brief form within the larger study of Rilke's life and works by Butler, who received transcripts of Rilke's Russian poems from Brutzer.⁶ It is hoped that the publication here of the Russian verse will provide useful material for the Rilke-student and stimulate interest in Rilke's "*rußisches Erlebnis*." Our comments are not intended as carping criticism of Rilke's knowledge of the Russian language, but rather as an attempt to illuminate a little-known side of his poetry.

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PREHISTORIC 'CULTURAL STRATA' IN THE EVOLUTION OF GERMANIC: THE CASE OF GOTHIC

The present writing refers to the problem of the prehistoric 'cultural strata' in the evolution of Germanic, insofar as those strata may be revealed statistically in the loan-words borrowed from the various cultures with which the pro-ethnic Germanic peoples came into contact. We shall restrict our attention to the case of

⁶ Butler, E. M.: *Rainer Maria Rilke*, New York, 1941, pp. x; 49-86.

the cultural strata in the Gothic vocabulary of Bishop Wulfila's translation of the Bible as published in the Streitberg edition.¹

Our argument will consist of two main parts: first (I) an exposition and an illustration of the age-frequency correlation which we shall use as a method of analysis; and second (II) a discussion of the frequency-distribution of Gothic roots.

I. THE AGE-FREQUENCY CORRELATION IN SPEECH

As pointed out in a previous publication,² it is a common practice of comparative philology, in studying the genetic relationships of language, to assume that such entities as the numerals, pronouns, and auxiliaries of the language represent its most archaic "back-bone" or "core." Although new, or *nascent*, words are adopted into the language, and although old, or *senescent*, words are dropped out, this archaic "back-bone" or "core" has a conservatism that seems to preserve it relatively intact through the generations, even though its phonetic elements may undergo phonetic change.

This core, as we know, consists almost exclusively of the relatively most frequently used words of the vocabulary. Therefore the suspicion arises as to whether there is a general correlation between what we may call the comparative *age* of a word in a vocabulary and the relative *frequency* of its occurrence.

The existence of such a correlation would be easiest to study in a language for which there is a dictionary that gives the known cultural origin of words, as well as the time of their adoption into the language. Once this historical information is available, the remaining steps in studying the correlation between the *age* of a word and the relative *frequency* of its occurrence are simple.

For, first, we need only to make a rank-frequency distribution of the words in sizable samples of the language in question. Then secondly, we need to note whether there is any correlation between the frequency-ranks of the words on the one hand, and their chronological ranks on the other.

¹ Wilhelm Streitberg, *Die Gotische Bibel*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1919. The etymological information presented in Figure 2 was taken from Sigmund Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache*, Leiden: Brill, 1939.

² G. K. Zipf, "Cultural-Chronological strata in speech," *Jour. Abnormal and Social Psychology*, xli (1946), 351-355.

For the purpose of illustrating the above method of correlating, as well as for the sake of testing what we might call the *age-frequency correlation* in question, we shall present in Figure 1 four sets of data, A, B, C, and D, that refer to R. C. Eldridge's frequency list of 6002 different words as they occur in samples of American newspapers totaling 43,989 running words, and ranked in order of their decreasing frequency.³ But before inspecting these sets of data, let us briefly outline the various steps that were undertaken in order to obtain them.

The first step was to look up in the dictionary the approximate date of adoption of each of the words of the list.⁴ The rough chronological classes used were the familiar ones: Old English, Middle English, and the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. In respect to this classification the dictionary's decision was final. And, while this chronological information was being gained, a tabulation was also made of the cultural origins of the words in question (e. g., Germanic, Scandinavian, Romance, etc.). Words for which relevant information was lacking were statistically negligible and are ignored in the present study.

The second step was to plot the data for their reader study. The method adopted, as illustrated in Chart A of Figure 1 (hereinafter 1A), was to plot on the abscissa from left to right the ranks of the words in the order of their decreasing frequency and in units of successive hundreds from the first through the five-hundredth (actually the four hundred ninety-ninth) most frequent words, which include all words that occurred 10 or more times in the samples. From then on, continuing to the right, were plotted the frequencies from 9 through 1—that is, the number of different words that occurred 9 times, 8 times, and so on, in Eldridge's samples. The number of different words in each class are noted at the top of its column.

For each of the above classes I then plotted, in percentages of

³ R. C. Eldridge, *Six thousand common English words*, Buffalo: The Clement Press, 1911.

⁴ For this purpose the *Shorter English Dictionary*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1933, was used, with occasional reference to the *New English Dictionary*. The checking of the period of adoption and the origin of the words was kindly undertaken by Dr. Nai-Tung Ting while he was a student of English in my course of philology.

the class-membership and starting from the bottom, the proportion of words from Old English (black), from Middle English (white), and from the various successive centuries as indicated at the right of Figure 1A (e. g., 88 per cent of the first hundred words are Old English).

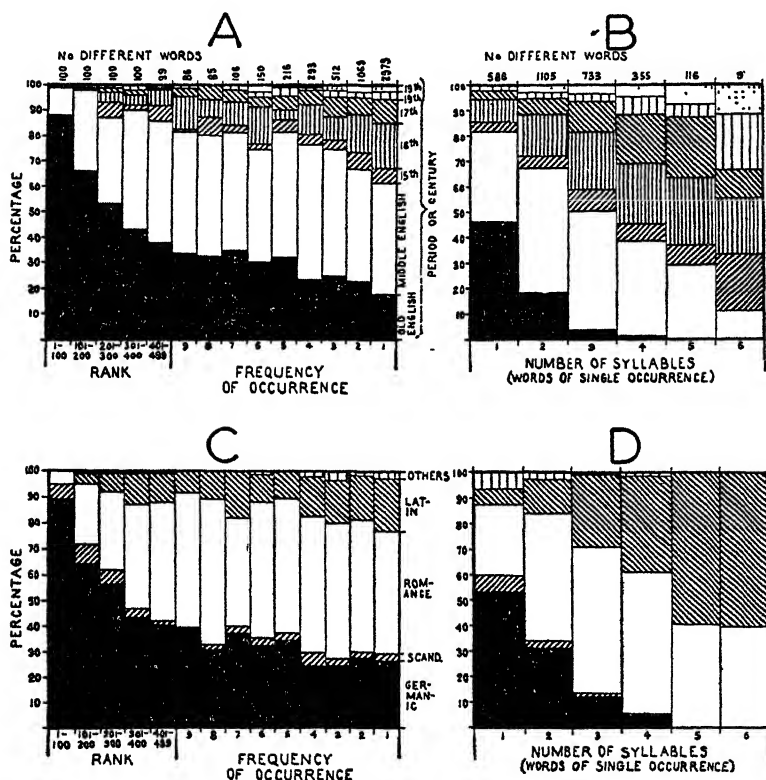


Fig. 1. THE CHRONOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL STRATA OF THE ENGLISH VOCABULARY
 (According to the word-frequency list of R. C. Eldridge)

An inspection of the data of 1A reveals unmistakably that the proportion of older words increases with the frequency while that of the newer ones decreases. In short, there is a positive correlation between relative age and relative frequency.

The next step was to examine the 2904 different words that occurred only once and for which information was available, in order to see whether there was any correlation between *size* and *age*. In

1*B* these data are presented with the number of syllables from 1 through 6 plotted on the abscissa, while the ordinate is the same as that used in 1*A*. An inspection of the data of 1*B* discloses an unmistakable correlation between *age* and *size* in the sense that, within a given frequency class, the relatively older elements are the relatively shorter.

Hence, in sum, we have found not only a direct relationship between relative age and relative frequency, but also an inverse relationship between relative age and relative size in words of the same frequency.

Of course, once we have the positive correlation of 1*A* between relative age and relative frequency, we could guess that there would be the inverse relationship of 1*B* between relative ages and relative size, since we know from earlier studies⁵ that there is an inverse relationship between relative frequency and relative size. Our study in 1*B* merely confirms our finding in 1*A*.

But before discussing the correlations further, let us present in a corresponding manner in 1*C* and 1*D* respectively the information on the cultural source (i. e. Germanic, Scandinavian, Romance, Latin, and others) both in respect to rank-frequency in 1*C*, and in respect to the number of syllables of words of single occurrence in 1*D*. Here again we find that the preponderant cultural influences to which our own culture has been subject throughout the centuries have left their direct *age-frequency* influences as well as their inverse *age-size* influences.

Or, differently expressed, a speech-vocabulary seems to be both chronologically and culturally stratified in respect to alien cultures with which it has come in contact, according to the above *age-frequency* and *age-size* criteria.

And that in turn means that one possible method of disclosing the existence of a pronounced prehistoric cultural contact with a given people *may be* to study the cultural-chronological strata of the vocabulary-elements of samples of the speech of the persons in question, as we propose to do shortly (II below) for the roots of Gothic.

But before turning to the data on the roots of Gothic let us first anticipate a few questions.

⁵ G. K. Zipf, *The psycho-biology of language*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2 ed., 1939.

For, upon inspecting the data of Figure 14, the reader will note that the distribution of the lower strata of words, when viewed from left to right, seems to make a "hollow curve." The question is only natural as to whether this "hollow curve" is typical. To this the answer is affirmative in the light of such studies as are available, as has been set forth in a previous publication.⁶

The next question is whether studies of the cultural-chronological strata of other languages have been made. In reply, a confirmative study has been made of the American stratum in Pennsylvanisch ('Pennsylvania Dutch') as previously reported,⁷ and also for the Latin stratum in the Old High German writings of Notker to be presented in a future publication.⁸

In spite of the unambiguous nature of the data to date, it seems advisable, however, to view the problem of cultural-chronological strata as one that is still to be investigated, rather than one about which we may already be dogmatic.

II. THE CULTURAL-CHRONOLOGICAL STRATA IN GOTHIC

Turning now to the question of the cultural-chronological strata in Gothic we present in Figure 2 the cultural-chronological strata of Gothic roots in the Bible of Wulfilas. Roots were selected, instead of words, out of deference to another problem.⁹ As will be shown in a future publication, the same principle will apply to the chronological-cultural strata of the roots (and, for that matter, of the morphemes) which are orderly over almost their entire range according to an arith-logarithmic equation.¹⁰

In Figure 2, corresponding to the words of Figure 1, the Gothic roots are noted on the abscissa in the order of their decreasing frequency. The first four columns from left to right represent the successive sets of 100 most frequent roots. The fifth column represents the 175 next most frequent roots. Thence to the right the columns represent the number of roots of like occurrence from

⁶ G. K. Zipf, "Cultural-chronological strata etc.," *loc. cit.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ A book, *The principle of least effort*, now being prepared for publication.

⁹ To be treated *ibid.*

¹⁰ To be treated theoretically and empirically *ibid.*

9 times through 1 time respectively. The number of different roots in each category is given at the top of the column. The

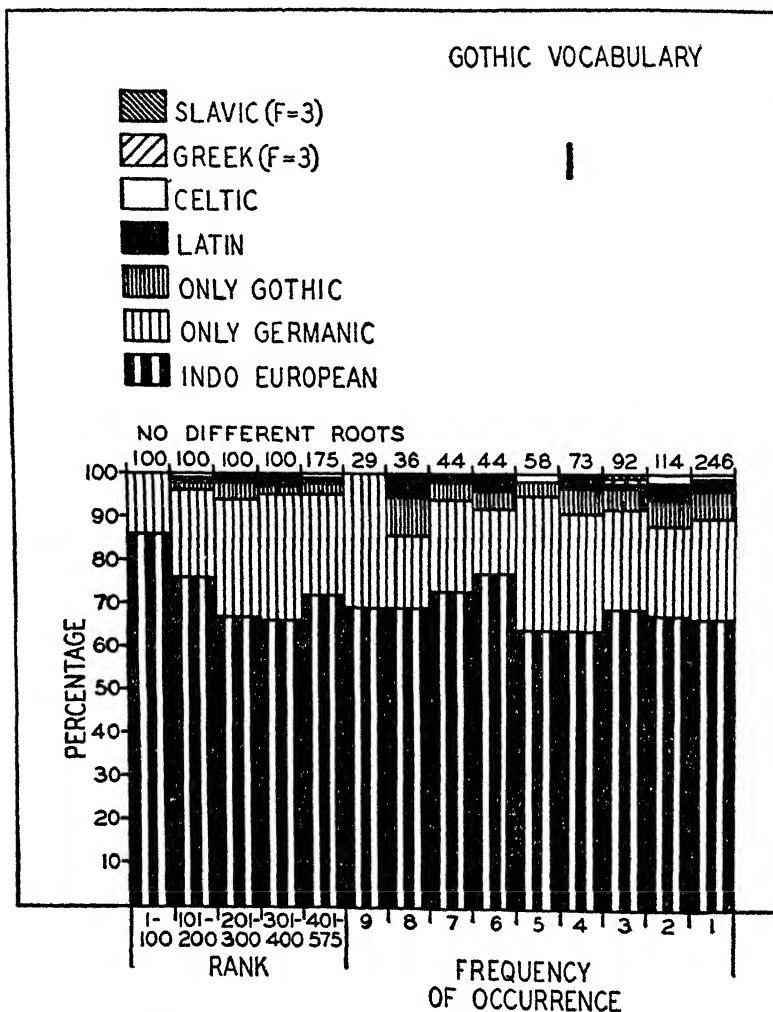


Fig. 2. THE CULTURAL STRATA OF GOTHIC ROOTS.

ordinate measures the percentage of occurrence of such stratum as indicated in the legend.¹¹

¹¹ The roots of Figure 2 do *not* include the roots of loan-words borrowed by Wulfilas from the Greek original he was translating. These will be treated separately (*ibid.*).

It is evident from Figure 2 that the Indo-European stratum at the bottom represents the oldest and most pronounced stratum, and that there is a marked though slight correlation between age and frequency. Statistically viewed, Gothic is an overwhelmingly Indo-European language (as we have all known all along).

The next stratum above represents those roots that have only cognates in other Germanic dialects (i. e. the Germanic stratum). The question now arises as to what this Germanic stratum means historically. Does it mean (a) the effect of a pro-ethnic Germanic cultural contact with a people, or peoples, long since absorbed or extinct? Or does it mean (b) a period of pro-ethnic neologism-fabrication which, if true, would seem to be without parallel? In any event, the presence of this stratum suggests a comparatively long period of contact, and a very intimate contact, quite similar to that of Old English and Romance in Figure 1C.

The third stratum from the bottom represents roots that are peculiarly Gothic in the sense that they have no known cognates in any other tongue. Here again we have a stratum. What does it signify?

The remaining strata are historical and exclude the roots of all words borrowed by Wulfilas from his New Testament original. These strata are interesting in showing how slight the contacts were with Celtic, Greek and Slavic in comparison to the contact with Latin, when statistically evaluated. Of the three—Celtic, Greek, and Slavic—Celtic is statistically the oldest stratum. Indeed the historic strata seem to be in about the proportions one would expect on the basis of our knowledge of the history of the Goths.

III. THE PROBLEM

The data of Figure 2, far from answering a question, seem to pose a problem. Were there Germanic and Gothic strata, and, if so, to what peoples do they refer culturally?

As to the hypothetical Gothic stratum, we may never know any more than what we can learn from Figure 2, though, in the light of further studies, our knowledge may become more certain.

But as to the hypothetical Germanic stratum, there is no reason why comparable studies should not be made for Old English, Old Norse, Old Saxon, Old High German, and the like. This Germanic stratum, if culturally real, should theoretically occupy approxi-

mately the same area on corresponding root-charts of these other early dialects. (Or, the studies may be made of the cultural strata of the words of the various Germanic dialects). And if the existence of the Germanic stratum is confirmed statistically from these other dialects, we shall have a case of the statistical detection of a pre-historic event that to-day appears to be somewhat obscure.

Naturally the above method of statistical analysis can be used upon the vocabulary of any other tongue—barring none. In fact the whole problem of the prehistoric cultural contacts of the Indo-European and non-Indo-European dialects may be investigated with some hope of success by an operationally simple quantitative method. These problems, insofar as I know, are being thus investigated by no one.

In investigating these problems, one also tests the validity of the above cultural-chronological correlation as a principle of dynamics in social science and psychology.¹²

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NOTES ON THE *HILDEBRANDSLIED*

1. 1.15 *dat sagetun mi usere liuti.*

There are difficulties connected with *usere*. a) It should alliterate but does not; it stands in the only line of two complete half-lines that fails to alliterate. b) It does not fit the meaning of the poem; we should not expect Hadubrant to use *unser* of himself alone; and we cannot permit an interpretation of the line which would imply that Hadubrant at this point, if ever, identified his rival with his own people: in l. 39 he calls Hildebrant "*alter Hun.*" For these reasons various emendations have been suggested; Zacher proposed *snottare*¹ for *usere*, Möller *swāse*,² Kock *sūderne*.³ None

¹² To be discussed *ibid* as announced in "Cultural-chronological strata, *loc. cit.*, 355. The present writer is studying the emergence of the cultural-chronological strata in the speech of children from the ages of 22 to 84 months.

¹ J. Zacher, in a review of E. Sievers, *das Hildebrandslied, die Merseburger zaubersprüche, und das fränkische taufgelöbniß*, *ZfdPh* 4. 469 f.

² H. Möller, *Zur ahd. alliterationspoesie*, Kiel 1888, p. 92.

³ E. A. Kock, "Zum Hildebrandslied," *ZfdA* 73. 47. For comprehensive

of the proposed emendations has gained general acceptance; editors and commentators still read *usere* "our."

The form may be due to scribal error. In the *Vorlage* of the Kasseler manuscript, or in a previous *Vorlage*, the letter *r* was formed so that it could be mistaken for *n*, and *u*. The scribe who copied l. 13 wrote *min* for *mir*; although this error has been explained through influence of the *min* in *irmindeot* rather than as an error in misreading, recent scholars prefer to explain the *n* of *min* as a misread Insular *r*.⁴ Scribes who confused Insular *r* with *n* also confused it with *u*.⁵ The Kasseler manuscript itself gives evidence of such confusion; in l. 25 *ummettirri* the first stroke of the first *r* looks like the first stroke of a *u*. I suggest that the scribe who changed OHG forms to OS, among them *mir* to *mi*, in l. 15 wrongly divided the sequence of his *Vorlage* after *mi*, and copied the rest of it as *usere*. If so, his *Vorlage* read: (*dat sagetun*) *mir sere* (*luti*).

sere is the nominative plural form of the OHG adjective *sêr*. Schade defines it:⁶ "Schmerz bringend, schmerzhaft; Schmerz leidend, betrübt, traurig; verletzt, wund." It has cognates in Old Norse, Old Saxon, Old English, and was borrowed into Finnish.⁷ Therefore it is an old common Germanic word which we might well expect to find in the epic vocabulary.

According to this explanation l. 15 would mean: "that told me sorrowful people." Hadubrant had been informed of his father's name and history by the sorrowful friends and relatives that Hildebrandt had left behind. There is no difficulty in the form, for *sere* is the regular nom. pl. we would expect for the *HL*. And l. 15 now alliterates.

bibliography on this and other lines see W. Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, 9th ed. by K. Helm, Halle 1928, pp. 186-98. The line numbers throughout this article refer to his text. Braune does not cite the suggestion of E. Danielowski, *Das Hildebrandslied*, Berlin 1919, who p. 79 divides *usere luti* as *ûz êreluti*.

⁴ G. Baesecke, *Der Vocabularius Sti. Galli in der angelsächsischen Mission*, Halle 1933, p. 152 and R-M. S. Heffner, "Zum Hildebrandslied II," *JEGP*, xxxix, 471.

⁵ See G. Baesecke, *Der Deutsche Abrogans und die Herkunft des deutschen Schrifttums*, Halle 1930, p. 78.

⁶ O. Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch*, Halle 1872-82, p. 756; see also Graff, *Althochdeutscher sprachschatz*, Berlin 1834-42, VI. 269.

⁷ H. Falk and A. Torp, *Wortschatz der Germanischen Spracheinheit*, Göttingen 1909 (4th ed.), p. 422.

2. l. 50 *ih wallola sumaro enti wintro sehstic ur lante*.

In this passage *ur* is generally translated "outside of." Sverdrup translates l. 50:⁸ "Ich wallte der Sommer und Winter sechzig ausser Landes"; Bunje:⁹ "I've roamed sixty winters and summers outside of this land." But Saran already had rejected similar translations, saying:¹⁰ "*ur lante* kann doch kaum 'ausserhalb meines Landes' heissen, da *ur* die Bewegung 'aus . . . heraus' bezeichnet. Wohl: 'aus meinem Lande heraus und immer weiter weg von ihm.' Busse übersetzt 'aus dem Lande, wo man . . . mich einstellte.' Das gibt keinen Sinn." Possibly *urlante* must be interpreted otherwise than as an apparently obvious prepositional phrase. The Grimm brothers already construed *urlante* as an adjective, translating it "ausländig."¹¹ The normal form of the *ja*-stem adjective would have been *urlanti*, but the change may have been introduced in copying.

Various words of the *HL*, *bur*, *inwit*, *aodlih*, *niusen*, and *hregil*, are found in OHG only in the *HL* and *Abrogans*;¹² others (*ort* and *furnam*) are found also in other OHG documents but there have different meanings. Accordingly one might well compare the meanings of *urlante* in *Abrogans* and the *HL*. In *Abrogans* on p. 54, l. 40 *urlante* is given as gloss for *bargine*, followed by *elilante* for *peregrine*; on p. 192, l. 25 *urlanti* is given as the German equivalent for *incola*, followed by *pilicrim* for *peregrinus*, and *alilanti* for *aduenā*.¹³ While *urlanti* is associated in *Abrogans* with words for expatriate, it is used as a translation not for a prepositional phrase, but for a noun. In both passages of *Abrogans* there are given words of similar meaning which will provide a negative check on the meaning.

The meaning of *bargine*, from *barginna*, is found to differ from

⁸ J. Sverdrup, "Bemerkungen zum Hildebrandslied," *Festschrift für Eugen Mogk*, Halle 1924, p. 113.

⁹ E. Bunje, *A Reinterpretation of the Expository Verses of the 'Hildebrandslied'* (University of California Publications in Modern Philology 18, no. 5) Berkeley 1936, p. 416.

¹⁰ F. Saran, *Das Hildebrandslied*, Halle 1915, p. 153.

¹¹ die Brüder Grimm, *die beiden ältesten deutschen Gedichte aus dem achten Jahrhundert*, Cassel 1812, p. 6, with comments on p. 20. H. Pongs, *Das Hildebrandslied*, Marburg 1913, pp. 68, 69, 91 considers it an adjective.

¹² Baesecke, *dt. Abrog.*, p. 156 ff.; Pongs, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff., 88 ff.

¹³ References are to E. Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, *Die Althochdeutschen Glossen*, Berlin 1879, vol. I; the forms are those of *Pa*.

author to author; Du Cange lists the meanings: "homo vitiosae gentis, fortis in bello, peregrina, alienigena."¹⁴ *Incola* meant "inhabitant, resident," and already in Livy was used to mean a "foreign resident." From the meaning common to *barginna* and *incola* we can deduce that *urlanti* to the glossator meant a "stranger, but one accepted among the people of adoption." For *elilante* and *pilicrim* are used to translate *advena* and *peregrinus*,¹⁵ words for a "foreigner who remains a stranger."

On the basis of the translation in *Abrogans* I suggest that *urlante*, for *urlanti*, is a nominal compound of the preposition *ur* and *lant* in which *ur-* has the meaning "without." Among the compounds listed by J. Grimm¹⁶ in which *ur-* has a privative meaning are *urougi* "invisible," *urwâni* "without hope," Gothic *uswêna* "without hope," and *urherzi* "senseless." In these and similar compounds *ur-* with nouns forms adjectives that often are used as weak nouns.

Line 50 then means: "I wandered sixty summers and winters as a sojourner, where I was included in the rank of warriors." The poet is establishing a contrast between the situation in lines 50-52 and 53 ff. In lines 50-52 Hildebrant says that he was accepted as warrior many years among strange people; in lines 53 ff. he expresses his sorrow that upon returning to his people he is challenged by his own son.

3. Erasures in the manuscript.

It is probable that the Kasseler manuscript of the *HL* was copied in Fulda from a *Vorlage* the latter part of the second decade of the ninth century. Obviously information about the paleographic style of the *Vorlage* would be of great interest and would help us determine the earlier form and source of the *HL*. From manuscript errors such as those made in copying wen-runes and the letter *r*, we can conclude that the *Vorlage* had more insular characteristics than has the manuscript. Baesecke concisely suggested the following description of it:¹⁷ "Die Vorlage hatte bereits die nd. Änderungen . . . , sie war mindestens stärker insular . . . und sie gehörte in den Reigen der Fuldaer Denkmäler, die noch die älteren

¹⁴ *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, Niort 1883-7.

¹⁵ Steinmeyer and Sievers, *op. cit.*, p. 40, l. 2.

¹⁶ *Deutsche Grammatik*, Berlin 1878 (reprint), II. 780.

¹⁷ *Vocab. Sti. Galli*, p. 152.

Lautformen . . . und reichliche ags. Schreibungen . . . hatten: Wess, Rez, Lex; und in die Gruppe der Umschriften aus einer Sprache in die andre: Wess, Musp, Rez." There are also a number of erasures in the manuscript. If carefully examined they may help us make further or more definite suggestions about the *Vorlage*.

For a relatively short document, about 450 words, there are many erasures, but only in eight words are there erasures over which two or more letters¹⁸ have been written. Steinmeyer points out the following:¹⁹

2 <i>dat</i>	17 <i>Hadubrant</i>
3 <i>enti</i>	18 <i>forn her</i>
11 <i>welihhes</i>	<i>Otachres</i>
<i>cnuosles</i>	21 <i>wahsan</i>

It is difficult to assume that the longer erasures are simply results of careless or hasty writing, especially since they show a definite distribution pattern. If from haste, by the laws of chance they should fall at random on completely different letters as did those of one letter. We can, however, class them in three groups: *enti*, *Hadubrant*, *fornher*; *dat* and *wahsan*; *welihhes*, *cnuosles*, and *Otachres*.

Besides showing an erasure the letters of 1.3 *enti* are crowded together; each of the other occurrences of the conjunction occupies more space and has empty spaces on either side of it. The crowding may have resulted when the scribe wrote out *enti* in full after

¹⁸ The single letters written where erasures were made fall into no pattern whatsoever; they are: 1.4 *u* in *sunu*, 1.13 (o)*h* in *chunincriche*, 1.19 *r* in *sinero*, 1.26 *d* in *darba*, 1.29 *b* in *habbe*, and 1.12 *s* in *sages*. All but the last of these may be explained as common paleographic errors made by glancing at either earlier or later bits of text and copying the wrong letter; from such erasures one can draw no conclusions about the *Vorlage*.

¹⁹ *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin 1916, p. 1 ff.; the erasures were made under the letters in bold-faced type. These are also the erasures suggested by Sievers, *op. cit.*, Pongs, *op. cit.*, and Saran, *op. cit.* E. Danielowski, *op. cit.*, suggests some additional erasures, most of which were made with an eraser, not a knife; they are generally restricted to a small area, thus fitting the group of single letter erasures mentioned above. She also gives whatever traces of earlier letters she has been able to read with the help of photographic enlargements of the manuscript. I have used these with caution in making the following suggestions since her book has met with unfavorable comment; see Steinmeyer's review, *AfdA*, XL, 78 f., and Bunje, *op. cit.*, p. 310 f.

copying from the *Vorlage* the Insular abbreviation for "and" and erasing it. Such an abbreviation is found in the *Wessobrunner Gebet*; the space required for it is about that used for *enti* and the original stroke that Danielowski found²⁰ in the erased section may be that of the abbreviation. Referring to the use of *in* for *inti* in *Tatian* Danielowski suggests²¹ that the form *en* was first written in l. 3 for *enti*; of all the *Tatian* scribes γ , whose language most resembles that of the *HL*, has the fewest short forms *in*. If the distribution of *in* among the *Tatian* scribes is consistent with their other linguistic usages, *in* does not seem to be an old Fulda form, rather one later than the writing of the *HL*. Hence I assume that the scribe found in the *Vorlage* one of the insular writings that Baesecke suggested for the *Vorlage*, copied it, later erased it, and wrote out in full "*enti*."

In l. 17 *Hadubrant* too I assume that the scribe at first failed to resolve an abbreviation. That an abbreviation was used in the name component *-brant* we can assume from l. 45 where it was copied. It is unnecessary to conclude that, because of its regularity, the pattern of variation between *-brant* and *-braht* originated with the author of the *HL*, not with scribes. Grienberger²² pointed out that when the names are used in exposition the first is always spelled *-braht*, in the speeches they are always spelled *-brant*, and only in the expression *quad Hiltibran/ht* is there free variation. This is evidence of the stylistic origin of the pattern, but not of its originator. The scribes of the manuscript may have contributed the variation; for there is a pattern also in the expression *quad H.*: scribe A uses *Hillibrant*, scribe B *Hiltibraht*. Therefore the name variation is not an argument against the presence of an abbreviation in the *Vorlage*.

The long erasure in l. 18 *fornher* may have resulted when the scribe wished to write out these words in full after copying an *n* and *er* abbreviation. From the *n* abbreviation taken over l. 65 *stoptun* and the one falsely resolved l. 23 *gistuontum* we can conclude that they were used in the *Vorlage*, and on the basis of the evidence given in the discussion of *-brant* that an *er* abbreviation was used there. These the scribe may have found in l. 18, copied, and then erased.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 67 f.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

²² *Das Hildebrandslied, Wiener Sitzungsberichte, phil. hist. Klasse* 158. 6, pp. 13-4.

The erasures under *enti*, *Hadubrant*, and *fornher* then coincide with words which may have been written in the *Vorlage* with abbreviations. I assume that these erasures were made by the scribes because they first copied the abbreviations and then removed them to write out the words in full.

The key to the erasures in l. 2 *dat* and l. 21 *wahsan* may be the form *scal* in l. 53. In photographs of the manuscript what is read as *scal* looks like *scocl* with the shaft of an *l* above the middle *c*; the *a* has the double *c* form which was common in early Carolingian texts, and is somewhat like the *a* of l. 6 *ubar* and l. 7 *was*. This form of *a* may have been another symbol of the *Vorlage* which the scribes were seeking to eliminate. I assume that they first copied it in l. 2 *dat* and l. 21 *wahsan*, then erased to write the Carolingian half-uncial *a*. In l. 53 on the other hand there was a further complication; the scribe had already made an error. It is probable that he first wrote *sci*, noted his error, then erased imperfectly to write an *a* very like that of the *Vorlage*.²³

Of the groups of letters written over erased areas three include the letters *es*: l. 11 *welhhhes* and *cnuosles*, and l. 18 *Otachres*. In these words the genitive ending may have been written with a ligature in the *Vorlage*. Heffner's solution of l. 23 *des* is evidence that such a ligature was used there, scarcely only in the word *des*.²⁴ Very few ligatures are present in the manuscript; in keeping with the practice of Carolingian scribes the *HL* scribes may have resolved those they identified. Otherwise it is difficult to explain how all remaining ligatures are found in words which have caused difficulty in interpretation, with one exception. In l. 22 *he raet ostar hina* the pronoun is irregular. In l. 27 *feheta* the *et*-ligature is generally disregarded by editors and *t* substituted for it. The ligature in l. 30 occurs in a word that is quite disputed; Sverdrup suggests that no solution is possible because of the corrupt state

²³ J. Frank, "Die überlieferung des HL," *ZfdA*, XLVII, 1-55, has discussed *scal*, p. 8, as has Steinmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 6. There is a similar correction to an aberrant form, rather than complete erasure, in the *Wessobrunner Gebet* manuscript; see plate I, l. 5 of E. Petzet and O. Glauning, *Deutsche Schrifttafeln des IX bis XVI Jahrhunderts*, München 1910, where an older style *g* was corrected from *c*.

²⁴ l. 23 *des* was read *det* by most previous scholars and deleted as an error; R-M. S. Heffner convincingly shows that it is written with an imperfect *es*-ligature in "Zum Hildebrandslied I," *JEGP*, XXXIX, pp. 179-83.

of the manuscript, and writes the word *w tu*.²⁵ Only the *et*-ligature in l. 41 *giallet* causes no difficulty. This is the only *et* in the section written by scribe B that would have been *et* in OHG, consequently in the original version of the poem; *ummet* is an OS form which must have been introduced on one of the occasions when the manuscript was copied.²⁶ The scribe may have taken over *des* with ligature in l. 23 because it was as unclear to him as to modern scholars during a century of research. If in the *Vorlage* *welihhes*, *cnuosles*, and *Otachres* were written with a ligature, there would have been no doubt that the ligature represented a genitive ending. I suggest that the erasures were made in these words because the *es*-ending was here written in the *Vorlage* as a ligature, and that the scribe first copied this; he then realized his error and erased three or four letters in order to space the resolved letters properly.

If we accept such explanations for the erasures, we must infer that the erasures are to be correlated with the script of the *Vorlage*, not with the orthographical representation of the phonology there. The two scribes had no writing difficulties pointing to a change in dialect, but rather to a change in forms of script. The location of the errors in writing, e.g., in *gistuontum* and *min*, and the consistency in the phonology of the sections written by scribes A and B bear out this inference. Hence our evidence, though negative, indicates that the *Vorlage* already contained the OS forms.

But in the words with erasures we find few criteria, more definite than the confusion of the wen-runes, the carry-over of insular *f* and *r*, to determine that the *Vorlage* was insular. Presence of an "and"-abbreviation would be strong evidence. The erasure in *sages* may be additional evidence. It is commonly assumed that the part of a letter still visible before the first letter of l. 12 *sages* is a portion of a *g* which the scribe first began to write.²⁷ On photographs of the manuscript the remnant does not seem so definitely to be part of a *g*. The upper left section of the remnant is a very slender stroke; the corresponding line of a *g* in our manu-

²⁵ Sverdrup, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-10. See Braune, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-2 for more than 10 proposed explanations.

²⁶ Scribe B seems to follow closely the *Vorlage*; his use of the ligature may be due to his conservatism.

²⁷ See Steinmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 2: "das erste 's' auf Rasur von Ansatz eines 'g'." See also Saran, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

script is usually wider. Moreover, a *g* is written with a slender stroke slanting to the left, and then widening out after it bends to the right; the section of the letter still visible in front of the *s* shows a straight horizontal line at the top, then a slender stroke to the left, and then a wider, almost horizontal line extending to the right. This remnant resembles the top of an uncial *s* which was widely used in insular writing. Apparently the scribe here began to copy an insular *s* from the *Vorlage*, noted his error, and wrote a Carolingian *s* without erasing his first letter.

Do the writing forms we posit for the *Vorlage* give additional evidence on the place where the *Vorlage* was written? Baesecke suggests Fulda, Heffner Murbach. For both monasteries the Insular forms of writing, such as the wen-runes, *æ* ligatures, and the abbreviation for "and" were possible. But in the Fulda documents we have, we find no *r*-abbreviations and no *es*-ligatures. To be sure we know little about Fulda language in the early part of the ninth century; from that time we have only a few short documents, none as long as the *HL*.²⁸

From Murbach on the other hand we have the relatively long *Isidor* manuscript and *Pa*, both written earlier than *HL*. In both we find the *r*-abbreviation.²⁹ The *m/n* abbreviations are not distinctive. Neither are the various forms of *a*; writings in the early Carolingian minuscule, whatever their origin, contain all forms of *a* found in *HL*.³⁰ The weightiest evidence for Murbach is the conclusion that the *Vorlage* contained numerous *es*-ligatures; for

²⁸ Much of the evidence about early Fulda writings was based on G. Kossinna, *Über die ältesten hochfränkischen sprachdenkmäler* (QF 46), Strassburg 1881; this can no longer be used, for H. Kletschke, *Die Sprache der Mainzer Kanzlei nach den Namen der Fuldaer Urkunden* (Hermea 29), Halle 1933, has found that most of the early Fulda *Urkunden* were written at Mainz.—M. Ziemer, *Datierung und Lokalisierung nach den Schreibformen von k und z im Althochdeutschen*, Halle 1933, p. 73, was unable to locate the place of writing of the *HL* manuscript from the form of the *k*, although she could locate the *Basler Rezepte* II and III in Fulda.

²⁹ G. A. Hench, *Der Althochdeutsche Isidor* (QF 72), Strassburg 1893, counted 17 uses of the *er*-abbreviation in *fater* and 12 in *after*; many are present in the *Pa* manuscript; see the facsimile in G. Baesecke, *Lichtdrucke nach althochdeutschen Handschriften*, Halle 1926, e. g., p. 1, col. 1, l. 3 *faterlîh*, p. 13, col. 1, l. 1 *sprehan*.

³⁰ See W. M. Lindsay, "The Letters in Early Latin Minuscule," *Palaeographia Latina*, London 1922, I. 8.

both the *Isidor* and *Pa* manuscripts contain *es*-ligatures, with those of *Pa* already more like combinations than ligatures.³¹

If, as we suggest, we can infer from erasures older forms that were present in the *Vorlage*, by comparison with manuscripts that have survived we find that with its *es*-ligatures and *r*-abbreviations in addition to Insular forms the *Vorlage* was less similar to the manuscripts we have from Fulda than to those from Murbach.

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ON THE DATING OF THE *FAUST* PROLOGUE:

AN ADDITIONAL INFERENCE

In the Eckermann-Riemer *Chronologie der Entstehung Goethe'scher Schriften*¹ it is recorded that Goethe wrote the "Prolog im Himmel" in 1797. Pniower was among the first to cast doubt on the validity of this date. He says:

Dem Tagebuch kann die Notiz nicht entnommen sein, da sie sich dort nicht findet, und so stehn wir wie oben S. 7. 29 vor der Frage, ob sie irgend authentischen Wert besitzt oder nicht. Zu ihrer Beantwortung weiss ich nicht mehr zu sagen, als dass die Möglichkeit durchaus besteht, Eckermann habe die Tatsache aus Goethes Munde. Warum steht aber nichts davon in den Gesprächen?²

But in the third volume of Zeitler's *Goethe-Handbuch* (Stuttgart,

³¹ It is one of the characteristics of the Carolingian minuscule that ligatures were avoided. The *Isidor* manuscript, written at the beginning of the Carolingian minuscule period, about 790, still contains *es*-ligatures on nearly every page. The *Pa* manuscript, written approximately 810, has *es*-combinations in which the *e* and the *s* are almost distinct; some of the combinations, however, resemble the older ligatures; see Baesecke, *Lichtdrucke* p. 8, col. 1, l. 15 *makanes*. The *Vorlage* of the *HL* would have been older than the *Pa* manuscript.

¹ *Goethe's poetische und prosaische Werke*, 2 vols., Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1836 and 1837, II, 660.

² Otto Pniower, *Goethes Faust, Zeugnisse und Excurse zu seiner Entstehungsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1899, p. 61; cf. also Pniower, *Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, v (1892), 412. Here P. stresses the regularity of entries into the *Tagebuch* after 1795 and emphasizes its thorough dependability for the *Faust* scholar.

1918) Pniower declares the 1797 date for the Prologue to be "durchaus wahrscheinlich." In 1923 he published an article on the Prologue³ in which the date of its composition enters into his discussion of Goethe's use of Pfitzer's version of the *Faustbuch*. The Eckermann-Riemer date is here maintained throughout, but at no point in this study is the careful reader compelled to rule out the possibility that in 1797 the Prologue had not yet achieved the form in which we have it today.

Traumann, too, holds to the 1797 date set by the *Chronologie*.⁴ But he also points out a striking similarity existing in certain excerpts from Balthasar Bekker's *Die bezauerte Welt*, the Book of Job, and the songs of the Archangels with which the *Faust* Prologue opens.⁵ He quotes this passage from Bekker:

Alle Sternen und Himmels Krayse haben Seele, Erkäntnüss, Verstand, Leben, und Währung; und kennen den, durch dessen Wort die Welt gemacht ist. Ein jegliches derselben rühmet und verherrlicht seinen Schöpffer nach jedes Wurde und Fürtrefflichkeit, wie die Engel thun.

Traumann states that Goethe read this in 1800 or 1801, but expresses no doubt about the correctness of the Eckermann-Riemer *Chronologie*.

But a considerable array of scholars⁶ was quick to point out the similarity between the subject matter of the Prologue and that of the "Beschwörungsszene." Both scenes serve, to a considerable extent, to introduce Mephistopheles to the audience, meanwhile revealing the clarification of Goethe's ideas on the essential nature of good and evil. The first "Studierzimmer" scene is known to have

³ "Der Prolog im Himmel in Goethes Faust," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik*, LI (1923), 169 ff.

⁴ Ernst Traumann, *Goethes Faust*, München, 1913, I, 143.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.

⁶ Victor Hehn, *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XVI (1895), 116-117—J. Minor, *Goethes Faust*, Stuttgart, 1901, II, 5-6—Karl Alt, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CVIII (1902), 118 ff.—Karl Alt, *Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, IX (1922), 46 ff.—Chr. Sarauw, "Die Entstehungsgeschichte des Goethischen Faust," *Det Kgl. Videnskabernes Selskab: Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*, København, 1917, I, 7, p. 54 ff.—Robert Petsch, *Goethes Faust*, Leipzig, 1923, p. 550.—Theodor Friedrich, *Goethes Faust*, Leipzig, 1932, p. 169.—Georg Witkowski, *Goethes Faust*, Neunte vielfach verbesserte Aufl., Leiden, 1936, II, 79 and 179.

been written in 1800, and these scholars could not be brought to believe that the Prologue antedated it by three years.

In addition to this scholarly opinion there is a documented fact that takes on some measure of significance. In his *Tagebuch* for June 20, 21, and 22 (1800) Goethe has each day made the entry: "Bibliothèque des Romans." This refers to his reading of certain volumes of the *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* which he had borrowed on June 19 from the Weimar library, and which he returned on September 3.⁷ These volumes included the issue for December, 1775, which contains a shortened version of the *Cymbalum mundi* (1537), a mordant satire on the Christian religion by Bonaventure des Périers, *valet de chambre* to Marguerite of Navarre.⁸ The work comprises four short dialogues "Joyeux et facetieux" addressed to Pierre Tryocan (anagram for "Croyant") by Thomas du Clevier ("Incrédule" if *v* is changed to *n*). In short, "doubting Thomas" here presents the case for scepticism before "Peter the Rock."

In order to understand the excerpt from the *Cymbalum mundi* which follows, it will be wise to review the contents of the second dialogue from which it is taken. From the conversation in Athens between Mercury and Trigabus, with which this dialogue opens, it becomes evident to the reader that Mercury has just come from an amphitheatre where he was present at a meeting of philosophers. He had told these men that he was in possession of the philosopher's stone and that he wanted to present it to mortals. However, unable to decide precisely to whom he should hand the stone, he ground it to bits and scattered it in the sands of the amphitheatre. In a hilarious manner Trigabus describes the ridiculous and childish way in which the philosophers were scrambling about in their attempts to retrieve bits of the remarkable stone which were well nigh indistinguishable from the sand of the amphitheatre. So many philosophers maintained that they had found a portion of the original stone, that if all the pieces held to be genuine were to be

⁷ Elise von Keudell, *Goethe als Benutzer der Weimarer Bibliothek*, Weimar, 1931, p. 39.

⁸ I am indebted to Mr. Harold S. Courant of Chicago for a careful check through several editions of Gottfried Arnold's *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*, in the library of the University of Chicago, to find if Goethe were introduced to des Périers here. No mention of the *Cymbalum mundi* or its author was found.

brought together, the total mass of stone would be ten times as great as the original. Among the philosophers engaged in these antics the principal characters are: Rhetulus, Cubercus, and Drarig.

The generally accepted interpretation⁹ is that by Mercury the Christ is meant, who has come to earth to give men the Truth (philosopher's stone). Rhetulus is anagram for Lutherus and Cubercus for Bucer. Drarig is considered to be Erasmus, and Trigabus is the mouthpiece of the author.

In the following quotation from the *Bibliothèque des romans* note the diabolical cynicism in Trigabus' description of men striving for Truth.

TRIGABUS. Je ne sçay; mais j'ay veu plusieurs affermer qu'ilz en avoient trouvé de la vraye, et puis bientost après doubter si c'en estoit, et finalement jetter là toutes les pieces qu'ilz en avoient, pour se mettre à en chercher d'autres. Puis, de rechef, après en avoir bien amassé, ne se pouvoient asseuer ny persuader que c'en fust. Tellement que jamais ne fut exhibé ung tel jeu, ung si plaisant esbatement, ny une si noble fable que ceste-cy. Corbieu! tu les nous as bien mis en besongne, noz veaulx de philosophes!

MERCURE. N'ay pas?

TRIGABUS. Sambieu! je voudroie que tu eusses veu ung peu le desduit, comment ilz s'entrebattent par terre, et comment ilz ostent des mains l'ung de l'autre les myes d'areine qu'ilz trouvent; comment ilz rechignent entre eulx, quand ilz viennent à confronter ce qu'ilz en ont trouvé. L'ung se vante qu'il en a plus que son compaignon; l'autre lui dict que ce n'est pas de la vraye. L'ung veult enseigner comme c'est qu'il en fault trouver, et si n'en peut pas recouvrer luy-mesmes; l'autre luy respond qu'il le sçait aussi bien et mieulx que luy. L'ung dict que pour en trouver des pieces il se fault vestir de rouge et vert: L'autre dict qu'il vaudroit mieulx estre vestu de jaune et bleu. L'ung est d'opinion qu'il ne faut manger que six fois le jour avec certaine diette; l'autre tient que de dormir avec les femmes n'y est pas bon. L'ung dict qu'il fault avoir de la chandelle, et fust-ce en plain mydi, l'autre dict du contraire. Ilz crient, ilz se demeinent, ilz se injurient, et dieu sçait les beaulx procès criminelz qui

⁹ B. des Périers, *Le Cymbalum mundi*, ed. Félix Frank, Paris, 1873, pp. lxi, 61, 77.—Henri Busson, *Les sources et le développement du rationalisme, dans la littérature française de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1922, p. 195.—A. Darmesteter, Adolphe Hatzfeld, *Le seizième siècle en France; Tableau de la littérature et de la langue*, 16. éd., rev. et cor., Paris, 1934 pp. 15 f.—Lucien Febvre, *Origène et des Périers, ou l'énigme du "Cymbalum mundi,"* Paris, 1942, pp. 30, 124-127.

en sourdent. Tellement qu'il n'y a court, rue, temple, fontaine, four, moin, place, cabaret, ny bourdeau, que tout ne soit plein de leurs parolles, caquetz, disputes, factions et envies. Et si en y a aucuns d'entre eulx qui sont si outrecuidez et opiniastres, que, pour la grande persuasion qu'ilz ont que l'areine par eulx choisie est de la vraye Pierre philosophale, promettent rendre raison et juger de tout, des cieulx, des champs Elisiens, de vice, de vertu, de vie, de mort, de paix, de guerre, du passé, de l'advenir, de toutes choses et plusieurs aultres: tellement qu'il n'y a rien en ce monde dequoy il ne faille qu'ilz en tiennent leurs propos, voire jusques aux petis chiens des druydes, et jusques aux poupées de leurs petis enfans. Il est bien viay qu'il y en a quelques ungs (ainsi que j'ay ouy dire), lesquelz on estime en avoir trouvé des pieces; mais icelles n'ont eu aucune vertu ne propriété, sinon qu'ilz en ont transformé des hommes en cigales, qui ne font aultre chose que cacqueter jusques à la mort; et d'aultres, en asnes propres à porter gros faix et opiniastres à endurer force coups de bastons. Bref, c'est le plus beau passetemps et la plus joyeuse risée, de considerer leur façon de faire, que l'on vit oncques et dont l'on ouyt jamais parler.

Now compare this with Mephisto's mockery of aspiring man :

Von Sonn- und Welten weiss ich nichts zu sagen,
 Ich sehe nur wie sich die Menschen plagen.
 Der kleine Gott der Welt bleibt stets von gleichem Schlag,
 Und ist so wunderlich als wie am ersten Tag.
 Ein wenig besser wurd' er leben,
 Hatt'st du ihm nicht den Schein des Himmelslichts gegeben:
 Er nennt's Vernunft und braucht's allein,
 Nur thierischer als jedes Thier zu sein.
 Er scheint mir, mit Verlaub von Ew. Gnaden,
 Wie eine der langbeinigen Cicaden,
 Die immer fliegt und fliegend springt
 Und gleich im Gras ihr altes Liedchen singt:
 Und läg' er nur noch immer in dem Grase!
 In jeden Quark begräbt er seine Nase. (I. 279-292)

Note how the following elements of the second dialogue of the *Cymbalum mundi* seem to be echoed in the Prologue:

1. The Deity is humorously chided for being the cause of confusion among men:

Corbieu! tu les nous as bien mis en besongne, noz veaulx de philosophes!

2. Men make themselves miserable and ridiculous in their striving for ideal values:

Ilz crient, ilz se demeinent, ilz se injurient, et dieu sçait les beaulx procès criminelz qui en sourdent.

3. Their spiritual efforts spring from an unwarranted conceit that they can attain to a life above the animal level:

Et si en y a aucuns d'entre eulx qui sont si outrecuidez et opiniastres, que, pour la grande persuasion qu'ilz ont que l'areine par eulx choisie est de la vraye Pierre philosophale, promettent rendre raison et juger de tout, des cieulx,—etc.

4. As a result of their vaunted contact with Truth men are so degenerated that their manner of expression has become as unintelligible as the chatter of grasshoppers, or cicadae:¹⁰

Il est bien vray qu'il y en a quelques ungs (ainsi que j'ay ouy dire), lesquelz on estime en avoir trouvé des pieces. mais icelles n'ont eu aucune vertu ne propriété, sinon qu'ilz en ont transformé des hommes en cigales, qui ne font aultre chose que cacqueter jusques à la mort.

Here, then, we find effrontery *vis-à-vis* the Deity and thorough cynicism concerning man expressed in symbols that yield a considerable number of points of comparison between the second Dialogue of the *Cymbalum mundi* and the *Faust* Prologue. We would add this observation to the well-considered reasons advanced by others for the contention that Goethe did not give the "Prolog im Himmel" its final form before 1800.

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¹⁰ In connection with this last and most striking comparison it should be noted that although the word *Cicaden* means exactly the same as *cigales*, Goethe meant thereby ordinary grasshoppers. This was already pointed out in the Düntzer commentary on *Faust* (1850) and has since been accepted generally. To be sure, Goethe did not always differentiate between cicadae and grasshoppers, as is illustrated in his poem "An die Cicade" which first appeared in 1781 under the title "An die Heuschrecke" (cf. *Werke*, Weimar, 1889, II, 321), where, in a translation from Anacreon, he extols the singing of the tree-dwelling cicada as the singing of an inspired poet. Even so, when Mephisto uses the word *Cicaden*, he certainly has no such symbol in mind, and thus it seems more plausible to attribute Goethe's use of this word, in the context of the Prologue, not to an entomological confusion but rather to an echo from des Périers.

GENESIS A AND THE PRAEFATIO

"It is generally agreed nowadays among scholars that *Genesis A* was not written by Caedmon." This statement, or words to the same effect, appear near the beginning of practically every discussion of the poem. Yet in the same discussions, somewhere along the line, there always crops up the qualification that this judgment has been made (on varying grounds) *despite* the resemblance of the poem's opening lines to the "Hymn" of Caedmon as paraphrased by Bede.¹ The impression gained from this procedure is that the resemblance is close enough to require explanation, in view of the other circumstantial evidence which led to the long-held ascription of the poem to Caedmon; and the explanation has generally been that both performances may be laid to the prevalence of well-known pious introductory formulas.

There is not full agreement on this, however. Gollancz believes Caedmon to be the author of *Genesis A*, and states: "The Hymn and the Prologue² are not, in my opinion, spontaneous poems, but are both evidently based on some specific hymn or prayer in praise of God the Creator;" he goes on to make a plausible connection for the "Hymn" with the early liturgical Office, and leaves the impression that he thinks the Prologue is a variant of this same form.³ Holthausen had briefly mentioned a resemblance of the opening line of *Genesis A* to the beginning of the Preface of the Mass,⁴ and Gollancz, noting this, replies, "but we have no reference to the main point of the prelude, viz. God as the creator of heaven."⁵ Without having seen Holthausen's note, the present writer was struck, on first reading *Genesis A*, by the Preface parallel; it seems to me that Holthausen's hint is capable of elaboration, and that as good a case can be made out for the Preface as a source of the Prologue, as for the Office as a source of the "Hymn." In

¹ E. g., G. P. Krapp (ed.), *The Junius Manuscript*, New York, 1931, p. xi; C. W. Kennedy (trans.), *The Caedmon Poems*, London, 1916, p. xi; E. E. Wardale, *Chapters on Old English Literature*, London, 1935, p. 115.

² That is, the opening lines of *Genesis A*.

³ I. Gollancz (ed.), *The Caedmon Manuscript*, Oxford, 1927, p. lx.

⁴ F. Holthausen (ed.), *Die altere Genesis*, Heidelberg, 1914, p. 91.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. lxii.

this way, the unwelcome necessity of yoking the two early English pieces may be obviated.

The Preface of the Mass is the beginning of and the introduction to the Anaphora (or Canon), the central part of the Mass liturgy. It is led into by the following dialogue, between the celebrant and those assisting:

<i>R.</i> Per omnia saecula saeculorum.	<i>V.</i> Amen.
Dominus Vobiscum.	Et cum spiritu tuo.
Sursum corda.	Habemus ad Dominum.
Gratias agamus Domino Deo	Dignum et justum est.
nostro.	

Then, in the Prefaces still authorized for use in the Roman rite, the celebrant proceeds with

Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere: Domine sancte, pater omnipotens, aeternae Deus. . . .

The *Genesis* poet's Prologue begins as follows:

VS IS RIHT MICEL, ÐAET we rodera weard,
wereda wuldorcining wordum heigen,
modum lufien: he is mægna sped,
heafod ealra heahgesceafta,
frea ælmihtig.

The similarity in tone, sentiment, and wording to the opening lines of the Preface is sufficiently striking. The poem continues:

Næs him fruma æfre,
or geworden ne nu ende cymþ
ecean drihtnes: ac he biþ a rice
ofer heofenstolas heagum þrymmum,
soþfæst & swiþfeorm sweglbosmas heold:
þa wæron gesette wide & side
þurh geweald godes wuldres bearnum,
gasta weardum. Hæfdon gleam & dream
& heora ordfruman engla þreatas,
beorhte blisse: wæs heora blæd micel.
Ðegnas þrymfæste þeoden heredon,
sægdon lustum lof, heora liffrean
demdon, drihtenes dugeþum wæron
swiþe gesælige.

This supplies matter for Gollancz's objection, that the Preface does not place a like emphasis on God as Creator of heaven; which

further investigation may disprove. The Prefaces as used today invariably employ the opening quoted above,⁶ then continue, in the body, with a short rescension of matter appropriate to the occasion, and conclude with one of the two following forms:

Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus hymnum gloriae tuae canimus, sine fine dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis. . . .

Per quem maiestatem tuam laudant Angeli adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates. Caeli caelorumque Virtutes ac beata Seraphim socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas, deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes: Sanctus, *etc.*

This would indicate that the idea of the Preface was to be a hymn, an invocation, in honor of God the Father, creator of heaven and reigning there amid the worship and never-ending praise of his companies of angels, the heavenly host. For one casting about for a fitting exemplar on which to base his song of Genesis and of the downfall of the bad angels, the Preface was at hand and appropriate, and such a borrowing was hallowed and customary.⁷

But this is a modern Preface, a form gradually consolidated and regularized from a wide variety of sources. The present forms may be traced back to the Sacramentaries, the earliest written formal liturgies. In these, the prayer is found to be very short, but all preserve the formulary character noted above, the opening lines being generally abbreviated to "Vere dign" or "V. D."⁸ Now it happens that the Sacramentaries were being compiled and written down at just about the time generally agreed upon for the composition of *Genesis A*. And St. Augustine (who died in 604-5), on being given a free hand by Pope Gregory I, "had established the

⁶ With the exception of the Preface of the Apostles and the Easter Preface, which omit the words "nos . . . Deus." There is also a slight difference in the ending of the Preface for Whitsunday, which reads, "Quapropter . . . sed et supernae virtutes . . ."

⁷ See Gollancz's tracing of the "Hymn" to the Office, above; also Adrian Fortescue, article on "The Preface," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII, 385.

⁸ See C. L. Feltoe (ed.), *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, Cambridge, 1896; H. A. Wilson (ed.), *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894, and *The Gregorian Sacramentary*, London, 1915; I. Schuster, *The Sacramentary*, London, 1924, 5 v., esp. Vol. I. It was with the Sacramentaries that the great multiplication of prefaces took place. See Fortescue, *ibid.*

Roman liturgy on the whole"⁹ as a standard form for the English church. Here then was sanction for pious usage in a newly authorized and confirmed liturgy.

However, it is still further back that we must go for the actual content utilized by the poet. While the relatively recent Sacramentary liturgies supplied an authorized precedent, the tradition of older formulations, the apostolic or pseudo-apostolic liturgies upon which the Sacramentaries were based, remained strong. There were at least six of these, two of which were probably known in England,¹⁰ along with patristic writings which included suggestions for usage and parts of liturgies.¹¹ The one probably most widely known in England was "The Divine Liturgy of James, the Holy Apostle and Brother of the Lord." Section III, the Anaphora, begins as follows:

Then he says aloud:

The love of the Lord and Father, the grace of the Lord and Son, and the fellowship and the gift of the Holy Spirit, be with us all.

The People

And with thy spirit.

The Priest

Let us lift up our minds and our hearts.

The People

It is becoming and right.

Then the Priest prays:

Verily it is becoming and right, proper and due to praise Thee, to sing of Thee, to bless Thee, to worship Thee, to glorify Thee, to give Thee thanks, Maker of every creature visible and invisible, the treasure of eternal good things, the fountain of life and immortality, God and Lord of all.

Whom the heavens of heavens praise, and all the host of them; the sun, and the moon, and all the choir of the stars; earth, sea, and all that is in them; Jerusalem, the heavenly assembly, and the church of the first-born that are written in heaven; spirits of just men and of prophets; sons of martyrs and apostles; angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, and authorities, and dread powers; and the many-eyed cherubim, and the six-winged seraphim, which cover their faces with two wings, their feet with two, and

⁹ William Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History*, Oxford, 1897, p. 103. See also Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, xxvii.

¹⁰ See Roberts and Donaldson (trans.), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Buffalo, 1896, VII, 532; also T. V. Short, *A Sketch of the History of the Church of England*, London, 1840, p. 6.

¹¹ E. g., the epistles of Polycarp and Irenaeus, and Gregory's homiletic and pastoral works.

with two they fly, crying one to another with unresting lips, with unceasing praises:

(*Aloud*)

With loud voice singing the victorious hymn of Thy majestic glory, crying aloud, praising, shouting, and saying: Holy, holy, holy. . . .¹²

This, in turn, was derived from the oldest extant liturgical writings, the so-called "Constitutions of the Apostles," which include the Clementine Liturgy.¹³ It is here that we find the Preface in its longest form, being an extended series of praises to God the creator through mention of many of the incidents in the Old Testament story. But it is noteworthy that all the elements which we have found in later curtailments are here also, and in the same order:

Let now the High Priest, simultaneously with the Priests, pray by himself, and let him put on his shining garments, and stand at the altar, and make the sign of the cross upon his forehead, with his hand, before all the people, and say, The grace of Almighty God, and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. And let all with one voice say, And with thy spirit. The high priest, Lift up your mind. All the people, We lift it up unto the Lord. The high priest, Let us give thanks to the Lord. All the people, It is meet and right to do so. Then let the High Priest say, It is very meet and right¹⁴ before all things to sing a hymn to thee, who are the true God, who art before all beings; from whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named; who only are unbegotten, and without beginning, independent, and without a master; who needest nothing, who are the bestower of every thing that is good; who are above all cause and generation; who are always and immutable the same; from whom, as from a grand starting place, all things came into being . . . who . . . didst make, before all things, the cherubim and the seraphim, the aeons and hosts, the powers and authorities, the principalities and thrones, the archangels and angels; and, after all these, didst by him make this visible world, and all things that are therein. For thou art He who didst frame the heaven as an arch, and stretch it out like the covering of a tent, and didst found the earth upon nothing. . . .

For all these things, glory be to thee O Lord Almighty. Thee do the

¹² *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII, 543-44.

¹³ See *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 532; also *Cath. Encycl.*, I, 637.

¹⁴ The dialogue is ancient, and goes back to Hebrew rites (with changes, of course, to include references to Christ). Here a difference may be noted between the exhortation "It is incumbent upon us," proposed by Gollancz as the exemplar for the "Nu sculon herigeon" of Caedmon's "Hymn," and "It is very meet and right," which I take to be the source of "Us is riht micel."

innumerable hosts of angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, and powers, thine everlasting armies, adore. The cherubim, and the six-winged seraphim say . . . together with thousand thousands of archangels, and ten thousand times ten thousand of angels, incessantly, and with constant and loud voices, and let all the people say it with them, Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts. . . .¹⁵

The Preface, then, appeared to a religious person of the early eighth century as a venerable, traditional, introductory prayer; having as its chief aim praise of God the creator, and ruler of heaven and the angels. It was an exhortation to the faithful to join with the companies of the blessed in their song of praise; it emphasized the fitness and justness of assuming such a disposition in preparation for the great and solemn representation to follow. All this suited exactly the *Genesis* poet's purpose, and so he began *his* dedicated task in like manner: "Us is riht miçel"—Vere dignum et justum est.

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ENGLISH *SEARCE*, *SEARCH* 'SIEVE, STRAINER'

The English noun *searce* 'sieve, strainer' has gone out of standard usage. The most recent examples given by the *N. E. D.* are *searce* (1839) and the variant *search* (1844). The word has, however, a wide diffusion in present day English dialects from Northumberland to Kent and Cornwall and is applied to a variety of sieves and strainers (for buttermilk, gravy, grain, flour, dust, etc.).¹ The modern dialectal forms, variously spelled, seem again to represent two types: *searce* (*cearse*, *sarce*, *sierce*, etc.) with sibilant *c*, *s* in the last syllable, and *search* (*serch*, *sarch*, *serge*, etc.) with palatal *ch*, *g*. This double series represented by *searce* and *search* has its parallel in the fifteenth century forms: *searce* (*saarce*, *sars*, *sarsse*, *sarce*) and *sarch*. *Search* is first attested in the sixteenth century.

The *N. E. D.* quite confidently identifies *searce*, *search* with Old

¹⁵ *The Work Claiming to be the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*; Whiston's version, revised from the Greek, New York, 1848, p. 212 (Bk. VIII, Ch. xii).

¹ Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, 1904, v 309.

French *saas*, *sas* (Mod. Fr. *sas*) 'tamis,' the etymology of which is V. L. *setacium* 'cloth made of bristles,' a derivative of L. *seta* 'bristle,' but it adds "with unexplained insertion of *r*." Other English dictionaries either make no mention of *searce*, *search* (Weekley, Wyld) or agree with Murray in identifying it with O. F. *saas*, *sas* (Century, Webster). A doubt as to this etymology arises when we note that the *N. E. D.* lists no form of our words without the *r*. If *searce* and *search* were descendants of O. F. *saas*, *sas*, some early examples without "intrusive *r*" would probably have been recorded among the number noted.

The time has come, I believe, when the history of English *searce* 'sieve, strainer' can be sketched. In 1902 Antome Thomas² made a passing allusion to English *searce* inferring that it might be the same word as French *cerce* 'cercle de tamis,' but neither French nor English lexicographers have made note of it. Littré³ defines *cerce* and its variants as follows:

Cerce s. f. Feuille de bois large et mince pour monter les cribles et les tamis — Menuiserie qui entoure les meules d'un moulin. — Ustensile d'encastage pour les poteries — Etym. Autre forme de *cercle*.

Cerche s. f. Le même que *cerce* — Etym. Autre forme de *cercle*.

Sarche s. f. Cercle de bois auquel on attache une étoffe pour faire un tamis — Etym. Forme ancienne et altérée de *cercle*.

It will be noted that the French forms *cerce*, *cerche*, *sarche* referring to sieves and strainers have exact correspondence to English *searce*, *search* and older *sarch*. There can be no doubt, I believe, that they represent the same word and have a common etymology.

Thomas in his article (*loc. cit.*) assembled examples of the French word from the Middle Ages down through the modern patois. He assumed that *cerce* was the primitive French form and derived it from L. *circitem* 'circle,' synonym of *circinum*, but with metathesis **cirticem* > *cerce*. This explanation found no favor with Hugo Schuchardt⁴ and W. Meyer-Lübke (*R. E. W.* 190). Like Thomas both considered *cerce* to be the primitive form but their etymologies were no more plausible than his, since *circinus* or *circen* (Schuchardt) and *circes* (Meyer-Lübke) do not satisfy the details of the phonological evolution.⁵

² *Mélanges d'étymologie française*, 1902, article *cerce*.

³ E. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, 1881-1884.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* xxvi (1902), 401.

⁵ Cf. Thomas, *Mélanges*, 2nd ed. (1927), 60, n. 1.

It remained for O. Bloch⁶ to find the real solution of the problem. For him the primitive form is *cerche* and not *cerce*. He points out that *cerche* is the only form attested before the end of the seventeenth century. The dictionary of Furetière (1690) first mentions *serse*. *Cerce* 'cercle de tamis' is found with frequency only from the eighteenth century on. Bloch derives *cerche* from a V.L. **circa*, a feminine made up on L. *circus* 'circle,' a process of formation which is not rare in Classic and Vulgar Latin.⁷ He believes that *cerce* is an altered form of primitive *cerche* "par assimilation progressive et peut-être par influence de *cerceau*."

Evidently therefore, English *search* (16th-19th c.) represents French etymological *cerche* (< L. **circa*). *Sarch* (15th c.) represents a medieval French variant of *cerche*,⁸ recorded later as *sarche* 'cercle de tamis' in the dictionary of Thomas Corneille (1731) and in others down to Littré in the nineteenth century.⁹ The modern patois of the Bas-Maine and the Blaisois have *sars* 'cercle de tamis.' In the Loir-et-Cher we note *sars* 'cercle de tonneau'.¹⁰

The history of English *searce* is less clear. It and its variant forms with sibilant *s*, *c*. in place of palatal *ch* of etymological *search*, *sarch*, must owe their altered form to some irregularity. The earliest recorded occurrence of French *cerce* (*serce*) is of 1690 whereas *searce*, *saarce*, *sars*, *sarsse*, *sarce* are all found in fifteenth century English texts. It is difficult not to believe, however, that the French and English forms of the word with sibilant *c*, *s*, are due to the same influence in spite of the discrepancy in dates of their earliest recorded appearances. Bloch (*loc. cit.*) attributes the transformation of *ch* > *c* in French *cerche* > *cerce* to

⁶ *Revue de linguistique romane* XI (1935), 332-33.

⁷ Bloch (*loc. cit.*, 333) gives examples. His list could be extended readily. *Circus* itself is amply represented in Romance: O Pr. *cerc*, It. *cerco*, Roum. *cerc*, etc.

⁸ Cf. Schwan-Behrens, *Grammaire de l'ancien français*, Leipzig, 1913, 181; *a* for *e* before *r* plus consonant appears in central French in the fifteenth century. The phenomenon occurs much earlier in the French dialects of the southwest; cf. E. Goerlich, *Die südwestlichen Dialekte der langue d'oïl*, 54.

⁹ Cf. *Dictionnaire du commerce* of Savary des Bruslons (1732-41), *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* (1771), *Encyclopédie* of Diderot (1751—), etc.

¹⁰ W. von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, II, 708a.

progressive assimilation or to the influence of French *cerceau* (<L. *circellus*).¹¹ These factors may have influenced *cerche* earlier in Anglo-French than on the continent but it is quite possible that French *cerce* for etymological *cerche*, did exist in some dialects and patois in the fifteenth century or earlier, although not recorded until the seventeenth century, and that this continental form *cerce*, appearing in Anglo-French, formed the model for the corresponding English forms: *searce*, etc. with sibilant *c*, *s*. In fact the frequency of these fifteenth century English forms tends to prove this. *Searce*, *search* 'strainer, sieve' would merely represent an extension of the etymological sense of French *cerce*, *cerche* 'cercle (de tamis)'.

But here is another possibility. A fifteenth century English spelling *saarce* makes one think of O. F. *saas* 'tamis' which may have preserved this etymological spelling as late as the fifteenth century but which was much earlier pronounced *sas* with the reduction of the hiatus.¹² *Cerche* in Old and Middle French had a variety of meanings other than 'cercle de tamis' but none of these is attached to the English words. A contamination of *cerche*, *sarche* in Anglo-French with *sas* (*saas*) might well have come about since the *cerche* or *sarche* (cercle de tamis) of a *sas* (tamis) might have been applied to the *sas* itself. The existence of an Anglo-French *cerce* would have favored the confusion, but even if we do not admit this early existence of French or Anglo-French *cerce*, a contamination of *cerche*, *sarche* with *sas* in Anglo-French might account for the assibilation of *ch* > *c*, *s* in the models of English *searce*, etc., and also for the absorption of *sas* which, although still living in France has left no direct descendants in English.¹³ This might also explain the fact that English *searce*, *search*, *sarch*, etc. from the time of their earliest appearances mean only 'sieve, strainer' whereas corresponding French *cerche* and *cerce* have

¹¹ O. F. *cercel*, Fr. *cerceau* does not seem to have been applied to the hoop or 'cercle' of a 'tamis' although doubtless the kinship of these forms and *cerche* would have been felt as both mean 'cercles' of various sorts (F. E. W. *circellus* and *circus*). A sense of *cercel*, *cerceau* in the Middle Ages and in Mod. Fr. is 'cercle de tonneau.' *Cerche sarche* have this meaning in various patois (F. E. W. II, 708a).

¹² It is doubtless due to this isolated spelling of the word in a fifteenth century English text that English lexicographers have identified the word with O. F. *saas* (tamis).

¹³ A contamination between *cerche* and *sas* seems to have taken place in certain French patois; cf. Antoine Thomas, *Mélanges* (1927), p. 59, note. 2.

generally preserved the etymological sense of 'cercle (de tamis),' a part of the sieve or strainer.¹⁴

In conclusion, I think that it has been definitely established that English *search* (*serch*, *sarch*) 'sieve, strainer' represents exactly O. F. etymological *cerche* (<L. **circa*). English *searce* and its variants with sibilant *c*, *s* reflect alteration of primitive O. F. *cerche* due to progressive assimilation (cf. Fr. *cerce*) or to influence of cognate *cerceau* or perhaps to contamination with O. F. *sas* 'tamis.'

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MIXED TRADITION IN THE CAROLS OF HOLLY AND IVY

The "holly and ivy" carols of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are interesting but not altogether meaningful reflections of ancient custom; for the logical basis of what appears to be sex symbolism in these songs has been obscured by accretions of irrelevant matter. The key to the problem may lie in the dioecious nature of *Ilex æquifolium*, the English holly. If this hypothesis be correct, one English authority errs somewhat in attributing the popularity of holly to striking fruiting habits.¹ The reason is not so much that the plant, with glossy leaves and red berries, is conspicuous, but that it perfectly symbolizes the division of the sexes.² Monococious ivy counts for nothing in this connection and may be an intrusive element of relatively late date.

There is no denying, however, the close association of holly and ivy at the time that the carol writers dipped into the current of folk-custom. Holly with "hys mery men" symbolizes the masculine element dominating the feminine "Iuy and hur maydenys" ³

¹⁴ But cf. Chambure, *Glossaire du Morvan*: *serce*, *sasse* 'Espèce de tamis dont on se sert pour faire égoutter les fromages frais.'

¹ E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), I, 251, says, "Obviously amongst other evergreens the holly and the ivy, with their clustering pseudo-blossoms of coral and of jet are the more adequate representatives of the fertilization spirit. . . ."

² The male and female flowers are thought to occur seldom, if ever, on the same tree. As a consequence, fruiting is contingent upon the proximity of plants of opposite sex.

³ R. L. Greene (ed.), *The Early English Carols* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 93 ff. This edition of the carols is followed throughout.

during the Christmas season. The writers praise Holly extravagantly and link "him" with the joyous spirit of Christmas. Instead of dancing and singing, Ivy and "her" maidens "they wepyn and they wryng." Birds of good omen consort with Holly, but the "sory howlet" perches on Ivy, who is compelled to "stond without the dore."⁴ The inferiority of the female⁵ in this sex contention is clear.

However, the association of holly with ivy was not inevitable in mediaeval tradition: the two plants figure alone in some ceremonies.⁶ In Derbyshire three kinds of holly—prickly, smooth, and variegated⁷—were commonly brought into the house to ensure a prosperous New Year.⁸ If the "smooth" holly were carried across the threshold first, according to tradition, the wife would rule the house for the following year; if the prickly, the man.⁹ Further proof that the division of sexes in holly was recognized at an early date resides in Gascoigne's *The Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle*, which Greene cites: "Mary there are two kinds of Holly, that is to say, he Holly, and she Holly. Nowe some will that she Holly hath no prickes, but thereof I entermeddle not,"¹⁰ Gascoigne was only partially correct: sex can not be determined until the holly blooms.¹¹ Nevertheless, holly was known to be dioecious, and that

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. ci. Greene connects the exclusion of Ivy to the primitive idea of "first-footing." Elaborate precautions were taken in many districts of England to prevent a female foot from crossing the threshold first on Christmas Day.

⁵ But not always, it seems. Hilderic Friend, *Flowers and Flower Lore* (2d ed.; London, 1884), p. 253, observes, "On Shrove Tuesday, Ash Wednesday, or some other early day in Lent, it used to be customary in France and England to carry round garlands of flowers, and dress effigies called the Holly-boy and Ivy-girl, which they burnt. . . ."

⁶ Greene, *op. cit.*, p. c, cites from *Notes and Queries*, 5th Ser., xi, 206, the custom of feeding ivy, that had decorated the church, to ewes to induce twinning.

⁷ Many varieties are known. A gray-mottled type with yellow margin may correspond to "variegated."

⁸ Thomas Ratcliffe, "Evergreens at Christmas," *Notes and Queries*, 11th Ser., vi (1912), 486.

⁹ Greene, *op. cit.*, p. c.

¹⁰ George Gascoigne, *The Complete Works*, ed. J. W. Cunliffe (Cambridge, 1910), ii, 126-7.

¹¹ Dr. William Crocker, director of the Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research, has written me that as yet no way has been found for determining sex on the basis of anatomical structure.

is the important point. This fact accounts for the use of holly to represent the sexes, and it points ultimately, perhaps, to fertilization rites, in which the male and female kinds of holly were used symbolically.

Ivy was in all likelihood joined with holly somewhat late,¹² probably after most people had forgotten or had chosen to ignore the basic significance of the ceremony.¹³ In any case, the holly with "berys as rede as any rose" would be the female kind, and on that account an inappropriate representative of the masculine element.¹⁴ The independent tradition of holly in connection with sex symbolism and the ambiguities in the carols proper seem sufficient documentation for the conjecture that the ceremony was caught up in song after the well of folk-belief had been muddled by Christian or other influences. The question of contamination aside, it is indeed remarkable that such primitive custom should be reflected in a genre cultivated largely by religious hands.

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THE NAME OF THE WENDS

In vol. XIX of *Comparative Literature Studies* (pp. 7-11), Miss Louise Llewellyn writes on "Some Ethnical and Linguistic Aspects of the Wendish People." I am here concerned only with her etymology of the Wendish name. To quote,

The term Wend is the oldest of the known collective tribal names used to designate the Slavonic race and is derived from the Celtic language of the Gauls, formerly the nearest neighbours of the Slavs. The word Vend or

¹² No carol of this group is older than the fifteenth century.

¹³ Friend, *op. cit.*, p. 263, says that the Church consistently opposed heathen survivals, and consequently forbade the use of evergreens for decorative purposes. One "ivy" carol (Greene, p. 95) contains an acrostic with religious implications. A "boar's-head" carol (Greene, p. 92) has "The borys hede that we bryng here/ Betokeneth a Prince [Christ]. . . ." To be sure, holly had non-Christian associations. It was considered obnoxious to witches, and the enchanted hag of the ballad *Marriage of Sir Gawain* (Child 31, st. 15) sat "Betwixt an oke and a greene hollen."

¹⁴ Of course, once the symbolism was obscured, the fruited sorts of holly and ivy would be highly esteemed for decorative purposes.

OLD ENGLISH RIDDLE NO. 95

Quill

- Ic eom indryhten ond eorlum cūð;
 ond reste oft, ricum ond hēanum
 folcum gefrāge. Fēreð wide,
 ond mē fremdum ær frēondum stondeð
 5 hiðendra hyht, gif ic habban sceal
 blæd in burgum oððe beorhte gōd.
 Nū snottre men swiðast lufiað
 midwist mīne, ic monigum sceal
 wisdōm cȳðan, no ðær word sprecað
 10 ænig ofer eorðan. Ðeah nū ælda bearn,
 londbūendra lāstas mīne
 swiðe sēcað, ic swaðe hwīlum
 mīne bemiðe monna gehwīlum.

4) fremdes/ fremdum, Brooke

6) beorhtne/ beorhte, Grein.

- I am a noble thing and known to men;
 often I pause, famous with mighty and lowly.
 What plunderers rejoice in
 travels far, and to me, the stranger,
 5 is closer than my friends, if I shall have
 fame and bright reward in the castles.
 Wise men greatly love
 my company, I will divulge
 wisdom to many who, far and wide,
 10 utter no words. Though the children of men
 now eagerly seek my footprints,
 at times I hide
 my trail from every one.

The last, and hitherto unsolved, enigma of the Old English Riddle collection presents in my opinion no great difficulties to an interpretation if we regard "Quill" as its solution. The many mediaeval riddles dealing with either the quill or other things relating to the art of writing draw on essentially the same repertoire of ideas.

What thus far has prevented the solution of this riddle is not any serious corruption of the text; two convincing emendations have long been adopted without, however, bringing the solution any

nearer. The real crux of the enigma is the kenning in line 5, the *hiðendra hyht*, the "joy of plunderers." Here riddle 93, Inkhorn, comes to our aid, for the *hiðende fēond*, the "plundering foe" clearly refers to the quill that plunders the sheer inexhaustible content of the inkhorn. Hence, the "joy of plunderers" is the ink.

The noble thing of the present riddle then must be the quill. Noble it is, for it comes from heaven and serves a noble purpose. It is known to the mighty and lowly alike, that is, to noblemen as well as humble monks. In its work it often pauses. The booty it takes, the ink, the joy of plunderers, travels wide over the parchment and, with the parchment, all over the earth. Such booty stands nearer to the quill than friends, if the quill, this stranger from heaven among men, is to win success.¹ The friends are the feathers that once as companions of the quill sailed the air. The miserable fate of the quill as an exile or stranger on earth is often deplored in riddles of this genre.

These riddles at times call attention to the paradox of silent letters that speak, or to the voice of letters that is inaudible. In the present case this thought shows a significant variation. It is the wise men who when reading remain silent. The universal habit of reading aloud, practiced in antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages, was changed in the monasteries to silent reading in keeping with the order of silence by the Church. The Benedictine Rule commanded: *Sibi sic legat, ut alium non inquietet*. We know that silent reading remained a matter of wonder.²

The enigmas dealing with the quill usually end on a note that enhances the value of the object: the quill's writing comes from heaven and again leads to heaven. However closely wise men follow the footprints of the quill, they may lose the track and not understand the sacred writing.

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¹ In line 6 fame and bright reward (shining gold), but hardly fame and shining God.

² See the interesting study of Josef Balogh, *Voces Paginarum: Beiträge zur Geschichte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens*, *Philologus* LXXXII, nos. 1 and 2, 1927.

CHAUCER AND THE IDEA OF UNFAITHFUL MEN

So far as I know, attention has not been called to the fact that lines 187-95 of the "Manciple's Tale,"¹ in which Chaucer speaks of the infidelity of men, contain the brief statement of the idea which holds a central position in much of the *Legend of Good Women*. So close, in fact, is this resemblance that the passage in the "Manciple's Tale" might well serve as either introduction or conclusion for the *Legend*.

These lines of the "Manciple's Tale" form the illogical conclusion to the extraneous digression (160-95) in which Chaucer cites the examples of the caged bird, the petted cat, and the villainous she-wolf in an effort to prove that, since no creature can be constrained against its will, the jealous Phebus was foolish to think that his wife would remain faithful. How the examples of the bird, the cat, and the she-wolf prepare the reader for the conclusion that men are "untrewe" is not clear; nor is the conclusion in any way consistent with the actions of Phebus' unfaithful wife (203-4). Perhaps all that can be said of the passage in relation to the "Manciple's Tale" as a whole is that for some reason Chaucer here presents a strong statement against what he considered the inherent infidelity of men, and even includes himself ("we," 194) among those who can find no pleasure in steadfast "vertu."

Almost equally illogical and inconsistent is the whole argument of the *Legend of Good Women*, in which the same idea of the infidelity of men is developed frequently and at length. In the "Prologue" to the *Legend* the god of Love scolds and threatens Chaucer for his translation of the *Romance of the Rose* and for *Troilus and Criseyde*, "shewynge how that wemen han don mis."² Chaucer is also blamed for not writing of the many women so admirable that it is impossible to find "a man that coude be so trewe and kynde" (G 246-316). Alceste defends Chaucer, however, and suggests that he do penance by writing "of women trewe in lovyng al here lyve" (G 317-485). In compliance with this command,

¹ All line references are to F. N. Robinson, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Boston, 1933.

² The revisions of the F-prologue present in G and discussed by D. D. Griffith in "An Interpretation of Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*," *Manly Anniversary Studies* (1923), pp. 32-41, have no bearing on the point made in this note.

Chaucer produces the nine "legends" which make up the body of his unfinished poem. In order to carry out his enveloping analogy between the cult of Love and the Christian religion, he names each legend for the woman who is the martyr treated therein. However, each of the legends, except "Cleopatra" and "Thisbe," is so presented that the infidelity of the man concerned is more highly stressed than the faithfulness of the woman. Even in the two exceptions, "Cleopatra" and "Thisbe," the man is censured: Antony's infidelity to the "suster of Cesar" is prominently introduced (592-4), and Pyramus' late arrival at the meeting-place is pointed to as the cause of the tragedy (824). The fourth legend, in which the two individual stories of Hypsipyle and Medea are combined because both were betrayed by Jason, is the clearest evidence that Chaucer illogically uses unfaithful men as his guiding device for the *Legend* rather than faithful women, as the speeches of the god of Love and of Chaucer in praise of Alceste (G 495-541), as well as the choice of Alceste for the central character of the "Prologue," lead the reader to expect. Thus the *Legend of Good Women*, like lines 187-95 of the "Manciple's Tale," is a condemnation of bad men because of their infidelity. A close examination shows that Chaucer includes ten general passages on the infidelity of men, reminiscent of the "Manciple's Tale," 187-95, in the *Legend*.³ Further, in seven of the legends there are important passages condemning the man specifically concerned for infidelity.⁴

Another instance of the brief statement of an idea more fully developed in the *Legend of Good Women* is worthy of mention here because of its similarity to the passage from the "Manciple's Tale" discussed above. In the concluding passage (v, 1772-85) just be-

³ 665-8, 702-4, 799-801, 1254-63, 1384-94, 1883-5, 2180, 2327, 2387-93, 2559-61. The only legend in which such a passage is not included is the incomplete "Hypermnestra," and there the context of the ending indicates that a general condemnation of men would have followed.

⁴ Antony: 592-4; Aeneas: 926, 1235, 1264-89, 1301, 1324-31; Jason: 1368-83, 1395-6, 1543-58, 1580-8, 1655-61, 1667-9; Tarquin: 1775, 1781, 1798, 1805, 1819-24; Theseus: 1886-93, 2170-8, 2199, 2226-7, and Minos: 1918-19; Tereus: 2228-43, 2288-94, 2316-26, 2330-8; Demophon: 2397-402, 2446-51, 2459-81, 2490-3, 2540-54. Specific condemnations of men are not wholly absent from the other two legends, "Thisbe" and "Hypermnestra." In "Thisbe" the fathers of the two lovers are harshly criticised (729-30, 900); in "Hypermnestra" Lynceus is blamed (2716-17), Danaos and Egistes are called false lovers (2565, 2571), and Egistes' cruelty as a father is mentioned (2715).

fore the epilogue to *Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer begs his women readers and listeners not to be angry with him for writing of Criseyde's betrayal of Troilus, for he would prefer writing about Penelope's faithfulness and "good Alceste." Then he expresses his sympathy for women who are betrayed and warns women to beware of unfaithful men. It is here in the conclusion to *Troilus and Criseyde*⁵ that we first find specific mention of Alceste in a passage stressing the infidelity of men, a connection more strongly emphasized in the conception of the *Legend of Good Women*.⁶

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CANTERBURY TALES, I, 355 ff.

And of this matere seiþh Moyses by the deuil in this manere *The feend seiþh I wol chace and pursue the man by wikked suggestioun and I wol hente hym by moeuynge or stiryng of synne and I wol departe my prise or my preye by deliberacioun and my lust shal ben accompliced in delit I wol drawe my swerd in consentynge / for certes right as a swerd departeth a thyng in two peces right so consentynge departeth god fro man and thanne wol I sleen hym with myn hand in dede of synne thus seiþh the feend /*

I have only Skeat and Robinson at hand. Skeat quotes Tyrwhitt: "Perhaps there may be some such passage in the Rabbinical histories of Moses. . . ." Robinson says: "The source of this supposed utterance of Moses is unidentified." Good heavens, can I be the first to identify here a quotation from the Song of Moses, *Exodus*, chapter 15? I quote my Vulgate, verse 9, and have underlined above the corresponding words:

Dixit inimicus: Persequar et comprehendam, dividam spolia, implebitur anima mea: evaginabo gladium meum, interficiet eos manus mea.

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⁵ See Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 950, n. 1772 ff.

⁶ There is not general agreement about the date of composition for the "Manciple's Tale," though it is usually placed among the earlier *Canterbury Tales*. Considering only the idea of the infidelity of men, one is tempted to suggest an order of composition in which the bare statement of the idea in the "Manciple's Tale" comes first, the coupling of the idea with the mention of Alceste in the conclusion to *Troilus and Criseyde* comes second, and the frequent development of the idea in the *Legend* which has Alceste as a prominent figure comes third.

"WHAT'S THAT 'DUCDAME'?" (*AS YOU LIKE IT*,
II. v. 60)

After Amiens has sung his song, "Under the greenwood tree," Jacques adds a verse of his own composition, which includes the line: "Ducdame, ducdame, ducdame!" This line is intended, by puzzling his listeners, to lead to the question, "What's that 'duc-dame'?" and Jacques' joke at their expense: "'Tis a Greek invocation to call fools into a circle," with which he breaks up the group and ends the scene. Of course it is not Greek, and Amiens' question has been repeated by readers and editors since that time.

According to Kittredge,¹ the most plausible suggestions, both of which he rejects, are the Latin *duc ad me*, "Bring [him] to me," and the Gypsy *ducđū' me*, "I tell fortunes." Kittredge falls back on the suggestion that, "Doubtless *ducdame* is mere jargon."

I think there is a better explanation. It is more satisfying to the writer of nonsense verse, whether he be Lewis Carroll or Jacques, to base his apparent nonsense on some meaning which he can enjoy whether his listeners can or not. It is probably also easier to borrow or modify words than to invent them. I therefore suggest that *ducdame* is the Welsh *dewch 'da mi*, "Come with me," a close enough translation of the corresponding "Come hither" of Amiens' song. *Dewch 'da mi* is a colloquial contraction of *Dewch gyda mi*.

Now whoever wrote *ducdame* in the play, whether it was Shakespeare, one of the actors, or some other transcriber, could not be expected to use the Welsh spelling or even, perhaps, to hear the Welsh sounds correctly (The sound of *ch*, common in Welsh, German, and Scots, would be difficult for an Englishman). *Ducdame* is about as close a phonetic transcription as could be expected. Furthermore, if, as Kittredge suggests and as the accentuation of the last line in Jacques' song demands, the accent is placed on the last syllable, the phrase which may puzzle the eye of the reader makes good sense to the ear of the listener—if that listener happens to be Welsh.

Why, in looking for a phrase to mystify Amiens and his companions, should Shakespeare or the actor of Jacques have turned to Welsh rather than some other language? The answer is that,

¹*As You Like It*, ed. G. L. Kittredge (Boston, 1939), p. 121.

even had there not been plenty of Welshmen in London whom he could ask for it, there was one in the Shakespearean company of actors; for it is reasonable to assume that the one who a few years before had, as Lady Mortimer in *1 Henry IV*, spoken Welsh and sung a Welsh song, must have been a Welshman. From him, then, the author probably got his phrase. He was perhaps told that the exact translation of "Come hither" was *dewch yma*, but that *dewch 'da mi* was close enough and rhymed with "An if he will come to me."

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REVIEWS

The English Heritage of Coleridge of Bristol 1798: The Basis in Eighteenth-Century English Thought for His Distinction between Imagination and Fancy. By WILMA L. KENNEDY. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1947. Pp. viii + 100. \$2.50. (Yale Studies in English, No. CIV.)

Despite the subtitle of this study, Miss Kennedy does not discuss eighteenth-century anticipations of Coleridge's distinction between "fancy" and "imagination," though such anticipations may be found. Indeed, she cites only two instances in which it is either mentioned or clearly implied (Reynolds's remark that "Raffaelle had more Taste and Fancy; Michel Angelo more Genius and Imagination," and Dugald Stewart's relatively detailed discrimination between the words).¹ Her general approach to the subject is rather to emphasize that Coleridge could not have made this distinction unless there had been a confidence in the imagination among previous writers to sustain him. She finds such a background in Berkeley, Reynolds, and Blake. Yet of these three,

¹ Yet, as both James Beattie (1783) and Mrs. Piozzi (1794) said, the terms were becoming increasingly differentiated in popular speech. Instances may also be found in eighteenth-century philosophy and criticism. They anticipate Coleridge with some closeness beginning with William Duff (1767), from whom Stewart seems to have taken over and developed the distinction. It seems probable that such omissions are the result of oversight rather than intention; for although Dryden's distinction in the preface to *Annus Mirabilis* (1667) is one of the commonplaces of neo-classic criticism, Miss Kennedy tells us specifically (p. 17 n.) that "Dryden did not distinguish the terms."

Reynolds may be connected with Coleridge only indirectly; while Blake is chiefly an isolated figure, with little relevance to the aesthetic speculation of the later eighteenth century and less to that of Coleridge. Nor is the reason for emphasizing Berkeley particularly clear: his epistemology is not to be construed as an indirect theory of the imagination; and even the general tenor of his philosophy is very different from that of the mature Coleridge. Southey was perfectly right when he said of Coleridge that "Hartley was ousted by Berkeley, Berkeley by Spinoza, and Spinoza by Plato." One assumes that Miss Kennedy has not distinguished between subjective idealism (whether of Berkeley or of Kant) and the objective, rationalistic idealism of the Platonic tradition to which Coleridge increasingly clung and to which he sought to reconcile other tendencies of thought. Indeed, it is on exactly this point, which he called "the highest problem of philosophy," that he also parted company with Kant and especially Fichte and Schelling. In a sense, Miss Kennedy qualifies her thesis about the "English heritage" which Coleridge received from the writers she stresses; for she adds in conclusion: "Though it may not be said that he availed himself of it fully, the English basis was there" (p. 92).

An "English basis" certainly existed for Coleridge; but so far as it was derived from the eighteenth century (rather than the Cambridge Platonists) it must be looked for elsewhere. The widespread aesthetic of the imagination, which was so crucial for romanticism, is indubitably a product of the eighteenth century, and it possesses an enormous literature. By far the principal factor which sustained its growth is the development of British empirical intuitionism which stretches from the immediate followers of Locke through the associationists and the Scottish "Common-Sense" School. In branching into aesthetic theory, this development evolves the critique of the imagination in an unbroken line: as it combines with familiar neo-classic tenets, it may be illustrated by critics from Addison to Reynolds; as it passes into its more pertinently romantic form, it may be exemplified, in the latter half of the century, by writers like Tucker and particularly Gerard, to whom the imagination is the basic and centralizing element of mind; and, as the century closes, it attains its final culmination in Wordsworth and especially Hazlitt. It is perhaps because the author does not consider this development that she feels "too much importance has been attached—by Mr. Woodhouse and others—to the establishment by the middle of the century of the concept of the creative imagination" (p. 43). "The neo-classical Mr. Addison," who is condemned in rather unphilosophical terms for having "served to prolong the sovereignty of the understanding . . . and to delay recognition of a higher power," is used as a straw-man whose "treatment of the imagination is a

poor thing by the side of Coleridge's" (p. 13). The latter and far more important half of this development is completely untouched. Yet it is to this that Coleridge possessed whatever obligations he had to the eighteenth century. For his maturer critical writings are an attempt to combine contemporary empirical intuitionism with traditional Platonic idealism; and his rather elaborate theory of the imagination is a necessary postulate in forming this synthesis.

One suspects, therefore, that despite the nature of her theme the author is really adopting the conventional assumption that there was an irreconcilable split between the eighteenth century and the movement called "romanticism"—that, in fact, romanticism was a "revolt," with a few enlightened scouts in the eighteenth century who may be regarded as "pre-romantics." This may explain the unusual selection of Berkeley, Reynolds, and Blake. One may also feel that Miss Kennedy has been too quickly satisfied by noting some instances in which the term "imagination" appears to her to be enthusiastically or at least respectfully used. Perhaps a similar hastiness is shown in selecting the distinction between "fancy" and "imagination" as a starting point. (She almost appears to regard the distinction as a kind of *a priori* criterion for judging critics, rebuking various writers—notably Addison, who "failed to comprehend what he was dealing with"—for not making it, while she apologizes for its absence in Berkeley.) Coleridge's use of it, after all, was merely one way of underlining the unique function which he assigned to the imagination; and his commentators can profit from his own statement that his "grievous fault" consisted in laboring distinctions until they "swallow up my thesis." By concentrating on this distinction without continual reference to more basic assumptions one learns only that the imagination "fuses," is "creative," and is in some way connected with "truth." But such an approach to isolated statements, whether in Coleridge or others, will not disclose the basic elements in any theory of the imagination: it will not, that is, reveal exactly *how* the imagination creates, what it fuses, and why its insight duplicates reality.

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Old English Glosses (A Collection). By HERBERT DEAN MERITT.
New York: Modern Language Association of America, General
Series, xvi; London: Oxford University Press, 1945. Pp. xx
+ 135.

This collection will be regarded first as a time-saver. Without a check-list of published OE glosses, after looking in the obvious places, e. g. Wright-Wülcker, Sievers, and Napier, we have had to

trail the fugitive editions through a dozen journals. Now that Meritt has rounded up the waifs and strays, although their indexing in a normalized spelling may occasion delay, we can be assured within the hour whether a word occurs in the glossarial texts.

Yet more than a handy tool, the monograph will be valued for its observation and conjecture. Almost fifteen hundred new items have been added to the OE corpus, and nearly a hundred new words to the dictionary, by the editor himself, whose knowledge of "scratched" glosses is unique. Continued study led to revision of his articles in the *American Journal of Philology*; and while the Bede material there remains much the same here—*peh*, for instance, no longer appears in 4.279—the scholia to Sedulus have been variously altered, e.g. seven entries are added in § 28 and three dropped. Seldom do the rereadings affect more than a macron or a single letter, but the changes *ðhwedu* to *hpedu*, 28.402, and *gm̃raþ* to *gm̃fcu*, 28.418, show how hard it must be to decipher these scribbles in dry point.

Unable to verify MS readings, we often assume a freer right to interpret them. Even in a controversy, however, Meritt generally finds the safest escape from doubt, as in the solutions of *g. w. gde*, *dmælū*, *brep̃tā*, and throughout the "Notes to the Boulogne Prudentius Glosses" (cf. especially the comment on *mylma*, p. 128). A counteropinion, that the *ongewuæd*, *gidrima*, and *egre*, the answers are less secure, need not be pressed; they are desperate cases, almost as bad as the Latin of *buduca*, *cuplun*, *famneo*, *glatuner*, *lioparis*, and *spincuum*. Concerning such forms, I would quote and second the editor's understatement, "Some of the glosses are still puzzles to me; but I know that I have eliminated some rash conjectures." In the following notes, some of the suggestions are offered, in spite of their daring, as perhaps worthy of explicit dismissal:

7.32. *et . . . inmittit*, gl. *ʔ inferlæt*. Since there is no noun in the Latin, divide the OE as *ʔ in ferlæt*, and cf. the dictionaries under *forlætān*.

15.4. *scriccettan* need not be parsed as infinitive; for preterites of such verbs, cf. Sievers-Cook³, § 405, n. 9.

22.1. *litera*, character, gl. *spir* (cf. Keil, II 6.6). Can *spir* be connected with OE *spor* 'track'? A few lines later Priscian etymologizes *litera* as *legendi iter* (Keil, II 6.12).

28.216. *fummei*, gl. *ealice*. This gloss may help to explain the entry *healio* in *BTD*, cf. A. J. Robertson *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 206.

36.10. *uespertilionem*, gl. *quælderēde*. Some of these glosses from St. Gall MS 913 were published in *The Shrine* (London, 1864), pp. 28-29, whence they are cited in *BTD* and Hall. The spelling *cwyldhræde* was adopted, and the word discussed, by R. Jordan, *Die ae. Saugethiernamen* (Heidelberg, 1903), p. 29.

38.3 and 32.1. In the footnotes "Helmst" is a mistake for "Helmst." (i.e. Helmstadt).

45.3. *allas*, gl. *grogū ni*. Possibly for *crogcyni*.

51.5. For a note on *bedber*, cf. Chambers and Daunt, *London English 1354-1425* (Oxford, 1931), p. 263, accepting a meaning 'bedstead'; but the

OE compound *horsbær* 'horse-bier' suggests that *bedbær* was rather a bier (*grabatus*) on a bed (stead).

68.11. Read .i an middan?

72.2. That *stondnis* should be emended is evident from Hauthaler's fuller text, quoted on p. xviii. The phrase *quod semper est* shows that the commentator mistook *auuesnis* for OE *ā* 'always' plus **wesnis* 'being'; hence, his parallel *semper stare* indicates that the original was *astondnis*. In the former, however, *ā-* (<*uz-) translates perhaps *ex-* in *existentia*—it being less likely that *essentia* was interpreted as *ess-* (= *ex-*) plus *entia*; and in the latter, *ā-* (<*uf-) renders *sub-* in *substantia* or *subsistentia*.

73.b) 25. *olisatrum*, gl. *sigesante*. The *Leechdoms* references in *BTD*, s. v. *sigsonste*, imply that the word had some currency in OE, but they give no clue to the meaning. The form *sigesante* seems to be a revised spelling of *sigsonste*, analogical to other compounds with OE *siges-* 'victory'; no explanation, however, has been given for an OE *sigsonste*, where the *-t-* would, in any event, be troublesome. Varnhagen, *De Nonnullis Glossis Anglicis* (Erlangen, 1902), p. 11, observed that *sigsonste*, *WW* 299.27, is treated as a Latin word and glossed by OE *stänmerce*; he noted further that *stänmerce* is elsewhere a gloss to *petrosilhon*, *WW* 134.36. Therefore, *sigsonste* equals *petrosilum* 'stone parsley,' an equation validated by *olissatrum petroselinum graece*, *UGL* v 316.9; Holthausen, *Ae. etym. Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1934), s. v., probably errs, then, in identifying *sigsonste* with *Smyrnum olusatrum* 'Alexanders.' Now Gk. *σῶν* also means ' (stone) parsley' (cf. Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. and aug. by Jones and McKenzie [Oxford, 1925], s. v. *σῶν*); and since this term recurs in the classical medical treatises (e. g. *sison agrion*, *App. Herb.*, cap. 94; cp. also *sison id est herba olusatrum*, *UGL*, III 575.60), I believe it is the source of *sigsonste*. Placed above *sison* in some MS, probably Latin, may have been a note *goe* 'grace'; this tag, however, being misunderstood as a correction and the *c* misread as *t*, could have been introduced into the lemma, whence *sigsonste*. The *g*, at any rate, is like that in *petroselinum*, quoted above, and *regnam*, 73 b) 26.

73 c) 9. *auiane*, gl. *liðeleaf*. The lemma appears to be a corruption of *erifeon*, gl. *liðwyrt*, *WW* 299.2; cf. also the association of *erifeon* and *liðwyrt* in *Leechdoms*, I 229.11. The etymon is Gk. *ἐρίφειον* 'kid,' and 'lithe-leaf' is a suitable name for various members of the *Caprifoliaceae*.

Uncommonly in sympathy with the belief that we too often err by omission in the listing of "verb compounds" (p. 125), I am peculiarly aware of difficulties in their treatment. The record here is exhaustive and consistent, save that *samodberan* is entered as one word in Appendix A, whereas *somed scinaþ*, 28.49, is split up in the main Index. If *gesamodlæcan*, cited by Hall from the Regius Psalter, is typical, then the OE *samod* verbs are inseparable—but for principles of composition can we rely on a glossed text? Many of the combinations with *on* and *tō*—including *tocyrðan*, gl. *adplicuerunt*, 61.17, despite *Go. duatsniwun*—are part-for-part renderings, while the verbs *ābetōn*, 4.368, and *geindýpan*, p. 110, are surely nonce-words. If the dictionary is to be burdened with these scholastic freaks, they must be labelled or pushed to the back of the book. Future lexicographers should find Professor Meritt's collection extremely helpful in their attempt to distinguish between habitual usage and the occasional devices of the Old English glossator.

HOWARD MERONEY

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A Pageant of Old Scandinavia edited by HENRY GODDARD LEACH.

Princeton and New York, Princeton University Press for the American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1946. Pp. xvi, 350.

A Pageant of Old Scandinavia is a well chosen title for this anthology—the only one existing in the field of Old Scandinavian Literature in English translations.

The editor, whose *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia* (1921) still is one of the two best books on romance in Iceland, heads this collection with a brief, but excellently written, suggestive, and scholarly introduction. The selections themselves are grouped under the headings: The Gods, Legendary Heroes, Iceland, Norway, The Western Islands, Greenland, Vinland the Good, Sweden, and Other Poetry and Romance.

Reading the book one has the feeling of being conducted to some *Hliðskjálf*, a point of vantage, from which your skilful guide gives you a birdseye view of the whole Old Scandinavian scene.

You follow the Vikings on their expedition to Miklgarðr or Byzantium in the Far East and to Vinland at the western end of the world. And your guide alternately takes you on a trip to Italy with the Cimbr and the Teutones, and into the frozen North, where a party of Greenlanders (ca. 1300) left a runic stone on an island situated off the west coast of Greenland as far north as 72° 55'.

Those who do not know, might wonder why Denmark and Sweden seem so stepmotherly handled with only five and eighteen pages out of a total of 319 pp. The obvious answer is that where the Icelandic sources did not illuminate Old Scandinavian history there is mostly total darkness. The editor has tried to pierce this gloom with occasional references to Latin, Greek, and even Arabic sources to eke out the meager information we get from the native runic stones, Law texts, etc., but the result naturally remains insignificant.

Now, one might suspect that with such a method of extension the book might stand in danger of becoming shallow. And it is of course true that this anthology shares the fault of all anthologies in not being able to represent fully the larger works: the short extracts from *Njála* could not possibly, however well selected, give a correct impression of that masterpiece. At most the bits from such works could function only as appetizing morsels which might lead the reader to the work itself. That, no doubt, is precisely the editor's intention, but whether the readers of the anthology will act so is another question.

But there is in the Old Icelandic literature apart from short poems a host of short stories, the so-called *þættir*, that lend themselves excellently to employment in a book like this. Of these the editor has made extensive and felicitous use. Some of these *þættir* appear here for the first time in English translation, thus for instance three chapters from the otherwise untranslated *Sturlunga saga* in J. B. C. Watkins' translation.

That, finally, brings us to the translations. They are done by a great company of writers whose difference in style varies from the archaisms of William Morris to the modern cadences of Thorstein Veblen. The editor wisely leaves these translations alone, not even correcting obvious errors—of which, I am happy to say, there are not very many, though they do occur.

In conclusion let it be emphasized that the book is a great boon to all those who are not able to read the originals and still would like to gain some idea of what they are all about. It should thus recommend itself to all those of Scandinavian descent who have some curiosity left as to the culture from which they sprang. It might also be used as a textbook in classes attempting to give Scandinavian Literatures in translation.

Dr. Leach deserves praise and gratitude for the scholarly and at the same time popular way in which he has carried out his arduous task. The Princeton University Press is to be congratulated on the book's elegant appearance.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

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The Dramatic Career of Arthur Murphy. By HOWARD HUNTER DUNBAR. New York: Modern Language Association, 1946. Pp. ix + 339. (*MLA Revolving Fund Series*, XIV).

Arthur Murphy: An Eminent English Dramatist of the Eighteenth Century. By JOHN P. EMERY. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946. Pp. ix + 224. \$3.50. (Temple University Publications).

George Colman, the Younger, 1762-1836. By JEREMY F. BAGSTER-COLLINS. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. Pp. 367. \$3.00.

Scholars may know that the War is over. The publication at the same moment of three biographies of minor English dramatists is striking evidence of our return to the normalities of literary research. If these books exude the impractical, peaceful atmosphere of antiquarianism, they are far more laudable pursuits for humane and human beings than the recent activities of a clashing world.

Dunbar and Emery have written sensible, informative books on Arthur Murphy. They show what only the specialist has known—that Murphy was a far abler dramatist than historians in general have acknowledged, and that he deserves a seat in the same circle with Goldsmith, Fielding, Sheridan, Foote, and Colman the Elder as a dramatic writer. Inevitably in these two studies there is

almost universal duplication. Dunbar's title indicates the major emphasis of his work, although additional chapters or outlines at the beginning and the end help round out his story of Murphy's entire career. Despite its narrower compass, Dunbar's book is considerably longer than Emery's dealing with all phases of Murphy. This is not because Dunbar has discovered much new material unknown to Emery, but because he proves his points where Emery simply states them. Discussing the relations of Murphy with Ann Elliott, for example, Dunbar uses twice the space of Emery (indeed, on almost every important point) because he takes us along the course of his investigations while Emery simply gives the results. Analyzing Murphy's brilliant comedy, *Know Your Own Mind*, Dunbar expatiates in twenty-five informative pages as against Emery's eighteen. One must choose between fullness (never wasteful, however) and compactness. Perhaps the greatest original contribution of Dunbar's not included in Emery's book, is the study of the printed plays with the Larpent Collection manuscripts, whereby Dunbar is able to point out many interesting and important variations. (But why the statement: "What is unusual is the fact that the printed play is shorter than the manuscript version" It is not unusual, it is customary: *e. g.* Sheridan's *Rivals*.) One who wishes to study the dramatic career of Murphy will need Dunbar; one who prefers a rounded, compact, and yet thorough study of Murphy's entire career will buy Emery: Dunbar is for the specialist in eighteenth century drama; Emery is for the general student of eighteenth century letters. Regrettably, neither book has a bibliography of Murphy's writings; and only Emery includes a picture of his subject.

It is unfortunate that neither Dunbar nor Emery made any use of the Public Records Office. Murphy litigation on file there might possibly have furnished much new biographical and historical information. For instance, exactly what part did Murphy play in Macklin's famous lawsuit against the elder Colman? Also, one might ask whether Murphy left a will and might it not be examined at Somerset House?

George Colman the Younger, 1762-1836 has been almost as long overdue as the studies of Murphy. Richard Peake's *Memoirs of the Colman Family* was a pious tribute, but it was quite unscholarly, omitting half the information needed about the younger Colman. Dr. Bagster-Collins has been painstaking in his research among the printed sources to supply Peake's missing half. In the light of his care it is unfortunate that he missed the recent article (1941) "Christopher George Colman the Elder: 'Lunatick'" which offered considerable new information of the latter years of the elder Colman, and the troubles in which he involved his son by leaving a debt-burdened theatre and a tangled estate. Dr. Bagster-Collins has organized his large body of new material with skill so

that his story moves steadily, with fair documentation, along Colman's checkered career. He has judiciously appraised the significance and insignificance of his subject and has not fallen into the dissertational error of overpraise. It is true that more consideration of historical surroundings would have reinforced the portrait, but it would also have lengthened it.

It is puzzling to know why Dr. Bagster-Collins confined his research to printed sources only, omitting almost entirely the accessible manuscripts in England and America. With his year of work in London he would have done well to consult the Colman letters and the theatre playbills in the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert. Also, had he gone to the Public Records Office he would have found much untouched Colman and Haymarket material awaiting study. It is likewise a mystery why no use was made of the Larpent collection of manuscripts at San Marino, where such Colman trivialities as *The Female Dramatist* and *Turk and No Turk* might have been studied in text instead of from periodical reviews.

Review space permits mention of only one or two more items. Five plays ascribed to the younger Colman by various newspapers and critics are not mentioned. Dr. Bagster-Collins's acceptance of *Stella and Leatherlungs* into the canon is wise—the manuscript of part of the play, in Colman's autograph, is in New York City. It should be noted that Colman was included in the first edition of *Rejected Addresses*—certainly a slight but sure claim to immortality which should not be withheld.

HOWARD P. VINCENT

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Isaac Reed Diaries, 1762-1804. Edited by CLAUDE E. JONES. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1946. Pp. xi + 334. (University of California Publications in English, x).

The publication of Isaac Reed's Diaries (1762-1804), from the original notebooks in the Folger and Emmanuel College Libraries, will be welcomed by scholars looking for additional facts and dates relating to the literary and theatrical history of later eighteenth-century London. The interest and importance of these records will depend upon the casual assistance they may afford to contiguous investigation: to the general reader their value is slight indeed. They are nearly barren of anecdote, descriptive detail, personalities, and critical opinion. Save in the slightly fuller records of Reed's

holiday trips to Cambridge and elsewhere, the entries consist mainly of the barest notes of where Reed dined, with whom, and of the names of plays attended. This last feature is in condensed outline the history of an habitual theatre-goer's cultivation of his hobby. It is doubtless the most valuable aspect of the diaries, and could be employed as a yardstick in a number of directions. We should like to know, but are not told, to what degree the theatrical record actually supplements, rather than merely duplicates, other available records.

Once and again, the editor's notes animate the blank report. Thus, on Nov. 29, 1792, Reed records: "Dined at Mr. Boswell's." Professor Jones aptly quotes Boswell's own memorandum of that occasion:

This day I gave a dinner, a kind of feast, two courses and a desert, upon the success of my first edition of Dr Johnson's *Life*; present Mr. Malone; Mr. Deputy Nichols, his son in law the Rev. Mr. Pridden, Mr. Reed, Mr. Dilly, Mr. Baldwin and his son Charles, printer, with him, Squire Dilly, my brother T. D., my daughters Veronica and Euphemia, and son James. I got into a pretty good state of joviality though still dreary at bottom. We did not drink to excess.

It is a satisfaction to be able to infer from the unending succession of dinners away from home that Reed's conversation must have been a good deal more enlivening than his diary. Restraint can seldom have been carried beyond the limits of the following entry, for Aug. 17, 1790: "Went with Mr. Steevens to St. Giles's Cripple-gate to search for the body of Milton. Found what was supposed to be him." In compensation, there is a lively thumbnail sketch, from Cantabrigian hearsay, of Coleridge in 1794; the Cambridge report of Sterne's body being stolen and anatomized; and a mot of Dr. Johnson, who visited Cambridge and misbehaved. Johnson's rudeness was forgiven for the sake of one retort. "Speaking of the Addition of Country Squires to Rural Sports and Diversions in preference to other pursuits, he said, 'Sir, I have found out the reason of it and the reason is that they feel the vacuity which is within them less when they are in motion than when they are at rest.'"

Jones has added a brief introductory sketch and a considerable body of supplementary matter in the notes, of which the most valuable part consists of Reed's letters; records of letters from, to, or about Reed; and notices of the publications in which he was concerned. Glaringly absent is any amplification of the theatrical record. It will be admitted that the Indices, which inevitably possess an exaggerated importance in a publication of this kind, show evidence of haste or impatience. Thus, there is no attempt to attach author's names to the compiled list of plays named in the diaries. The identification of persons, especially minor persons, is sadly insufficient, and page references are sometimes incomplete.

There is some telescoping of individuals which may set traps for the unwary: Thomas and R. B. Sheridan, James Boswell father and son, George Steevens and G. A. Stevens, John and Nathaniel Nichols (cf. index and Introd., p. 5). The index references to Reed himself seem too haphazardly arranged. One may query also *Leasons* for Leasowes (p. 70), *Thomason* for Thomson (p. 204). But the book as a whole appears to display a high degree of accuracy.

B. H. BRONSON

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Hardy in America. By CARL J. WEBER. Waterville, Maine: Colby College Press, 1946. Pp. 321.

Professor Weber's new book on Hardy is a curious and somewhat disconcerting mixture of scholarship and criticism. The early chapters are devoted to technical matters such as editions, conditions of publication in book or serial form, books about Hardy, Americans who admired him, and the like; and Mr. Weber must be the one person in the world who is best informed on these often highly interesting subjects. Perhaps the most interesting of all is the state of copyright laws as it affected Hardy's publications in America before and after 1891.

But Mr. Weber has something more serious on his mind. He seems to think that, in times like these, one who has "lived through the Seven Years of Purification 1939-1945" should have something more bold and direct to say about the State of the World. That Hardy was, among other things, a gloomy realist, if not a pessimist, Mr. Weber is well aware. That he has been followed in America by a piratical crew of "naturalists" distinctly worries him; he has been impressed by Mr. De Voto's peevish blast; and he wants it distinctly understood that Thomas Hardy is in no way responsible for the "moral paralysis" and general slimy "decadence" of Hemingway, Lewis, Dos Passos, Faulkner, Steinbeck, et al. He is also worried over the art-for-art-sake "school" of writing championed by Mr. Ransom and exemplified by that close corporation of poets that includes Eliot, H. D., Masters, Sandburg, Jeffers, and Hart Crane (but not, as I understand it, Edgar Guest and Amy Lowell)—poets whose chief vice is that (in contrast to Hardy) they have dissociated themselves from the main subjects of human concern. Mr. Weber also seems to be haunted, in 1946, by the unlaidd ghost of Rousseau, whom he holds accountable for much of the skulduggery still abroad in the world.

One sometimes wonders whether Mr. Weber may not have a bad

conscience for having spent so much labor on an author in whom so many readers find so much that is depressing, and so feel it necessary to demonstrate in stern comments on living writers that he himself is really on the side of the angels. In his animadversions on his American contemporaries he makes no effort to suggest the moral ethos, the social implications of their work. He seems unable to distinguish between an author's subject-matter and his intention; between the world he subjects to his irony and the structure of positive ideals from which this shadow is thrown. He has no appreciation of the indirect or "dramatic" method whether in fiction or poetry. One might think that J. Alfred Prufrock was the author of *The Waste Land* and that Studs Lonigan wrote the book that bears his name. As for subjects of human concern, one might suppose that Sandburg had overlooked Lincoln and Dos Passos Roger Williams. After all Hardy, poet and novelist, is by now a pretty respectable figure—as much admired by the followers of Ransom as by the followers of Babbitt. It is not necessary in his defence to offer hecatombs of epigones.

JOSEPH WARREN BEACH

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Johnsonian Gleanings, Part X. Johnson's Early Life: The Final Narrative. By ALEYN LYELL READE. London: privately printed, 1946. Pp. xii + 224. 21s.

Few Johnsonian scholars have labored so long, and surely none so indefatigably, as A. L. Reade. His inquiries into Johnson's antecedents began in 1903, and the nine previous parts of his exhaustive series of *Johnsonian Gleanings*, their pages spotted with the asterisks and obelisks of authority, are indispensable tools for any study of the Doctor's ancestry and early years. The present part crowns the work; it is a synthesis of its predecessors, re-telling the story of Johnson's life through 1740. The cumbersome scholarly apparatus has been stripped away, conflicts of evidence have been silently resolved, and an amalgam of all the facts is presented as a continuous narrative.

It is dangerous to say of any task of scholarship that it has been done once and for all: every Hill meets at last his Powell. But it seems probable that, although future research may add a note here or there, the events of Johnson's early life will always remain Reade's indisputable province. By painstaking search, especially along the fatiguing way of the genealogist, he has wrung every fact from every likely and many an unlikely source. Given these facts, much analysis of their meaning remains to be done. Here, indeed,

lies the chief fault of the present work: it suffers from a duality of purpose in that it avoids full responsibility for interpreting the evidence, but nevertheless makes some halting excursions in that direction. The powers of analysis and the niceties of style are perhaps incompatible with that will to pursue pure fact which Reade possesses so abundantly; his achievement would have been wholly admirable had he confined himself to the task in which he has no competitors.

A few dissents must be entered. The view of Johnson⁸ as an unqualified conservative is, since Bronson's fine paper, *Johnson Agonistes*, an untenable one. The attribution to Johnson of a distaste for mathematics is dubious. As to sheer matters of fact, the story of Irene was not a hundred but less than fifty years in print when Knolles published his *Historie of the Turks* in 1603; there is no evidence and little likelihood that Johnson accompanied Peter Garrick to solicit Fleetwood's interest in his play; and the testimony of the pocket-worn and overscored draft of passages from *London*, recently recovered by Isham, suggests that the poem was not written without considerable toil and revision.

But these are minor objections to a tremendous fabric of fact of which few but Reade could have sustained the burden of construction. And if genealogy is painfully obtrusive, it must be realized that this interest sustained Reade's efforts over more than forty years, for the results of which Johnsonians must be perpetually in his debt.

HERMAN W. LIEBERT

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BRIEF MENTION

Sixteen Plays of Shakespeare. . . . Edited by GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE. Preface by ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE. New York, etc.: Ginn and Company, 1946. Front. (port.), pp. ix + 1541. \$4.75. Kittredge's *Complete Works of Shakespeare*, 1936, has been a very popular one-volume Shakespeare; but the great strength of Kittredge lies rather in his critical annotations than in his text, and *Complete Works* lacks notes. The sixteen plays separately edited by Kittredge and published individually between 1939 and 1945 are now presented, with their very critical notes, in a single volume. Students and teachers who have need of an abundantly annotated one-volume edition of Shakespeare's best plays will welcome this book.

C. HINMAN

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